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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

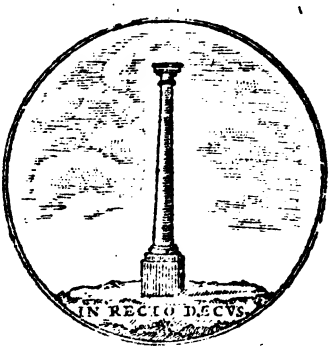
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. XV.



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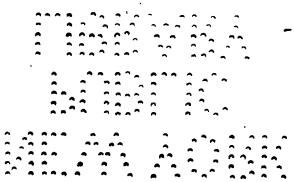

Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

BOOK XVI.

CHAP. IV.

The History of Abissinia, *or* Upper Ethiopia.

SECT. I.

Giving an Account of the principal modern Authors, quoted through the Course of this Chapter; and of sundry Stratagems made use of to open a Commerce with that Empire.

WE have already given in our ancient history [a] the best account we could of this vast, and, in most respects, unknown empire, its limits, inhabitants, cities, &c. as far as they were known to the ancient writers, and the records they have left us of them would allow; and if the greater part of what not only they, but others of a more modern date, have written of it, be either too fabulous or uncertain, either with regard to its true situation, extent and boundaries [b], as well as with relation to it nature, climate, &c. it must be chiefly ascribed to that erroneous notion, which reigned so long among historians and geographers, that all the countries that lay so near the equinoctial line, were, for the most part, waste and uninhabitable; and to the same cause we must attribute that so much less hath been written of it than of many others, and that what we meet with concerning it,

Abissinia little known to the antients and moderns till frequented by the Portuguese.

[a] Vol. xviii. p. 253, & seq. [b] Confer Atlas Johnson, Mercator, John de Barros Decad. Asiæ 3. & al.

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before the *Portugueſe* found means to introduce themſelves into it, appears at the beſt uncouth and unſatisfactory; ſo that it is entirely to the diſcoveries which theſe have been enabled to make by their abode in thoſe parts, and their own intimate acquaintance with their inhabitants, that we are obliged for that more perfect knowlege we have of them; perfect only, we mean, in compariſon of what we had before they publiſhed their accounts of this great empire; tho' ſtill vaſtly ſhort of it, on account of the diſſonancy we find between them, in many reſpects, for want of proper means, as well as time, for making their obſervations with greater exactneſs and certainty, concerning the true ſituation of the whole country in general, and that of moſt of its provinces and places of note in particular. We ſhould perhaps more truly account for the great difference and imperfection which reign thro' the greateſt part of their maps, both with regard to the extent, limits, longitude and latitude, *&c.* as well as in their deſcriptions of the inland parts, if we were to ſay, that thoſe good fathers, jeſuits and others, who were ſent miſſionaries thither, to reduce the *Abiſſinian* church to the obedience of the ſee of *Rome*, had their hearts and minds too full of this one important point, to find leiſure for leſſer diſcoveries; which being of ſuch a nature as would rather excite the jealouſy than admiration of that rude and ignorant people, they thought might be more fitly poſtponed till the main end of their miſſion was once gained; after which they might, with more pleaſure and ſafety, attend to the other leſs momentous branches of it. The misfortune was, that their untimely zeal for obtaining the one, brought ſuch a dreadful and general perſecution upon them, as hath at once quaſhed all the hopes and proſpect of regaining either; not only the miſſionaries of all denominations, but the very names of *Portugueſe* and *Franks*, by which they called the *Europeans*, are become deteſtable to the whole *Abiſſinian* nation, and are hardly ever mentioned without ſome curſe or hateful epithet [c].

Why ſo great difference ſtill in their accounts of it.

Their over zeal to convert the natives occaſions their expulſion.

WHAT occaſioned this ſudden and ſurpriſing change, after the *Portugueſe* had been ſo kindly invited thither by one of their empreſſes, had done her and ſome of her ſucceſſors ſuch ſignal ſervices, for which they were raiſed to the higheſt degree of eſteem and confidence in the *Abiſſinian* court, will be beſt ſeen in the courſe of this hiſtory: at preſent, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that for their ſakes all acceſs to any part of that kingdom is, ſince their expulſion, become to the laſt de-

All parts of it become inacceſſible to the Europeans.

[c] TELLEZ, PONCET, LUDOLPH, MAILLET, & al. plur.

gree

gree dangerous, and in ſome meaſure impracticable, to all *Europeans*, in any diſguiſe, or under any pretence whatſoever. All the paſſes to it are guarded with the utmoſt diligence; and no ſooner doth a ſtranger offer himſelf at any of their frontiers, but he is immediately examined from head to foot, to ſee whether he carries any arms, letters, books, writings, or any other thing that is liable to ſuſpicion: his ſkin, hair, complexion, ſhape, *&c.* are ſcrupulouſly ſcrutinized, and eſpecially whether he carries with him the ſcar of circumciſion; which examen is the more eaſily made, as the travellers into thoſe hot climes hardly wear any other covering than a blue linen ſhirt; for none here, not even ſubjects, are permitted to wear either cap, hoſe, or ſlippers; that being the peculiar privilege of the emperor. The knowlege of the *Ethiopic* language, and the dark olive complexion, are no leſs neceſſary to help an *European* to paſs unſuſpected, than the mark of circumciſion: and this fear of admitting any ſpies or dangerous perſons into their dominions, not only makes them thus ſtrict and diligent in examining every paſſenger, but likewiſe very ſevere on all thoſe who run the riſk of coming thither unprovided for ſuch a ſcrutiny [d]; an inſtance of which ſtrict ſeverity the reader may ſee in the margin, out of the laſt quoted author, who reſided at *Cairo*, as conſul to the *French* nation, many years after the time in which it happened (A).

UPON

[d] MAILLET deſcript. d' Egypte, vol. ii. letter 8, Hague edit. p. 82.

(A) The *Abiſſinian* emperor having heard ſome of his officers, whom he had ſent to *Cairo*, give a certain Capuchin friar, then reſiding in that city, large commendations for his excellent ſkill in phyſic, and ſurpriſing ſucceſs in curing variety of diſeaſes, ſent him a kind invitation to come and ſettle at his court, which he readily complied with; but whilſt he was making preparations for that journey, ſome other monks, of the ſame Franciſcan order, took it into their heads that that invitation might extend to all that were ſkilled in that art, of which moſt of thoſe good fathers take care to gain a competent knowlege, that being the moſt effectual means of introducing them among thoſe (otherwiſe jealous) princes, and procuring them an honourable protection and livelihood.

In this perſuaſion, ſome of them ventured, unknown to the Capuchin, to get to that court ſome time before him, in hopes of meeting the ſame reception there; and upon their firſt appearing on the frontiers, news were diſpatched to the emperor of their arrival; who ſent immediate orders to have them ſafely conveyed to him, not doubting but his Capuchin was at the head of them, and that the others were only his aſſiſt-

The observations of the Portuguese *made with precipitation.*

UPON the whole, whoever compares these observations of those missionaries, will find them so different and imperfect, that he will have reason to conclude they were made in haste, and without that accuracy which we observe them to use in all other countries, where they make a longer residence, and have better means and instruments for such a work. Whoever reads those who seem to have taken the most pains to review their observations, and reconcile them to each other, such as father *Tellez*, *Ludolph*, and others of equal capacity, will find still variance enough amongst them to make us wish for, what we are not likely to see in haste, a more accurate survey of the country. To give an instance or two of this remarkable difference, we need but compare the situation of the town of *Giesim*, which was reckoned the mid-way between the town of *Sennaar* and the confines of *Ethiopia*, as fixed by father *Brevedent*'s own observations, who is allowed to have been an excellent astronomer, and one who accompanied the physician *Poncet* into *Ethiopia*, but died in the way thither, and places that town in the 10th degree of north latitude (*); and the situation which father *Tellez*, and Mr. *Ludolph* after him, give it in their map of this empire, and we shall plainly see that one of them must be greatly out; and yet *Brevedent* took his observation upon the spot. Another proof how little *Tellez*'s map is to be depended upon, is the situation which another *Portuguese* jesuit assigns, from his own observations likewise, to the kingdom of *Dembea*; which is such, according to him [c], that both the poles are visible, and that the antartic appears the higher of the two; which is the very reverse of what *Tellez* and *Ludolph*'s maps represent it.

Material difference between them.

* See PONCET's Voyage to Ethiopia, p. 33.

[c] FERNANDEZ ap. Codign, lib. i. c. 11. p. 69.

ants or attendants. But upon farther examination, finding, by his officers abovementioned, that he was not of their number, he was so exasperated at the boldness of their attempt, that he caused them to be all put to immediate death. This, our author tells us, happened 50 or 60 years before his coming to reside in *Egypt* (1); since which time the same vigilance and severity were still observed with the same strictness; and their history furnishes us with a great number of instances of the like nature; though none of them have been sufficient to deter him and others from contriving new stratagems and devices to facilitate an entrance to their missionaries into that kingdom, in spite of all the care and caution which those princes take to prevent it (2), and the extreme danger of attempting to elude it.

(1) *Maillet, ub. sup.*

(2) *Id. ibid.* p. 83, *& seq.*

For

It was probably this diſſonancy between thoſe authors, that induced a late famous geographer to his imperial majeſty to try to give the world a more accurate map, not only of this empire, but of all *Africa*; which he cauſed to be printed ſome years ago at *Nuremberg*, with ſome critical remarks upon thoſe which father *Tellez* and Mr. *Ludolph* have given us of the *Abiſſinian* empire: but as this new one hath not met with the ſucceſs and approbation which the compiler ſeemed to promiſe himſelf, we ſhall content ourſelves with referring our reader for a farther account of it, as far as relates to our preſent ſubject, to the ſubſequent note (B). *Corrected by a new map of Aſia.*

We need not therefore wonder if ſome of the writers of the *African* part of the world, particularly ſome of our atlas's (f), have extended the limits of this empire ſo far beyond its due bounds; to ſay nothing of thoſe of older date, who have ſtretched its ſouthern ones ſo vaſtly beyond the equinoctial line; though they are found to come ſo ſhort of it by the common conſent of all our more modern geographers. They were altogether in the dark about the coun- *Why its limits ſo far extended by old geographers.*

f Vid. inter al. Mercator, Johnson, and De Lisle.

(B) We are told by Mr. *De la Croze*, late profeſſor in philoſophy, and library-keeper to the late king of *Pruſſia*, of a map of *Africa*, printed at *Nuremberg* by *J. Bapt. Heron*, geographer to his Imperial Majeſty, in which are theſe words: *Benevole ſpectator*, Ludolphum *hactenus incautè ſecuti ſunt, qui quodam novo ſiſtemate originem* Nili *tabulis ſuis perperam inſeruerunt. Nos auctoritatem viri maxime Rev.* P. Henrici Scherери, *S. J. Geographi celeberrimi, qui ex veris, P. P. Miſſionariorum ſuæ ſocietatis relationibus tale nobis quale hîc poſuimus, ſchema utriuſque Nili albi & atri Fluminis, præfiguravit, amplectimur; Curioſoſque hiſtoricæ veritatis indagatores ad ipſum auctoris opus ſumptibus prænobilis viri* J. Caſpari Bencardi, *&c. Bibliopolæ Auguſtani præſtantiſſime editum, remittimus.* This map, we are told by our author, places the ſources of the *Nile* and *Niger* a great way beyond the equinoctial line, and makes it to flow immediately from the lake *Zaire*; which paradox is pretended to be founded on the authority of the jeſuit miſſionaries, but without producing any of them. Doth not this ſtrange diſcord and difference of opinions, flowing from the ſame ſource, and founded on the ſame authorities, give us ſufficient cauſe to wiſh for ſome new obſervations and diſcoveries, which might put an effectual end to them, and give us a more certain knowlege of thoſe curious and important matters (4)?

(4) *Matur Veyſſier, La Croze Hiſt. du Chriſtianiſme d'Ethiopie* 1739, *p.* 70, *& ſeq. See alſo what hath been ſaid on the ſource of that river, Anc. Hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 407 *& ſeq.* xviii. *p.* 265, *& ſeq.*

tries that lay beyond it on that ſide; and had no other way to ſupply that great chaſm of 600 or more leagues, than by bringing all that vaſt tract within the limits of it, and beſtowing upon its emperors, all that immenſe territory which they knew not how to diſpoſe of otherwiſe. By this means they have ſtretched it from 22° north to 16 or 17 ſouth, and given it an extent of 39 or 40 degrees; which is above twenty-one more than it really hath (C), as we ſhall ſhew very ſoon from the more authentic teſtimonies, and more accurate obſervations, of thoſe *Portugueſe* fathers, whoſe long reſidence and acquaintance with theſe (till then unknown) parts, have enabled them to give us a more ſatisfactory knowlege of them; of whom, therefore, it will not be improper to give ſome previous account, before we proceed farther, and by way of introduction to the following hiſtory.

The Portugueſe invited into Abiſſinia.

THE empreſs *Helena*, grandmother to the emperor *David*, having received a kind of congratulatory ambaſſy from *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, was ſo highly pleaſed with it, that ſhe reſolved to ſend the like to him, with a view of entering

(C) This is the caſe, among others, of the modern *Mercator* and *Johnſon*'s *Atlas*, in which they were led by a wrong ſcent; the authors they followed having placed the head of the *Nile* about 16 or 17 degrees of ſouth latitude, where lies the lake *Zambre* and *Zayre*, (ſo their maps call the ſouth and north ſides of the *Dambean* lake, thro' which that river flows after a long courſe from its ſpring head) it was natural for them to ſtretch the ſouth boundaries at leaſt ſo far as the ſource of that river, ſince it was allowed by all to ſpring in this empire of *Abiſſinia*. And it was no leſs natural for *Mercator* to place the kingdom of *Goiam* along the coaſts of that lake, ſince this was ſuppoſed to be the ſource of that river, and that kingdom the moſt ſouthern in the whole empire. How the ancients came to be ſo far out in their judgment about the one and the other, as to lead ſo many moderns into the ſame error, we have formerly endeavoured to account for (5); neither could thoſe moderns above-mentioned be poſſibly made ſenſible of their miſtake, but by a diſcovery that the true ſituation of that ſource, as well as the diſtance of the ſouthern boundaries of the empire from it, were fixed by more certain obſervations; and for theſe we are chiefly beholden to *Coſmas* the hermit, who was the firſt that traced out the way to that ſo long ſought for ſpring; and next to him, to father *Pais*, and other *Portugueſe* miſſionaries, who by his help arrived at the very ſpot, where, by proper and repeated obſervations, they attained to the certainty of its ſituation (6).

(5) *See Ancient Hiſt. vol* i. *p.* 407, *&* *ſeq.* xviii. *p.* 265, *&* *ſeq.* (6) *See Paiz, Lobo, Tellez, Ludolph, Le Grand Relat. d Abiſſin. Diſſert.* 3, *p.* 209, *&* *ſeq.*

into

into a ſtrict friendſhip and alliance with him [r]. She made choice of one *Mathew*, an *Armenian* merchant, who ſafely arrived at *Liſbon* in that quality; and having performed the purport of his commiſſion, returned to *Abiſſinia* by the way of *Goa*, in the *Portugueſe* fleet, accompanied by a freſh ambaſſador from the *Portugueſe* court. This was a man of quality, named *Galvam*, who in his return to *Abiſſinia* died at *Camaran*, an iſland in the *Red Sea*; ſo that the *Portugueſe* veſſels, which had brought him thither, were obliged to ſail back to *Goa*. However, the matter was thought of ſuch importance, that a new ambaſſador was ſent thither ſome years after, *viz.* *Roderigo de Lima*; who after a tedious voyage, landed at length at *Maſſowa*, near *Arkiko*; which places, as well as the iſland of *Sowakem*, did then belong to the *Abiſſinians*, tho' ſince then, taken from them by the *Turks*, who have kept poſſeſſion of them ever ſince. *Roderigo* had with him one of the king's domeſtic chaplains, named *Franciſco Alvarez*, a perſon of no extraordinary learning, but yet a man of ſound judgment and great integrity, and who was appointed almoner of this ambaſſy; and it is to him that we are beholden for that plain and honeſt deſcription of this empire, the firſt of the kind that ever was publiſhed, which he printed, together with a relation of his voyage, at *Liſbon*, *an.* 1540; and, tho' ſhort, hath been juſtly admired for its plainneſs and ſincerity. It hath been ſince that often reprinted, and tranſlated into other languages, particularly in *Engliſh*; tho' this laſt is rather an abridgment of *Alvarez*, and is only to be met with in *Purchas*'s collection. The next that wrote of the *Abiſſinian* affairs, was father *Bermudes*, who went likewiſe into *Abiſſinia* with Don *Roderigo de Lima*, and with the character of patriarch, but openly only as an attendant on him, and under the name of maſter *John*, for fear of awakening the jealouſy of the *Abiſſinian* clergy. What he hath written concerning this country, is chiefly what happened to the *Portugueſe* general, *Chriſtopher de Gama*, his victories, defeat, and death. His account, which is dedicated to Don *Sebaſtian*, king of *Portugal*, and appeared in print *an.* 1565, is ſo filled with fabulous ſtuff, that father *Tellez* tells us, in his general hiſtory of *Abiſſinia* [h], that he is only to be credited in thoſe things which he affirms to have ſeen, but not in that which he had only by common report.

by the empreſs Helen.

Ambaſſies between king Emanuel *and her frustrated.*

Alvarez *writes the firſt hiſtory of* Abiſſinia. 1540.

Father Bermudes *writes the next.*

THE next to him is the celebrated father *Peter Pais*, the firſt *European* who went to view the head of the *Nile*, and

Father Peter Pais

[r] ALVARES, BERMUDES, TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, et al. Hiſt. Abiſſin. [h] Chap. xx. p. 198.

writes next.

who resided in *Abissinia* a considerable time in quality of a missionary, and died there *an.* 1622. His manuscript was sent thence to *Rome*, where it is still preserved, and reaches from the year 1556 to that of his death. He was succeeded by another of his society, *viz.* father *Emanuel D'Almeyda*, who was rector, or superior, of the convent of *Fremona*, which the jesuits had been permitted to build there; a man who had not only resided there a considerable time, but who had taken indefatigable pains to travel thro' most part of the empire, and from whom we have the most complete account of the inland provinces and kingdoms that are subject to it, and of all the monstrous high ridges of mountains that run thro' the far greater part of them[1], and in comparison of which, the *Alps*, *Apennines*, and *Pyrenees*, are but pigmies for height; some of the most considerable of which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. The next to him in rank and time was father *Alphonso Mendez*, who was constituted patriarch of *Ethiopia* by the pope, and wrote the history of it in *Latin*, after having resided there ten years (D).

Father Emanuel Almeyda travels thro' the inland parts of the empire.

Father Lobo resides there nine years.

THE last we shall mention is father *Lobo*, who likewise resided there nine years, and the greatest part of that time in quality of rector of the college of *Fremona* above-mentioned, whose description of that empire, and history of his travels,

[1] TELLEZ, LE GRAND preface to LOBO.

(D) We omit the relation of father *Domingo de Urreta*, a Dominican of *Valentia*, which is allowed by all to be a mere heap of lyes and forgeries (7), as the reader may see, by the extract given of it at the end of this chapter. It is mostly levelled against the jesuits, between whom and his order, there hath passed little else besides bitter jarrs and invectives. And this it was that engaged the jesuit *Codinglio*, then at *Rome*, to answer his book, tho' without naming him, by compiling a history of *Abissinia* point blank contrary to that, under the following title; *De* Abassinorum *Rebus, deque* Æthiopiæ *Patriarchis*, Joanne Nonio Barreto & Andrea Oviedo, *libri tres*, P. Nicolao Godigno, *societatis* Jesu, *Auctore. Lugduni*, M.DC.XV.

We likewise omit *Damian. de Goes*, a *Portuguese* gentleman, the recollect *Rogers*, *Jarric*, and some others, who either have only transcribed what they mention occasionally concerning this empire, from the chief authors above-mentioned, or confined their lucubrations to the chief difference between the *Abissinian* and *Roman* church, with respect both to their doctrines and church discipline, of which we shall have occasion to speak in a more proper place (8).

(7) *Le Grand's preface to his version of father Lobo, p.* 10, *& seq.*
(8) *Dam. a Goes opuscul. Rogers Etat. de la Palestine, Jarric.*

tho' simple and succinct, gives us a more lively idea of all the places he hath been at, than any other before him; and especially as, if we may believe father *Balthazar Tellez*, he travelled above 38,000 miles in this empire; insomuch that he scruples not to apply to him that verse of *Virgil*[a]; *and writes an account of it.*

Nec vero Alcides *tantum telluris obivit.*

His history hath been since translated into *French*, and enriched with sundry curious dissertations, and other anecdotes, by Mr. *Le Grand*, and printed at *Paris, an.* 1738. From the above-mentioned relations, and the annual letters which were sent by the *Abissinian* missionaries to the college of jesuits at *Lisbon*, it was, that father *Balthazar Tellez* wrote his more comprehensive history of *Abissinia*; in the compiling of which work, he had the advantage of consulting all that had been printed and written by the aforesaid authors, as he engaged in it at the desire of the whole society; and it is perhaps this very motive that hath inclined him to some partiality for that order, thro' which, however, every judicious reader will see clearly enough, (as it extends little farther than the endeavouring to justify that society from the charge, in all likelihood but too justly) laid to them, of having been the cause, thro' their hasty and indiscrete zeal, of the reduction of the *Abissinian* church to the obedience of that of *Rome*, of the cruel persecution and irreconcileable hatred, the effects of which fell soon after so heavily, not only upon their own society, but upon all missionaries and *European* Christians without distinction. This is but the same complaint which they have given just cause for in other countries, particularly in *China, Japan, &c.* as we have shewn in some of the foregoing volumes [b]. In other cases, where the credit of his society, and the interest of the *Romish* church and court, is not concerned, he hath judiciously and candidly followed his authors, and from them compiled by far the best and fullest history of that empire we have extant; and it is from him that even Mr. *Ludolph* hath been beholden for the greatest part of his history; tho' he takes all opportunities to contradict him, and those of his fraternity. Father *Tellez* published the work above-mentioned in the *Portuguese* language, *an.* 1660; it was printed at the university of *Coimbra* in *Portugal* under the following title: *Historia General de* Ethiopia *alta ò* Preste Joan, *e do que nella Obrarum os Pudres da Compania de Jesus, Compostana Missna* Ethiopia *per lo Padre* Manoel D'Almeyda, *Natural Vileu provincial e Visitador que foi na* India. *Abreviada com nova releycam e Methodo pe lo padre* Balthezar Tel-

From these father compiles his general history.

Why so partial to his society.

[a] Æneid. [b] See before, vol. viii. p. 508, & seq. ix. p. 25, & seq.

lez

lez *Natural de* Liſboa *provincial da provincia* Luſitana, *ambos da Miſnia Companhia.*

Poncet, a French phyſician, writes an account of it.

AMONG the *French*, we have *Poncet*, a phyſician, who was ſent by the *French* conſul at *Kayro* into *Abiſſinia* to cure the emperor of ſome ſtubborn diſeaſe, in the year 1698 [l], and hath wrote a pretty ſuccinct account of what he ſaw in thoſe parts of the country thro' which he travelled, and of what he learned from the inhabitants he converſed with, concerning the religion, laws, cuſtoms, *&c.* of the *Abiſſinians*; but as he went thro' but a ſmall part of the country, and was obliged to keep himſelf incog. during his ſhort ſtay there, of ſcarce one year; it was not poſſible for him to give us more than a conciſe and imperfect deſcription of ſo vaſt an empire [m]. Beſides, this gentleman had ſince the misfortune, whether thro' any thing that dropped from his pen in his aforeſaid relation, or ſome imprudent ſteps he took after his return to *Kayro*, to diſoblige the whole ſociety of miſſionaries to ſuch a degree, that they have left no ſtone unturned to blacken his character, and that of his book. They have decried him as a vile cheat, quack, mountebank, impoſtor, and a man capable of every kind of baſeneſs [n], and have even ventured to affirm that he never was at the *Abiſſinian* court, and that what he ſays of it, and of his reception and ſucceſs there, is mere forgery [o]. Laſtly, to complete his character, they make him forſake his lawful wife, whom he had married in *Ethiopia*, to go and ſeek his fortune in the kingdom of *Yemen*, in ſpite of all his oaths and imprecations to return to *Preſter John*, to rob him of the phyſical cheſt, which that prince had cauſed to be made at his own and the public charges, and to paſs from *Yemen* to *Surat*, and thence to *Hiſpahan*, where he died like a rogue and vagabond, as he had lived [p]. Theſe are the invidious colours in which they have had the boldneſs to draw a man, who, by his long reſidence and ſucceſs at *Kayro*, had gained the character of a ſkilful phyſician, and had been pitched upon by the judicious Mr. *Maillet*, then conſul in the ſame city, to be ſent into *Abiſſinia*, not merely to cure the emperor of his diſeaſe; tho' even in this caſe a gentleman of his great diſcernment would hardly have ſent thither ſuch a pitiful quack as he is there repreſented; but he was, under the character of a phyſician, to diſcharge a commiſſion which was thought of much greater moment, *viz.* to negotiate an

Why blackened by the jeſuit writers.

His character vindicated.

[l] PONCET's voyage into Abiſſinia, an. 1698, & ſeq. [m] LE GRAND's ſupplement to LOBO, p. 157, 161, 328, 362, 372, & alib. [n] Id. ibid. p. 401. [o] Ibid. p. 168. [p] Ibid. p. 328, alib. plur.

alliance

alliance and good correſpondence between the *French* and *Abiſſinian* court, in order to facilitate a freſh attempt of reuniting the *Abiſſinian* church to that of *Rome*; and, ſince the very name of *Portugueſe* was become ſo odious thro' that whole empire, to try what *French* policy and munificence would do to reconcile the emperor and his court, and by that means the clergy and people, to the *French* nation, to the *Gallican* church, and the Pope's ſupremacy. And can it be ſuppoſed, that a perſon of the *French* conſul's character would have entruſted an affair of ſuch importance, which required the higheſt degree of ſagacity, caution, zeal, and ſecreſy, to ſuch an abandoned vagabond? However, we have not yet been able to find that any of this load of inveſtive and calumny hath been able to leſſen the credit of his relation; he is ſtill quoted as a perſon of diſcernment and ſincerity; and where can be the doubt, that a perſon who was earneſtly preſſed by that emperor to come on ſuch an errand to his court, and was by his expreſs order to be received in every place of his dominion thro' which he paſſed, to be treated with all poſſible reſpect and deference, ſhould have all the opportunities that could be wiſhed to ſee or be informed of every thing he hath given us an account of, either with reſpect to the religion, government, cuſtoms, climate, and natural hiſtory of that country, as well as of the many other curioſities that fell under his own obſervation during his three years travel thro' thoſe parts. It is plain, however, that he hath advanced nothing in his book that either contradicts the accounts of thoſe fathers who wrote before him, or appears fabulous or abſurd; and if there had, our readers may be well aſſured we would not give it a place in a work of this kind: and as to matters of weight and moment, he will hardly find any thing quoted out of him, but what is well backed by the teſtimony of ſome one or more of the authors above ſpoken of.

His commiſſion to the emperor of Abiſſinia.

Reception.

THE laſt, and indeed the moſt voluminous writer on the *Abiſſinian* affairs, is the often mentioned Mr. *Ludolph*; a gentleman who hath taken indefatigable pains, and ſpent the greateſt part of his life, to make himſelf a complete maſter of the *Abiſſinian* tongue, in order to get the beſt intelligence he could of their religion, politics, government, *&c.* from their own writings, and to enable others to do the ſame, by the help of the grammar and lexicon he hath given us of it; and yet the ſmall benefit which he or his curious readers have reaped from his labours, would rather deter any one from following his ſteps. We have already taken notice, that moſt of his hiſtory is taken from the *Portugueſe* authors above

Ludolph's *hiſtory of* Ethiopia: *Great ſkill in that tongue.*

ſpoken

spoken of, tho' he omits no opportunity to contradict them, where-ever they seem to clash with his Abbot *Gregory*; a person, to say the best of him we can, but little qualified for the task he had undertaken, and much more unfit to be so closely followed or relied on, either in point of learning, capacity, or integrity, above all other men. Mr. *Ludolph* himself, whatever high qualifications he might find in him in other respects, doth yet complain, in the preface of the last edition of his dictionary, *that he found him so ignorant with respect to the language of* Ethiopia, *that he was often at a loss for the meaning of sundry words and idioms; that many others were wholly unknown to him; that he very often gave them a quite contrary meaning; and that he scrupled not to own his ignorance to him, both by words and in writing.*

Abbot Gregory's character.

Ludolph's history decried by the Jesuits.

IF this was the case of the *Abissinian* abbot, we shall have little encouragement to rely on his testimony; tho' we should be loth to carry our suspicion so far as some of the *Romish* writers have done, that Mr. *Ludolph* had such an artful way of proposing his questions to him, as naturally led him to make him answer them as he wished, in order to confirm what he had most in view in the writing of his history, in contradiction to all the other accounts that have been given us of the *Abissinian* religion [q]; *viz.* that it comes much nearer, both in faith and church discipline, rites, *&c.* to the *Lutheran* than to the *Roman* church; for this is what they all with one consent charge him with, tho' we shall have occasion, in the sequel of this chapter, to explode a good number of instances they give us of this partiality, both with relation to the *Abissinian* religion, and to other historical facts they pretend to have been misrepresented by him. It were to be wished indeed that Mr. *Ludolph*, instead of drawing most of his intelligence from a person of his abbot's character, and, where this failed him, that, instead of consulting an *Armenian* merchant (E) about such points as these, which

[q] See Le Grand Dissertat. p. 177, & seq.

(E) This was one *Morat*, who had been often in *Abissinia*, and other parts of *Asia* and *Africa*; and being then at *Batavia*, was, at Mr. *Ludolph's* request, questioned about the present state of *Abissinia*, particularly that of their religion; and in several instances quoted the one in confirmation of what he had been informed of by the other. But besides that persons of his character seldom trouble themselves about any thing but their own commerce, much less about religion; the *Armenians* being commonly the most ignorant of their own; *Morat* was moreover an arrant rogue, who, under pretence of having

which were intirely out of his province, and whom he owns to have been ſo ignorant, that he could neither read nor write; he had endeavoured to draw his intelligence from more authentic witneſſes, ſuch as the *Abiſſinian* liturgies, formularies, catechiſms, and other ſuch *Ethiopic* books, which, he tells us, he had in his poſſeſſion; and if he had gone ſo far as to give the public a faithful verſion of them, every one would then have been much better able to judge of the merit of the controverſy, than it is poſſible to do from the precarious teſtimony of two ſuch witneſſes [r]. *Mr. Ludolph* doubtleſs wanted neither materials nor capacity, much leſs zeal, for ſuch an expenſive and laborious taſk. Nor was he inſenſible how much more convincing any proof drawn from ſuch books was, than the evidence of twenty ſuch witneſſes; whom therefore, if we may believe his own words [s], he no farther relied on, than as they confirmed or agreed with thoſe books. But the queſtion is, what encouragement he then had, either from the public or from the booksellers, to beſtow ſo much time and coſt upon it, after he had *been obliged*, as he himſelf tells his correſpondent, *to ſubmit to the defraying the new impreſſion of his* Ethiopic *dictionary, unleſs he had reſolved to deprive the world of his labour and talents* [t], which his booksellers told him they did not think of conſequence enough to meet with a quick ſale. But, after all, had he thought fit to run the hazard of ſuch a copious work, and given the world an edition of all their liturgies, cathechiſms, and other ſuch theological books, from the beſt copies, whether printed or in manuſcript, with the moſt faithful verſion of, and moſt impartial and judicious notes upon them, would it not have been liable to frequent criticiſms and endleſs diſputes? would it not have given birth to new depoſitions and confeſſions, obtained, to uſe his own words, *prece vel pretio*, by favour or bribery, to ſupport a contrary reading or interpretation?

His apology.

[r] La Grand, ub. ſup. 178, & ſeq. [s] See his letter to Mr. Piques, in La Grand's relation de l'Abiſſin. p. 180, & ſeq. [t] See Piques's anſwer to him, ibid. p. 188.

having a more than ordinary influence on the *Abiſſinian* emperor, had engaged, by his intereſt with him, to eſtabliſh a moſt beneficial commerce on the *Red Sea*, and coaſts adjacent, in favour of the *Dutch*; for which they paid him a good round ſum before-hand: but when their ſhips came thither, they found themſelves cheated, and were forced to return without ſucceſs (9).

(9) *Lobo, Tellez, La Grand, &c.*

But

The main controversy between him and them of small importance.

But whatever merit the zeal of either of the contending parties may make them imagine worth all that artifice, indecent language, and bitter invectives, which have been used to gain their point; to us, and we hope it will do so to every serious and unbiassed Christian, it appears of little moment, whether the *Abissinian church*, confessedly allowed on all hands to consist of a very ignorant and positive clergy, and a blind bigotted laity, which received the first fundamentals of their Christianity from an avowed heretical sect of Christians, to whom they have paid ever since a most implicit obedience, comes nearer, in its faith and discipline, to the *Romish*, *Lutheran*, *Greek*, or any other church. If Mr. *Ludolph* had any such view in writing his *Abissinian* history, as the jesuits so boldly, tho' we think, unjustly, charge him with (F), we are more ready to pity than imitate his zeal. But one special advantage we shall be enabled to make in the course of this history, from the frequent altercations we meet with between him and those missionaries, and the pains they have so warmly taken to discover each other's faults, that we shall thereby more easily come at the truth, and be less apt to be biassed to either side.

Except that it makes them discover each other's faults.

Maillet's account of Abissinia.

MONS. *Maillet*, in his description of *Egypt*, where he had resided a good number of years as consul of the *French* nation, hath written something concerning this country, particularly about the great danger and difficulty there hath been, ever since the expulsion of the *Portuguese*, of penetrating into any part, and especially into the *Abissinian* court [x], and

[x] Vol. ii. p. 80, & seq. Hague edit. 12mo.

(F) This charge, after having been laid home to that gentleman by several of the jesuitical fraternity (10), notwithstanding his most express and solemn declaration against it, was very learnedly and strongly confuted by the learned *Veyssiere De la Croze* (11); nevertheless, the next that took the cause in hand against him, hath not scrupled to revive all the former calumnies, as if nothing had been said to confute them, but begins his dissertation on the *Abissinian* hierarchy in these words: "It is not difficult, for "any one that reads Mr. *Ludolph's Ethiopic* history, to see, "that he did not undertake it "with any other view, than to "shew the difference which he "pretends to be between the "church of *Rome* and that of "*Alexandria*, on the one hand, "and the conformity which he "thinks to have discovered between that very church of "*Alexandria* and that of the "Protestants (12)."

(10) *Renaudot.* (11) *Europe Sçavante, tom.* x. *part* ii. *p.* 231, & *tom.* ii. *part* i. *p.* 29. *See also his Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie, p.* 83, & *seq.* (12) *Le Grand Relat. de L'Abissinie, Dissert.* xv. *p.* 352.

hath

hath propoſed ſome new expedients for removing it, and eluding the care and jealouſy of the *Ethiopians*. But we do not find that any thing like it hath been tried ſince, at leaſt with any ſucceſs. He there ſpeaks likewiſe of ſome other conſiderable memoirs, written by him ſome time before on the ſame ſubject, and afterwards publiſhed at the end of father *Lobo*'s relation of *Abiſſinia*, by his *French* tranſlator *Le Grand*; but they contain little concerning that country, except an account of his ill ſucceſs in endeavouring to promote an ambaſſy between the then emperor of it and the king his maſter, by the aſſiſtance of the phyſician *Poncet* above-mentioned [1]; in the purſuit of which project they took ſome ſteps, which proved ſo diſpleaſing to ſome of the jeſuits concerned in it, that they have ſince declared themſelves againſt it, expoſed the *Abiſſinian* envoy as a cheat, a perſon of mean birth, and worſe character, and who only took upon him that public employ to impoſe on the *French* king, and obtain ſome conſiderable preſents from him. His name was *Murat*, or *Morat*, a *Syrian* by birth, and a near relation of that *Murat* who had cheated the *Dutch*, as we mentioned in a late note. He had been in *Abiſſinia*, and was known to, and employed by, the emperor in ſome commercial affairs, but pretended moreover to have credential letters as his ambaſſador to the *French* king, together with ſome preſents, and a commiſſion to negotiate an alliance of commerce with that court; but the greateſt part of thoſe preſents he pretended were either loſt at ſea, or taken from him by the *Turkiſh* baſhaw of *Maſſouſa*; and as for the emperor's letter, which he carried in a rich brocaded ſilk bag, he refuſed to deliver it up to any but to the king of *France*'s own hands; ſo that the conſul, who was eager, notwithſtanding all theſe obſtacles, to prove the ambaſſy, was forced to make uſe under-hand of the baſhaw of *Kayro*'s authority to wreſt the letter from him by force, in order to examine the contents of it. But whilſt the conſul and the fathers of the *Holy Land*, who were his creatures, endeavoured to ſupport his character of ambaſſador, the jeſuits were as zealous in deſtroying it; and affirmed the king's ſignet, which was a kind of cypher, or hieroglyphic, of the breadth of a crown-piece, to be counterfeited, which they had diſcovered by comparing it with that of another letter, ſent by that monarch to the patriarch of *Alexandria*: they likewiſe repreſented *Morat* as a vile fellow, a great bragger, liar, and drinker, who had ſerved as cook in ſeveral mer-

Strives in vain to get a miſſion introduced, but diſpleaſes the jeſuits.

The ambaſſador Morat *cried down by them.*

The conſul's treatment of him.

[1] See his apology addreſſed to the French ambaſſador at the Port, ap. LE GRAND, p. 359, & ſeq.

chants

chants houſes, and had at length aſſumed the character of ambaſſador, to raiſe his fortune [a].

Dares not ſend him to the French *court.*

It is not unlikely the conſul knew all the folbles of this man, tho' he ſtill reſolved to make the moſt of his letters and pretenſions, in order to reimburſe the expences he had been at on his account; yet not daring to truſt ſuch a drunken and lying fellow to the *French* court, choſe rather to ſend his own chancellor thither, with the patched-up credentials and preſents. *Morat*, ſeeing himſelf thus over-reached, and as he rightly gueſſed, fruſtrated of the preſents he expected to receive there, behaved like a man diſtracted; and was with difficulty, and the joint authority of the baſhaw and conſul, hindered from turning *Mohammedan*, and betraying the whole ſecret; but was at length ſent away with ſome ſmall preſents; and embarking for *Surat*, went and died at *Hiſpahan* [a].

De Route *ſent ambaſſador into* Abiſſinia.

The conſul had at that time provided another ſtring to his bow; *viz.* one *Le Noir*, commonly called *De Route*, a creature of his, who was thoroughly acquainted with all the particulars of *Morat*'s ambaſſy, and was pitched upon by him on the like errand, and ſent with the ſame character to the *Abiſſinian* court as from the *French* king. But this laſt met with a much worſe fate than *Morat*; and after a tedious and dangerous voyage, and other diſappointments, was at length aſſaſſinated by order of the king of *Sandar*, after having been received at his firſt arrival with all the marks of favour and diſtinction due to his public character [b]. Some ſay that it was done purſuant to a private order which that monarch received from the Negus, or emperor, of *Abiſſinia*; and others, that his death was owing to a diſlike which the grandees of *Sanaar* had taken againſt him, on account of his too great intimacy with the then prime miniſter *Ali Zogoyer*: and a letter was afterwards trumped up, pretended to be written by the Negus to the Pope, but ſince brought to his ſon *Tekla Haimanout*, who had by this time dethroned him; which, if genuine, wholly clears him from having had any hand in that aſſaſſination. The misfortune is, that moſt of our accounts from thoſe parts are ſo often contradicted by the oppoſite parties on both ſides, that no ſure dependence can be given to them [c]; and this only we can be certain of, that his death not only put an end to that conſul's project, but that the very notion of a mutual ambaſſy ſo exaſperated the

Aſſaſſinated at Sanaar.

[a] Vid. Le Grand, ub. ſup. p. 162, & ſeq. 359, & ſeq. 393, & alib. paſſ. [a] Id. Ibid. & p. 428, & alib. paſſ. [b] Id. ibid. p. 170, & ſeq. [c] Vid. eund. ibid. & p. 436, 442, 449.

clergy

clergy and people, that they readily joined with the emperor's ſon above-named to dethrone his father, as the encourager of it, tho' more probably quite innocent and ignorant of both.

BUT as we ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething more of theſe (whether pretended or real) ambaſſies in the following hiſtory, we ſhall only add here, that the author laſt mentioned hath publiſhed ſome farther memoirs, written by ſeveral hands both for and againſt, but which leave us ſtill much in the dark about the validity and other circumſtances of that ambaſſy [d], as well as how far the conſul and ſome of the good fathers who aſſiſted him in it, were innocent or guilty of all that ſtrange artifice that was uſed to ſupport and make it paſs for current at the *French* court. But upon the whole, they do but too plainly ſhew, that its miſcarrying was not owing to their want of zeal, or of uſing all poſſible endeavours to make it ſucceed, whether it was real or pretended.

Uncertain whether the ambaſſy was true or falſe.

BUT whilſt the conſul was taken up with the management of this affair, which his ſanguine hopes made him conſider as a matter of the greateſt advantage both to the *French* commerce and to the *Roman* church, the jeſuits, more refined politicians things of this nature, had projected and carried on to a great forwardneſs another ſcheme of their own, which was every way more promiſing to anſwer that end. The patriarch of *Alexandria*, on whom the *Abiſſinian* church wholly depends, had been ſo far wrought by thoſe dexterous fathers in favour of the *Romiſh* church, and the Pope's ſupremacy, as to diſpatch an ambaſſador to the courts of *Paris* and *Rome*, with vaſt offers of aſſiſting with all his power and authority the *Romiſh* miſſionaries, thro' all the countries belonging to his patriarchate, in re-uniting the *Coptic* church to that of *Rome* [e]. The perſon pitched upon for this ambaſſy was one *Ibrahim Chamah*, a *Maronite*, who was ſtrictly charged to execute it with the utmoſt ſecreſy in both courts, whilſt the good fathers loaded him with letters of recommendations and other encouragements, which procured him an honourable reception where-ever he came, but more particularly at the court of *Verſailles*, where he was admitted to the royal preſence, and careſſed by all the prime miniſters; and after a ſtay of about four months, (that is from *Auguſt* 24 to *November* 25. 1702, during which time he was treated with all the honours of an ambaſſador) was diſpatched with new credentials and recommendatory letters to the Pope, ſeveral cardinals, and other

The jeſuits project another ſcheme, in which the Alexandrian *patriarch joins with them.*

Sends an ambaſſador to Paris *and* Rome.

[d] See Diſſertat. Le Grand, ab. ſup. p. 406, & ſeq. 421, & ſeq. 428, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ.

[e] Id. Ibid. p. 164, & ſeq.

members of the society *de propaganda fide*. The misfortune was, that this project was so highly relished at the *French* court, that they thought it necessary to send their consul at *Cairo* express orders to act in concert with the patriarch and the jesuits, and to forward it with all his power; and this it was that occasioned its ruin; for the consul, whether out of dislike to it, or to those who had formed, and who were the same that opposed his own, and exposed his ambassador as a cheat, or whether it was innocently done, divulged the whole secret by his imprudent conduct, and his publicly examining the old patriarch about it, who, now sensible of the imminent danger he was in, not only from the *Turks*, but from his own clergy and laity, that he had no other way to evade it, than by denying the whole purport of *Ibraim*'s ambassy, and alleging that the two letters he had entrusted him with to the Pope and *French* king, were only letters of compliment, which he thought might be of service to him: Upon which the consul sent no less than three certificates one after another, to the court of *Rome*, signed by several monks and his own chancellor; all which were shewn to his holiness by cardinal *Fabroni*; so that he had not resided long at *Rome*, before he found a quite different treatment than he had met with at *Paris*, his public character not only questioned, but exposed as a vile forgery and imposition, and calculated only with a view of some considerable gain. The fathers of the mission of the *Holy Land*, a set of monks quite opposite to the jesuits, and who now acted under the consul's direction, were the most zealous of all in discrediting him, and exploding all he alleged in his own defence. This obliged him to present a memorial to the Pope, complaining of the unjust methods which some people had taken to discredit his commission, and thereby to prevent the good intentions of the patriarch, and the so much desired conversion of the *Ethiopians*; and begging his holiness to send some proper person into *Egypt*, to be fully satisfied of the whole matter from the patriarch's own mouth, to the end that if he was proved a cheat, he might be punished as such; and if a faithful messenger, he might have justice done to his character. The proposal was thought so reasonable, that his holiness immediately appointed Don *Gabriel*, a *Maronite*, of the order of *St. Antony*, to go to *Kayro*; which he did with all possible expedition, but spent near two years in that journey.

Whom the consul exposes as a cheat at Rome.

His defence and memoir to the Pope.

The patriarch complains against

BUT not long after his departure, *Ibraim* received a letter from the *Alexandrian* patriarch, telling him, that he was surprized to find, that, instead of observing the secresy he had so earnestly enjoined him, he had so far divulged that important

tant affair, that it had reached the ears of the *French* conſul at *Kayro*, and all that part of the world; inſomuch that the fathers of the *Holy Land* were come in one body to queſtion him in a public manner, whether it were true that he was come over to the *Latin* church, and had ſent an expreſs meſſenger into *France*, to confirm an alliance with it; that upon his aſking them what reaſon they had to put ſuch interrogatories to him, they anſwered, they were ordered by the court to do ſo; upon which he told them, that the letters which he had given to him were only for his private ſervice. He then deſires him to go and acquaint the Pope, that he had aſſembled all the biſhops under him to conſecrate the oil which is uſed at the coronation of the *Abiſſinian* monarchs; a thing which had not been done during the ſpace of twenty years; and to beg his holineſs's bleſſing upon it. He received another ſome time after, in which he tells him, that he had finiſhed the conſecration of the holy oil, and had ſent ſome of it into *Abiſſinia* by the hand of father *Biſhot*, a jeſuit, who was to go privately into that country, in company with *Du Route*, lately mentioned, whom he had entruſted with a letter to the emperor, and another to the *Abiſſinian* abuna; or patriarch's delegate there. In both thoſe letters he acknowledges *Ibraim* to be his agent and confident, and himſelf to be an humble dependent on his holineſs, to whom, as ſuch, he gave an account of his actions; ſo that, *if theſe letters were really ſent by that patriarch* (G), nothing could more

him and the conſul.

Meſſage to the Pope.

Ibraim's *legacy to the Pope juſtified and confirmed by the patriarch.*

(G) Whoever hath read the different accounts we have of theſe tranſactions, and the many pretended anecdotes that have been trumped up by both ſides, in plain contradiction to each other, will eaſily agree with us that this caveat is far from impertinent; and that if both parties do without a ſcruple charge each other with ſundry forgeries of this nature, we ſhall not be cenſured for too ſcrupulouſly calling any of them in queſtion.

But this letter of the patriarch's is ſtill more liable to ſuſpicion, even allowing him to have been as zealous for the church of *Rome* and the Pope's ſupremacy as the jeſuits repreſent him, as it expoſed the writer, not only to the loſs of his patriarchate, but of his life; eſpecially at this particular criſis, when all the *Roman* miſſionaries had been expelled out of the *Turkiſh* empire, under the ſevereſt penalties; and, on the other hand, the *Alexandrian* clergy and laity were ſo juſtly alarmed at the public manner in which the conſul and his *Holy Land* fathers had queſtioned him about his legacy and converſion. Whom could he confide ſuch a dangerous witneſs againſt himſelf with? How could he be ſure that the meſſenger would not betray him, or be intercepted in his voyage to *Rome*?

more effectually justify the character of *Ibraim* against the clamours which the *Holy Land* missionaries had raised against it at the court of *Rome*. But what did it still more effectually, was the return of father *Gabriel* from *Kayro*, who confirmed all the particulars of *Ibraim*'s ambassy, as well as the contents of the two letters above-mentioned, in a new one, which he brought from the patriarch to the Pope.

But no reparation is made to him.

IBRAIM, thus justified by so many unquestionable hands, was very pressing at the *Romish* court for a proper reparation to his character; but after many delays and excuses, was told, that *Rome* was not a proper place to obtain justice against the fathers of the *Holy Land*; and that as to the *French* consul, he must apply to the *French* court for redress. At which being highly dissatisfied, he left that city about the end of the year 1705, leaving behind some presents, which the Pope had designed to send by him to the *Alexandrian* patriarch, but which were afterwards conveyed to him by another hand.

Is shipwrecked in his way home.

Ibraim was soon after shipwrecked on the coast of *Cyprus*; and having lost all his effects, and the greatest part of his papers, and obtaining a certificate of his misfortune, went and settled at *Saide*[f]; which put an end at once to his public character and ambassy, and to this promising and deeply concerted scheme of the society, as they had done to that of the *French* consul.

The Abissinians *more jealous and irreconcileable by those ambassies.*

CAN we therefore wonder at the vigilance of the *Abissinian* monarchs to keep all the avenues to their territories so strongly and closely guarded against all approaches of the *Europeans*, when they see what plots and contrivances they are capable of, what dangers, labours and expences they will expose themselves to, and what their views and designs tend to, in endeavouring to gain at any rate a fresh entrance into them? On the other hand, where there reigns such jealousy and

[f] LE GRAND, ub. sup. p. 166, & seq. 478, & seq.

But for *Ibraim* or his patrons to counterfeit such a letter, had nothing either so hazardous or difficult, and may the more easily be supposed to have been the case, as we do not find that either the Pope, or society *de propaganda fide*, paid any great regard to that, or to the next which he produced from the same patriarch; and we may add, to the confirmation which father *Gabriel* brought with him from *Kayro*, as may be reasonably inferred from their avowed refusal to make due reparation to his character, and the strange manner in which he was dismissed from that court; which behaviour can hardly be any otherwise interpreted, than as a plain discountenancing of the whole affair, and putting an effectual end to that negotiation, without publicly exposing those who had set it on foot.

emulation,

emulation, not to call it by a worſe name, between thoſe miſſionaries of different orders, who yet profeſs to have the ſame meritorious views, the reducing of that whole country under the Pope's ſubjection, can it be at all ſurpriſing that the accounts we have from thence ſhould come to us ſo lame and diſſonant, unſatisfactory, and miſrepreſented by the oppoſite actors and writers of them? We cannot finiſh theſe remarks on the conduct and relations of thoſe indefatigable zealots, betterthan with the words of one of the moſt ſagacious among them. They ſeem, by the tenor of them, to be directed to the *French* conſul above-mentioned, tho' his name is carefully avoided, and are to this effect. —— "I never did myſelf "the honour to ſpeak to you about this new invention of "ambaſſies, nor about the envoys which it hath ſet on foot, "Signor *Morat* and Mr. *Du Roule*. You have doubtleſs "had a more ample account of that matter at *Kayro*; it be- "ing of ſuch a nature, that the bare recital at once diſco- "vers and deſtroys what money and obſcurity had kept up. "It was not poſſible to diſcover in *France*, things that had "been concerted at ſuch a diſtance from it. Had that court "been rightly informed concerning thoſe two *Ethiopic* am- "baſſies, the *French* would not have riſked their lives in "thoſe countries, nor the public money been ſo laviſhly "ſpent upon them. But that ſcene is now at an end; and "the court will learn all the main particulars relating to it "from you. I ſhall only add, that tho' there were no dan- "ger to be feared from the unbelieving *Mohammedans*, and "other ſavage nations, and hot climates thro' which one muſt "paſs, they would be ſufficiently felt in *Ethiopia* itſelf. The "*Abiſſinian* Chriſtians are under ſubjection to the patriarch "of *Alexandria*; they are born and brought up in that be- "lief and dependence: they have been under it from the "earlieſt ages of the church, and of that patriarchate, in the "ſame manner as *France*, *Spain*, &c. have been under that "of *Rome*. To endeavour at this time to alter that depen- "dence, is to endeavour to change an ancient law or cu- "ſtom, which is impracticable; and for one man to act "alone in it, and without aſſiſtance, can never be the way "to ſucceed in it. The ſame thing had been formerly at- "tempted by the way of the *Atlantic* ocean, but to as little "effect. To ſucceed in an attempt of this nature, one ſhould "begin at the foundation, and its chief, that is, at the "church and patriarch of *Alexandria*, which are no leſs "obliged than the reſt to acknowlege the ſuperiority "and ſupremacy of *Rome*; and then you may hope, by

And our accounts thence more uncertain.

Some wiſe reflexions on thoſe and the like wild attempts to convert the Abiſſinians.

" their joint assistance, to meet with better success in *Abissinia* *."

By this time we hope our readers are so well apprised of the character of the several writers who have obliged the world with their relations of *Abissinia*, and the various motives, views and interests which have occasioned that great variety which is found in their respective accounts of that country, and of those transactions which they have either been witnesses to or concerned in, that they will be less liable to be biassed to, or imposed upon by, either side; so that we may now more safely venture to lead them thro' the several parts of this history.

SECT. II.

The Situation, Division, various Names, Extent, Limits, Provinces, &c. *of the* Abissinian *Empire; with an Account of the* Gallas, *and their several Conquests.*

The geography of Abissinia.

THIS empire is situate entirely under the torrid, and, as some imagined, uninhabitable zone; and lies between the 8th and 17th degrees of north latitude, and between the 31st and 40th of west longitude from our *London* meridian. The former is taken by drawing a strait line from the old country of *Fogay*, lying a little above *Swakem*, and forming its northern boundary under the 18th degree, quite to that of *Bergamo*, its utmost southern boundary, which lies under the 17th, and will consequently be about nine degrees in length. But as at this present time the country of *Focay* is dismembered from the empire, (so that we must reckon only from one degree above *Mazowa*, that is, from the 16th to *Bergamo* above-mentioned) it will be still shorter by one degree. Hence appears the great error of old geographers, who extended its southern limits so far beyond the equinoctial line, as to place the head of the *Nile* several degrees south of it; which is, by the latest and most accurate observations, found to be almost 13 degrees on this side of it [a].

Situation and length.

Breadth.

THE breadth of the empire is commonly computed from the coasts of the *Red Sea*, eastward, to the banks of the *Nile*, in that part where it winds itself most westward, and surrounds the greatest part of the kingdom of *Gojam*, in the form of a peninsula, and where it extends itself somewhat

* Vid. LE GRAND, ub. sup. p. 434, & seq.

[a] ALMEIDA, MENDEZ, LOBO, et al. pl.

above

above nine degrees, or, according to *Almeyda*, who had travelled it over more than once, about 140 *Portugueſe* leagues [b]. In other parts, however, both ſouthwards and northwards, thoſe limits are much contracted, as the reader may ſee by the map annexed; but not to ſuch a degree as to require a farther deſcant.

THIS empire, however, hath formerly been vaſtly more extenſive, having been ſince ſtripped of above one half of thoſe kingdoms and provinces which were once ſubject to it; the greater part of which were either invaded by the *Gallas*, a barbarous people we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel, or revolted from it. Of theſe latter, ſome had made themſelves independent, and had princes of their own; and others had put themſelves under the protection of the *Mohammedans*, long before the *Portugueſe* ſet foot into it, and ſeveral others have done the ſame ſince, out of diſlike to the extraordinary partiality which ſome of the *Abiſſinian* monarchs had expreſſed for the church of *Rome*, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of their hiſtory. How many more may have followed their example ſince we have loſt all correſpondence with thoſe parts, time may perhaps diſcover: however, as to thoſe kingdoms or provinces which were ſtill in ſubjection to the empire at the time when Don *Alphonſo Mendez* was there, they are as follows. Among the firſt 1. *Tigre*, 2. *Dambea*, 3. *Begameder*, 4. *Gojam*, 5. *Amahara*, 6. *Dancali*, 7. *Narea*, and 8. part of *Xaoa*. The latter are, 1. *Mazaga*, 2. *Salent*, 3. *Ogara*, 4. *Abargale*, 5. *Holcuit*, 6. *Salgaad*, 7. *Semen*, 8. *Salowa*, 9. *Oleca*, and 10. *Douba*; amongſt which, ſome of the kingdoms, as well as the provinces, are wholly ſubject to the *Abiſſinian* emperors; and others are only vaſſals, and pay a kind of tribute to them of horſes, corn, *&c.* according to their extent and fertility, as will be farther ſeen in the ſequel.

Kingdoms and provinces ſubject to it.

Thoſe that are diſmembered from it.

THOSE that had been diſmembered from it are as follow. 1. *Angot*, 2. *Dowaro*, 3. *Ogge*, 4. *Balli*, 5. *Adea*, 6. *Almala*, 7. *Oxelo*, 8. *Gantz*, 9. *Bethzamora*, 10. *Guragua*, 11. *Buzana*, 12. *Suffgamo*, 13. *Bahargamo*, 14. *Cambat*, 15. *Boxa*, 16. *Gumar*, 17. *Conch*, 18. *Damot*, 19. *Doba*, 20. *Motta*, 21. *Awra*, 22. *Holeca*, 23. *Oylat*, 24. *Guedem*, 25. *Ganh*, 26. *Marvabet*, 27. *Manz*, and 28. *Bizamo* [c]. By the loſs of theſe laſt, the extent and ſize of which the reader may ſee in the map, one may judge how greatly inferior this empire is to what it hath formerly been.

[b] Id. ubi ſup. [c] Id. ibid, vid. & DAVITY, DAPPER, LUDOLPH, PONCET, & al.

Boundaries and extent.

IT is at present bounded on the north by the kingdom of *Nubia*, or *Senaar*; on the east, by the *Red Sea*, and the coasts of *Abex*, or *Abash*, which have been since dismembered from it, and make a province of the *Turkish* empire; and lower southwards, by the kingdoms of *Dongali* and *Dowaro*, and part of the country of the *Gallas*; on the south, by lower *Ethiopia*; and on the west, by the river *Maley*, which divides it from *Shankala*, or the country of wandering *Ethiopians*, and falls into the *Nile*, after it hath run a good way into the *Nubian* dominions [d]. Hence it appears, that this empire, even when in its utmost extent, was for the most part inland, being contiguous to no ocean, except in that small part on the east, which adjoins to a tract along the coasts of the *Red Sea*, upon which the *Abissinian* emperors had formerly some considerable ports, whence they drove a commerce with other parts of the world; but since the *Turks* have made themselves masters of them, the whole empire is so incloſed on every side by variety of nations at enmity with, and beyond measure jealous of them, especially since they had given so kind a reception to the *Portugueſe*, that all access to it from any side is become, if not absolutely impracticable, at least extremely difficult and dangerous, as was hinted a little higher [e].

Incloſed on all sides.

THIS country, whatever its extent may have formerly been (A), is with no small probability believed, by most learned

[d] ALF. MENDEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, PONCET, LUDOLPH, & al. sup. citat. [e] See before, p. 20, & seq.

(A) By this we do not mean only whilst it held those above-mentioned provinces which have since revolted from it, but that much vaster extent which it is affirmed to have had when it spread itself from the *Red Sea* to the kingdom of *Congo* westward, and from *Egypt* to the *Indian* sea, southward; at which time it is said to have contained no less than thirty-four large kingdoms, and about eighteen considerable provinces (1); which prodigious extent may be justly looked upon as no less fabulous, as the pretended lineal descent of their monarchs, through an interrupted series of the same imperial family, from *Ham*, the son of *Noah*, the founder of their monarchy, down to *Basilides*, who so kindly invited the jesuit missionaries, *an.* 1624, and gave them those great encouragements to establish the Pope's authority in that empire, which we have taken notice of in the foregoing section.

But not to dwell on such improbabilities, we may justly enough join opinions with many great and learned men, that their dominions, in ancient times,

(1) *Vid. Lobo, p. Le Grand Relat. de l'Empire d'Abissin, p. 63, & seq.*

learned men, to have been the *Sheba* of the *Old Teſtament*, whence that great queen, whom *Joſephus* calls *Nicaulis*, and ſtiles queen of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* [f], and the Evangeliſts, queen of the ſouth [g], who came from thoſe remote parts to hear the wiſdom of *Solomon* [h]. It is likewiſe believed to have been the kingdom of the famed queen *Candace*, ſtiled queen of *Ethiopia*, whoſe eunuch, or, as he is there called, her high treaſurer, or prime miniſter, came to worſhip at *Jeruſalem*; and, in his return homewards, was baptized by *Philip* the deacon [i], and from whom the *Abiſſines* acknowlege they afterwards received the goſpel. With what pomp and magnificence the former paid her ſolemn viſit to the *Hebrew* monarch, both the ſacred text, and *Joſephus*, informs us [k]; and the grand manner in which the miniſter of the latter travelled to and from *Jeruſalem*, gives us reaſon to think ſhe was not inferior to her in power and magnificence: and we are farther aſſured, by ſome of the ancient writers [l], that this country was commonly governed by queens, and, that a good number of them had already reigned there in their time, under the name, or rather title, of *Candace*, ſuppoſed to have been common to them all, as that of *Pharaoh* was to all the kings of *Egypt*; the term *Candace* importing their ſovereign authority (B).

Suppoſed the ancient kingdom of Sheba.

And of the queen Candace.

Governed by queens.

AGAIN,

[f] Ant. l. viii. c. 2. [g] Matth. xii. 42. Luke xi. 31. [h] 1 Kings, x. paſſ. See Anc. Hiſt. vol. iv. p 106. [i] Acts viii. 26, & ſeq. [k] Ub. ſup. vid. & 2 Chron. ix. paſſ. [l] Plin. l. vi. c. 29. Strab. l. xvi. c. 17.

times, extended ſtill much farther than they are allowed to have done, before thoſe large provinces and kingdoms were diſmembered from them; and that it might then include thoſe of *Nubia*, *Habex*, and *Ajam*, ſo as to be bounded on the north by *Egypt*, and the *Barcan* deſerts; by the *Red Sea* and eaſtern ocean, on the eaſt; by *Zanguebar* and *Nigritia*, or *Negro-Land*, on the ſouth; and by *Nigritia*, and *Zahara*, on the weſt; or, in other words, all the vaſt tract of land that lies between the 5th and 20th degrees of north latitude, all which was included under the common name of *Weſtern*, or *African*, *Ethiopia* (2), as diſtinguiſhed from the *Eaſtern*, or *Aſiatic* (3).

(B) The firſt of theſe queens, whoſe name the ſacred text doth not mention, the *Abiſſinians* call *Nicaula*, and *Macheda*; and the tranſlation of their goſpel, *Nagbiſta Azeb*, or queen of the ſouth.

(2) *Id ibid. vid. & Tellez, Hiſtoire General d' Ethiop. Ludolph, & al. ſup. citat.* (3) *De his vid. Homer. Odyſſ. l.* ii. *Herod. l.* ii. iii. *& vii. Dionyſ. Heſiod, & al. vid. & Act. Hiſt. vol.* xviii. *p.* 251, *& ſeq. D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. ſub. Habeſh.*

The ancient Meroe.

AGAIN, this country is the ſo much celebrated iſland, or rather peninſula, of *Meroe* of the ancients, whoſe queens are ſaid to have borne that common name, or title, we have already plainly ſhewn in our ancient hiſtory [m], againſt thoſe who have placed it in *Egypt*, or any-where elſe, that we ſhall not need any farther proofs for it here. Laſtly, this country is ſuppoſed by many moderns, to be the ſo much ſought for dominions, whether real or imaginary, over which *Preſter John* is pretended to have been ſovereign; and are ſtill called after his name by them, as we ſhall ſee in ſome of the ſubſequent paragraphs,

Its various names.

Whence derived.

'IT is indifferently called *Abiſſinia*, *Abyſſinia*, *Abbeſſinia*, and *Abaſſia*, but more properly *Habeſſinia*, with a ſtrong aſpiration, from the *Arabic Habeſh*, which ſignifies, a mixture, or confuſion; the country being peopled by a mixt variety of nations [n]. If we may believe *Strabo*, that name was given to it on account of the vaſt wilderneſſes, and ſtoney deſerts with which it abounds, and which the *Egyptians* call abaſſes. Some others conjecture it to be taken from *Abaxa*, the capital city of the kingdom of *Adel*, whoſe monarchs were once maſters of this [o]; all which etymologies, another judicious author, with no ſmall ſhew of reaſon, rejects, as uncertain and frivolous; and thinks the name of *Abiſſinia* to have no more certain ſignification, than thoſe of many other kingdoms, better known to us by our acquaintance with the people, than by the original of their denominations [p]. However that be, it is plain the *Abiſſinians* themſelves abſolutely

[m] Vol. xviii. p. 272, & ſeq. [n] Vid. LUDOLPH Hiſt. Ethiopia, l. i. c. 1. [o] MENDEZ Ethiop. l. i. c. 1. [p] MANUEL, ALMEYDA, ub. ſup.

ſouth. They ſhew, to this day, the town where, they pretend, ſhe kept her court; which, by its ruins, appears to have been a very conſiderable place. There is likewiſe another village, which they call *Saba*, or *Sheba Land*, and believe it to be the place of her birth (4).

The ſecond of theſe queens they call *Judith*, and believe to have been converted, by her own prime miniſter, to Chriſtianity, and to have been very zealous in propagating it thro' her empire: So that, according to them, this empire received the *Jewiſh* religion from the former, who had been converted to it by king *Solomon*; and the Chriſtian from the latter, who was converted to it by *Juda*, her high treaſurer, after he had been baptized by the apoſtolic deacon abovementioned (5).

(4) *Tellez, Almeyda, Ludolph, Lobo, & al. vid. Le Grand Relat. ub. ſup. p.* 64. (5) *Id. ibid. & ſeq.*

reject

reject both the name and its etymons; and affect to call themſelves *Itjopians*, and their country *Manghesta Itjopia*, or kingdom of *Ethiopia*, which is one of the principal names by which that was known to the antients [q]; though that be rather an epithet to denote the blackneſs of its inhabitants [r]. As for the diſtinguiſhing epithet of *Upper*, it may have been given to it either on account of the *Nile*'s deſcending from it into the *Lower*, or on account of its being nearer than it to the Artic pole, which, with reſpect to us, is always above us, according to the verſe of *Virgil*,

Illic vertex nobis ſemper ſublimis [s].

Whence called Preſter John's *empire.*

But there is one name which the *Portugueſe*, tho' without any foundation, have beſtowed upon this empire, or rather emperor; *viz.* that of *Preſter John*, *Preſbiter John* [t], or, as ſome others have turned it, *Preſte* or *Precious John* [u]. As this imaginary monarch, and his dominions, which ſeem wholly to owe their origin to ſome *French* miſſionaries of the *Holy Land*, have been ſought for in vain in *India*, and other parts of *Aſia*, and been ſince tranſlated by the head and ſhoulders into *Afric*, and fixed in this very *Abiſſinian* empire, without the leave or knowlege either of its emperor, or of any of his ſubjects, we might perhaps reaſonably excuſe ourſelves from entering further into that diſpute, which, tho' of more curioſity than moment, hath exerciſed the heads and pens of many learned men to ſo little purpoſe; eſpecially as the moſt judicious among them have given up the notion of ſuch a prieſtly kingdom as chimerical. Nevertheleſs, as many of our *Engliſh* readers may be deſirous to know by what miſtake or artifice this name came to be fixed to this empire, it will not, we hope, be thought foreign to our general deſign of this work, if we give them in few words the beſt account we can meet with of it among the writers of that controverſy [w]; for it plainly appears from the unanimous conſent of all the *Portugueſe* who have been in *Abiſſinia*, and more particularly from that of the Jeſuits, and other religious miſſionaries, who were ſent thither, ſeveral of whom have travelled thro' that whole country from end to end, over and over again, that there was not the leaſt trace or footſtep to be found of any ſuch name or title as that of *Preſter* or *Preſbyter*

That title not known in any part of Abiſſinia.

[q] See Ant. Hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 252. [r] Ibid. p. 258. [s] Georg. I. [t] Vid. J. de Barros, Decad. 3. l. 4. Dieg. de Cont. Godingho, l. i. & al. [u] Id. Chron. Reg. Eman. c. 6. Vid. & Mendez, Lobo, & al. [w] De Barros, Alf. Mendez, Almeyda, Tellez, Ludolph, Goes, Godingho, Hiſt. Ethiop. Jarric. Theſaur. vol. ii. c. 14. & al. plur.

John;

John; nor any of the natives that knew, or had ever heard of, any emperor so stiled or dignified, or any thing in their language that bears any analogy or allusion to it; but, on the contrary, seem to be surprised, to hear that the *Portugueſe* had taken that unheard-of notion of their *Negus*, or emperor, and his dominions, being stiled *Preſter John*[x].

Preſter John's dominions in Aſia.

On the other hand, it appears from *Marco Paulo*, and other travellers, that there was such a great and potent empire in *Aſia*, whose sovereign was a Christian, and was stiled the Presbyter *John*, but was a *Neſtorian*, and subject in spirituals to the patriarch of *Babylon*; all which hath been so fully proved by the learned authors quoted above, that nothing material hath been since offered by the other side to disprove it. Of these heretical Christians, or, as they are commonly called, Christians of St. *Thomas*, or of the mountains, the reader may see a learned and succinct account in the relation of the patriarch *Dom. Alex. Moneſes*'s journey through those parts, by Father *Ant. de Govea*. The monarch above-mentioned reigned in the mountains of *India*; and his name, being *Jochannan*, which in the *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, &c. being the same which the *Latins* and *Greeks* render *Joannes*, and we *John*, was the common name of all the monarchs of that empire, as that of *Pharaoh* was to all the kings of *Egypt*[y], and that of *Cæſar* to all the *Roman* emperors, *&c.* The title of *Preſter*, which is only a corruption or abbreviation of that of presbyter, was given them, it seems, on account of their having the cross carried before them, in the same manner as it is before the *Romiſh* bishops. To these authorities above-mentioned, we might add some others mentioned by the judicious *Du Cange*, in confutation of that exploded notion of *Abiſſinia* being the country or dominions of *Preſter John*; viz, a letter from Pope *Alexander* III. still extant in *Raoul. de Dicet.* in *Matthew Paris* and *Brompton*, written *an.* 1180 or 1181, to the monarch above-mentioned, inscribed, by that pontif, *Illuſtri et magnifico Indorum regi, et ſacerdotum ſanctiſſimo*: To the illustrious and magnificent *John*, king of *India*, and most holy priest. A second from *Geofrey*, prior of the *Dominican* friers, mentioned likewise by *Matthew Paris*; and a third, the testimony of *William* of *Tripoli*, quoted by *Gerard Mercator*, *Marco Paulo* (C), *Vincent*

Christians of St. Thomas there.

Preſter John the common name of those kings.

Other arguments to prove it.

[x] Id. ibid. vid. & Lobo, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. p. 233, & seq. Du Cange, Obſerv. on Joinvill. & al.

[y] See Anc. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 250 (E).

(C) This famous author, whose father had been employed a considerable time at the court of the Cham of *Tartary*, from

cent de Beauvais, and *Sanuto*, all of whom concur in confirming the contrary opinion, that *Preſter John*'s dominions in queſtion are no-where to be found but in *Aſia* [a], notwithſtanding all the ſpecious gloſſes which ſome other authors have made uſe of to invalidate ſo great an evidence. But we ſhall remind our readers of a much ſtronger ſtill, and which we have juſt hinted at in a former volume †; *viz.* a full account of that *Aſiatic* prince, his dominions, and other particulars, from indubitable authority, but which did not come to our hands till after the whole hiſtory of *Aſia*, where it properly belongs, was printed off, and all the volumes relating to it completed; upon which account we were obliged to poſtpone it to the end of this extenſive work, where we ſhall ſubjoin a ſupplement of all the material articles which may have been omitted or overlooked in the courſe of this Modern Univerſal Hiſtory.

How it came to be brought into Abiſſinia.

THE next queſtion, therefore, that naturally occurs, is, by what miſtake or artifice it came to be tranſlated into *Africa*, and fixed ſo poſitively in this *Abiſſinian* empire by the authors on the other ſide? What gave the firſt occaſion to it was, without all peradventure, owing to the two firſt perſons whom *John* II. king of *Portugal*, ſent into *Aſia* in ſearch of it. This prince, as well as ſome of his predeceſſors, having conceived

[a] DU CANGE Notes on Joinville ap. Le Grand, ubi ſup. p. 234, & ſeq. † Vol. iii. p. 264, & 367.

from which he returned *anno* 1272, and who had been himſelf brought up at that court, and had been intruſted by that prince in ſome conſiderable employments during the ſpace of 17 years, ſays expreſly, that *Ung-chan*, who was defeated by *Genghis-chan*, was *Preſter John*. *Mercator* likewiſe aſſures us, upon the teſtimony of *Marco Paulo*'s father and uncle, who went a ſecond time to the Cham of *Tartary*, as well as *William* of *Tripoli*, who paſſed with them into *Armenia*, that about the year 1098 *Coirem Chan* reigned over all eaſtern *Aſia*; and that after his death, a certain paſtor, or *Neſtorian* prieſt, named *John*, ſubdued the whole country of *Najam*, and ſoon after the whole eaſtern empire under his government; and that the title of *Preſter* was given him, and ſuperadded to that of king, on account of his prieſthood (6). This kingdom the above-mentioned *Geofrey* affirms likewiſe to have been ſituate near *Armenia*. All which put together, and added to the authorities quoted above in the text, may be reaſonably thought ſufficient to fix this empire in *Aſia*.

(6) *Vid. Liber Abiſſ. ap. Le Grand Relat. ubi ſup. p. 234, & ſeq. & al ſeq. citat.*

an extraordinary desire to find out this so much celebrated empire, in order to enter into an alliance of commerce and friendship with its opulent monarch, sent two of his subjects into *Asia* by land, to get what information they could about it. The one, called *Peter Covillam*, after a long and fruitless search after it, being returned from *India* to *Kayro*, found there some memoirs conveyed thither by *Alphonso de Payva*, the other person whom that monarch had dispatched upon the same errand, but was dead in his journey without having gained any certain intelligence concerning the land he went in search of. However, whether these memoirs furnished him with some hints towards finding it in this *Abissinian*, or whether mere hazard threw them in his way during his stay at *Adem*, *Suakem*, and other parts along the western coasts of the *Red Sea*, he there heard so much talk of the *Abissinian* emperor, in whose dominions he was, and of his being a Christian, and carrying a cross in his hand; that his subjects were all schismatic Christians, who had their bishops, secular and regular priests, sumptuous churches, abbeys, monasteries, and other traces of such a Christian empire as he was in search of, none of which had fallen in his way in any of those parts of *India* thro' which he had travelled, he was easily led to conclude, that he had gone upon a wrong scent; and that this, if any, must be the happy spot so eagerly sought for by, and till now so little known to, the *Portuguese*. What might perhaps still more confirm him in this conjecture, was, that the emperors of this country were all of the priestly order, and must be ordained before they could be crowned; and, after that, still continued to execute the priestly functions. Whether he was really misled by these appearances, or weary of such a painful and fruitless search, or sought only to save his character by imposing upon the king of *Portugal*, we will not determine: but upon this slight foundation he immediately wrote to that monarch, from *Kayro*, whilst he made himself ready to take a journey into *Ethiopia*, to make some farther discoveries to give his notion a still greater currency both at that court and other parts of *Europe*, in which he succeeded even beyond his expectation. Pleasing news being usually rather hastily believed than scrutinised, his account met with such a general approbation where-ever it reached, that the *Abyssinian* monarch was every-where dubbed and proclaimed the true *Prester John*, and that of *Asia* to be a suppositious one, owing perhaps probably to the inattention of the authors on the other side, and their not considering that *Abissinia* is frequently called *India* in *Afric*, or *African India*. However that be, by this pretended

The Portuguese *send two men in search of it.*

Covillam *imagines he has found it here.*

Sends word of it to Portugal.

The notion passes for current there,

pretended diſcovery of *Covillam*, the real *Preſter John* was ſoon buried in oblivion, not only in *Portugal*, but all over *Europe*, and the ſuppoſititious one cried up and proclaimed in his room.

WHAT ſeems to have farther contributed to confirm this latter in theſe his ſuppoſed dominions, is, that *Marco Paulo* makes his *Preſter John* to have had his uſual reſidence at *Arkiko*, a ſea-port upon the coaſt of the *Red Sea*, and is the firſt town in *Abiſſinia* on that ſide, but ſince taken by the *Turks*. This is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the notion of his reigning in the *Aſiatic India*, much leſs in the kingdom of *Chatay*, becauſe theſe two are at as great a diſtance from each other as *Portugal* is from *Peru*. To this we may add, that both the kingdom of *Chatay*, which is ſuppoſed the ſame Chriſtian empire mentioned by S. *Antonin*, biſhop of *Florence*, hath been ſince ſought for with ſo much toil and labour by ſuch numbers of travellers, eſpecially the miſſionaries, thro' every part of *Aſia*, and to ſo little purpoſe, ſo many monſtrous lies written and publiſhed about it, that the very notion of any ſuch monarchy hath been long ſince given up as chimerical by the far greater part of them; or, at moſt, that there remains nothing at preſent in all thoſe eaſtern parts but the bare names of the fields on which this celebrated *Cathay* ſtood, and its emperor *Preſter John* once reigned [a]; though there are ſtill many, eſpecially among the *Portugueſe*, who firmly believe that this famous kingdom will one time or other be diſcovered and come to light again †.

and is ſtill believed a-mongſt them.

THUS far goes the account which thoſe learned authors above quoted give us of the firſt introduction of this new title into *Abiſſinia*, which is the point we were moſt concerned about in this chapter, and about which they all unanimouſly declare their opinion, that both *Covillam* and *Payva*, who ſeem the firſt broachers of that notion, were certainly miſtaken. However, as there are ſtill very many, eſpecially among the miſſionary fathers, who ſtill perſiſt in the opinion that there is no *Preſter John* to be found out of the *Abiſſinian* dominions, ſo ſome of them have muſtered up ſeveral freſh teſtimonies, which, if authentic, do at leaſt prove that thoſe emperors were acknowleged by the title of *Preſter John* ſome ſcore years before thoſe two gentlemen wrote any thing about it to the king of *Portugal*. Of this nature is a letter from the grand maſter of *Rhodes* to the *French* king *Charles* VII. in which he informs that monarch of the dreadful overthrow

Some reaſons alleged for it.

Abiſſinia *allowed to be* Preſter John's *long before* Covillam.

[a] Jeſuits Travels, by BALTH. TELLEZ, ch. i. † See the letter in LE GRAND's diſſertation on Preſter John, p. 245, & ſeq.

which

which this emperor, whom he ſtiles *Preſbyter Johannes, Indorum imperator*, had given to the *Turks*, &c. which letter bears date *July* 3d, *A. D.* 1448. whereas thoſe two gentlemen were not ſent in ſearch of that empire till *an.* 1477. But, beſides that the contents of that letter are contradicted by the hiſtory of thoſe times [b], if the title of *Preſter John* was ſo long before known to belong to this *Abiſſinian* emperor, what need was there for ſending *Covillam* and *Payva* to ſeek for him ſo far into *India?* and why to ſearch for his dominions as for an empire altogether unknown to them, as well as to thoſe that ſent them? The ſame objection will hold more ſtrongly againſt what is urged from the letter of Pope *Alexander* to that prince, which we have mentioned a little higher, and of ſome others urged on the ſame ſubject; for they being ſtill of much older date than that, makes it ſtill more incredible that his title ſhould have been known ſo long before at *Rome*, and yet be ſo far a ſecret to the king of *Portugal*, as to ſend ſo far off to find it out; and, ſtill more, that his two meſſengers ſhould travel ſo far forward and backward before they could ſucceed in their ſearch. But we have dwelt long enough upon this trite ſubject; and ſhall now cloſe it with a ſingular conjecture of Father *Lobo*, concerning the origin of this prieſtly title, as it is related by *Thevenot*, to whom he communicated it, which is to this effect; That the *Abiſſinians* were very fond of making pilgrimages to the *Holy Land*, and more particularly about the time in which the *French* were engaged in their wars with the *Saracens* in *Aſia*; ſo that by their frequent converſing with the *French* miſſionaries about their reſpective countries, government, *&c.* they might probably enhance the grandeur of their monarch by joining the prieſthood to the other pompous dignities which that prince was poſſeſſed of; and theſe miſſionaries might become the firſt propagators of it in *Europe*: which conjecture, whether well founded or not, doth at leaſt plainly intimate, that that good father, than whom none was better acquainted with that empire, could find out no other original for this new title of *Preſter John*, than that of his brethren of the *Holy Land*, and therefore makes no difficulty to ſtile them the ſole authors of it [c].

The improbability of it.

F. Lobo's conjecture about the origin of that title.

The kingdom of Tigre *deſcribed.*

WE come now to give our readers a deſcription of the ſeveral kingdoms which ſtill compoſe this great monarchy; and ſhall begin with that of *Tigre*, or *Tigra*, as the largeſt and the moſt

[b] See the letter in the Specilegium Patr. p. 556. & in Le Grand, Diſſert. 4. du Pretre Jean, p. 245, & ſeq. [c] Le Grand, ubi ſup. p. 135, & 146.

conſiderable

conſiderable in all reſpects, and as it is the neareſt to the *Red Sea*, and the *Turkiſh* dominions and conqueſts. It hath *Nubia* or *Sinaar* on the north; the ſea above-mentioned on the eaſt; the kingdoms of *Angot* and *Dancali* on the ſouth; and thoſe of *Dambea* and *Bagamender* on the weſt. Its length, from north to ſouth, which is taken from *Mazowa* (D), or *Arkiko*, now belonging to the *Turks*, to the deſart of *Aldoba* and mount *Sement*, is computed about 300 *Italian* miles; and its breadth, from the ſame deſart to the province of *Bul*, about half, or, according to others, almoſt the ſame [d]. *Kingdom of Tigre, its ſite and extent.*

What rendered this kingdom ſtill more conſiderable before the loſs of its two ports mentioned in the laſt note, was its metropolis of *Axum*, or *Axuma*, which was likewiſe that of the whole empire, and the place where its monarchs repaired to be crowned. We have formerly given an account of its ſituation, ſtately ruins, commerce, and other particulars [e], from which one may judge of its former opulence, though it is now reduced to a poor village, ſcarcely affording ſhelter to an hundred inhabitants; yet, ruined as it is, the *Abiſſinian* monarchs are ſtill obliged to receive their crown there. *Metropolis of Axuma, its ruins.*

About half a degree ſouth-weſt of *Axuma*, or, as the *Portugueſe* corruptly write it, *Cathumo*, or *Cachumo*, ſtands the town of *Madgoga*, ſo called formerly from the murmuring noiſe of a neighbouring rivulet. It hath ſince received the name of *Fremona* from the Jeſuit miſſionaries, who had their reſidence in it, on account of one Father *Frumentius*, the Fremona, *the reſidence of the Jeſuits.*

[d] Tellez, Ludolph, Lobo, & al. [e] Ant. Hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 261, 319, (H). Vid. & auct. ſup. citat.

(D) *Mazowa*, *Matzua*, or *Maçua*, is a ſmall iſland on the *Red Sea*, over-againſt *Arkiko*; which laſt is the firſt ſea-port belonging to the continent of *Abiſſinia*. It was formerly a very conſiderable place, and lies under the 15th degree of N. latitude; but the *Turks* have ſince deprived the emperors of this valuable and convenient harbour, the beſt on the whole coaſt. From *Mazowa*, or *Arkiko* this kingdom extends itſelf about 11 or 12 leagues along the coaſt, as far as *Dafalo*, another ſea-port, but leſs frequented on account of its ſhallowneſs. But even this the *Turks* have made themſelves maſters of, and thereby deprive the *Abiſſinian* empire of the only two harbours it had; which is juſtly reckoned an invaluable loſs to it, as hath been lately hinted (5).

(5) *De his, vid.* Tellez, Ludolph, Almeyda, Lobo, Poncet, & al. plur. *See alſo before, p.* 24.

firſt of their order that came into theſe parts. This place became ſtill more celebrated by the long reſidence and death of Father *Andrea de Oviedo*, ſent thither patriarch of *Ethiopia* by the pope; ſince whoſe death it ſtill continued the reſidence and ſeminary of all the miſſionaries of that order who came into *Abiſſinia*, the greateſt part of whom loſt their lives for the cauſe they came to preach there, the ſupremacy of the church and pope of *Rome*, until their final expulſion out of that whole empire, of which we ſhall give an account in its proper place. Other cities or towns are very few and mean, both in this kingdom, and every-where through the whole empire. This of *Fremona* hath been found to ſtand in 14 degrees and half of N. latitude, and the whole kingdom lies between the 13th and 16th of the ſame, being reckoned of about the ſame extent with that of *Portugal*. It hath, according to the patriarch *Mendez*, 44 governments under it; but, according to Mr. *Ludolph*[f], only 27, beſides ſeven maritime ones, which are diſmembered from it, and have governors of their own, whom they ſtile *Bahrnagaſh*, that is, overſeers or ſuperintendants of the ſea; which prefectures, however, are not to be looked upon as ſo many diſtinct governments, ſeeing one *Barnagaſh* may, and hath ſometimes two or three of them under his command; ſo that, according to the laſt author, this kingdom, or viceroyalty rather, can have, at the moſt, no more than 34 diſtricts or governments under it. How theſe different governments are regulated, will be ſeen in a ſubſequent ſection, to avoid repetitions; and we ſhall only add, that the extent of this kingdom, and variety of its governments, hath in all probability been the main cauſe why ſome geographers have ſplit it into no leſs than four diſtinct ones in their maps, one of which they call *Tigray*, which they place near the line; a ſecond in ten degrees north, which they call *Tygre*; between theſe two a third, called by them *Tigra Mahoa*; and a fourth ſtill farther, on which is that of the *Bahrnagaſh* above-mentioned g.

Diviſion of that kingdom.

Falſely ſplit into four kingdoms.

Angot *kingdom ruined.*

CONTIGUOUS to *Tigre*, on the ſouth, is the kingdom of *Angot*, formerly rich and fertile, but now almoſt ruined by the *Gallas*, who have diſpoſſeſſed the *Abiſſinian* emperors of the greateſt part of it; and the ſmall remains they have left them have hardly any thing worth mentioning, except the poverty of its inhabitants.

[f] Lib. i. c. 3. [g] Travels of the Jeſuits, from TELLEZ, c. 2. p. 9. LUDOLPH, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

THAT

THAT of *Bagameder* (E), or *Bagamedri*, lies weſt of that of *Tigre*, and runs almoſt contiguous to it, extending itſelf from it quite to the *Nile*. Its length is computed to be about 60 leagues, and its breadth 20, but was formerly much more extenſive, ſeveral of its provinces having been diſmembered from it, and joined to that of *Tigre*. A great part of it is very mountainous and rocky, eſpecially towards the eaſt, which is moſtly inhabited by thoſe wild nations mentioned in the laſt note. Some towns, tho' much decayed, there are ſtill left in this kingdom; particularly the metropolis of its name, where the viceroy is obliged to go and receive a freſh crown, beſides that with which he is crowned at the emperor's court. This town, which is in all other reſpects inconſiderable, is ſeated on the ſmall river *Bachlo*, or *Baxillo*, which divides this kingdom from that of *Amhara*, on the ſouth ſide of it: the others are ſtill leſs worth notice. It is divided into 13 governments, moſt of them fertile, and well watered by ſmall rivers, beſides the *Bachlo* above-mentioned, particularly the third in rank, named *Dabr*; which *Ludolph*'s *Gregory* compares to *Germany* on thoſe two accounts [h]. *Bagameder kingdom, its extent.*

THE kingdom of *Amara*, or *Amhara*, is contiguous to *Bagameder* on the ſouth, and is divided by the *Nile* from that of *Gojam* on the weſt ſide. It is computed to extend itſelf about 40 leagues from eaſt to weſt, and is conſidered as the moſt noble and honourable in the whole empire, upon ſeveral accounts: Firſt, As it is the uſual reſidence of the *Abiſſinian* monarchs, and conſequently of the chiefeſt of the nobility. 2. On the account of its peculiar dialect, different from all the reſt, and, by a new line of emperors brought up in it, is ſince become that of the whole court, and of the politer part of the empire. Here ſtand likewiſe the two famed rocks of *Guechon*, or *Guexen*, and *Ambacel*, where the princes of the blood were formerly confined and educated. Laſtly, This kingdom is looked upon as the centre of the *Kingdom of Amhara, why the nobleſt of all.* *Its peculiar dialect.*

[h] Lib. i. c. 3. Vid. & TELLEZ, LOBO, & al. ſup. citat.

(E) So called, we are told, from the vaſt numbers of ſheep that are bred in it; *Meder* ſignifying land or earth, and *Beg* a ſheep (6). We may add, that the mountainous parts, which are moſtly inhabited by the wild or wandering *Agaus*, *Gallas*, and *Caffres*, are the chief breeders of them; thoſe mountains affording great plenty of aromatic herbs to brouze upon, which gives their fleſh an excellent taſte and flavour (7).

(6) *Vid. Lobo ap. Le Grand Differt.* 3. *de Nilo, p.* 109. *Vid. & Ludolph, Lib.* i. *c.* 3. *Poncet, et al. ſup. citat.*

(7) *Id. ibid.*

empire; and, though small in comparison of some others, hath nevertheless no fewer than thirty-six districts or governments, but concerning which we can find little else but their names, which the curious may see in *Ludolph*'s history [i].

Kingdom of Gojam.

FARTHER west still, and on the other side of the *Nile*, is the celebrated one of *Gojam*, which is almost surrounded on every side by that river, excepting only on the north-east side, where it is inclosed by the *Dembean* lake; on which account, as hath been hinted a little higher, it is now judged by most learned to be the island, or rather peninsula, of *Meroe* [k]. Its length, from north-west to south-east, is somewhat above 50 leagues; and its breadth, from east to west, where it is broadest, about 30. Both these sides are bounded by the *Nile*, which, taking its spring at near the middle distance between them, and almost in the centre of the kingdom, as we have elsewhere shewn [l], surrounds, and as it were intrenches it every way by the oval compass it takes about it, in return for its giving birth to it.

Surrounded by the Nile.

THE country is fertile, but much higher and mountainous towards the middle, and those heights are mostly inhabited by a people said to be the descendants of *Agar*, *Abraham*'s *Egyptian* maid. The north-west part of the kingdom is likewise mountainous, and inhabited by the *Agaus* or *Agaux*, but different from those of the same name who live in the mountains of *Lusta*, and waged a long and bloody war against Soltan *Segued*, from whom they had revolted. These, we are speaking of, dwell mostly about the spring-heads of the *Nile*, and spread themselves a great way. They profess Christianity, but are much addicted to idolatry and superstition: in other respects they are not unlike the *Abissinians* [m]. We shall have occasion to speak of some of these stupendous mountains, among the natural rarities of the empire. We are told that some of the highest, towards the north part of this kingdom, are inhabited by *Jews*; but we are more apt to believe them to be some of the antient race of *Abissinians*, who still retain the old *Jewish* rites; for though it be scarcely doubted, that there are great numbers of *Jews* dispersed through the whole empire [n], as they are every-where else, yet they are seldom known to prefer such desart habitations before the more inhabited plains and places of commerce: neither is it likely they would chuse to stay to bleach them

Agarens, *and other nations, in it.*

Jews on the north mountains.

[i] Lib. i. c. 3. §. 8, & seq.
[k] See before, p. 26.
[l] See Antient Hist. vol. i. p. 407, & seq. xviii. p. 265, & sec
[m] TELLEZ, ECHINARD, LOBO, ap. Le Grand, ubi sup. Differ 2. p. 202.
[n] See BENJ. DE TUDELA Itinerar.

selv

ſelves on thoſe inhoſpitable rocks, unleſs we ſuppoſe ſome rich mines to lie hid amongſt them, which keep them more profitably employed.

THIS kingdom contains twenty diſtricts or governments; a greater number of heathens than any other in the empire [o]. Northward of *Gojam* lies that of *Dembeo*, which is parted from it by the lake of its own name and the *Nile*, and is one of the ſtarteſt countries in all *Abiſſinia*; on which account it is frequently overflowed by both, as well as by other rivers which flow from the mountains into them. It is not above 24 leagues in length, from eaſt to weſt; and about 12 or 13 in breadth, excluſive of its lake. But if we add this to it, which is large enough to be ſtiled by the inhabitants the ſea of *Dembea*, and ſpreads itſelf along the ſouthern and ſouth-eaſt ſide of it, it will have above double that extent from north to ſouth [p]. It hath ſome mountains of an extraordinary height, the chief of which we ſhall deſcribe in their proper place. Some geographers likewiſe mention ſeveral conſiderable cities, and a good number of towns; and yet Mr. *Ludolph*, or his *Abiſſinian* abbot, mentions none of the former, and but that of *Guba*, or *Gubai*, among the latter, which he ſays is the queen's reſidence, as well as that of the emperor whenever he leaves the camp [q] (F).

Governments.

Dembea *deſcribed.*

Extent.

Lake.

Towns.

HOWEVER that be, this kingdom is ſtill conſiderable, on account of its having been the chief one in which the *Abiſſinian* monarchs made their uſual reſidence, or kept their principal camp and court, in the time of the patriarch *Mendez*, to whom the emperor *Segued* gave the whole territory of

[o] Vid. TELLEZ, & al. ſup. citat. LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19. CODIG. l. i. c. 4. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

[p] Iid. ubi. ſup. Vid. CORNEIL, CODIG. lib. i. c. 4.

[q] Lib. ii. c. 11. Vid. & CO-

(F) Thoſe geographers have done the ſame by almoſt every kingdom we have already ſpoken of, as well as by ſome others that are to follow; and yet Mr. *Ludolph*'s *Gregory* aſſures us, that there are not above five or ſix towns in the whole empire, worth taking notice of, including the metropolis *Axuma*, now almoſt ruined (8), and ſome others built by the *Portugueſe* miſſionaries; and we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in its proper place, that this is by far the moſt probable, both from the genius and cuſtom of the *Abiſſinians*, and from the teſtimony of thoſe miſſionaries who appear to be beſt acquainted with this empire.

(8) *See before, p.* 33. *Ludolph. Ethiop. l.* ii. *c.* 11.

Anfras, in order to induce the Jesuits and him to settle in it; who accordingly built some stately churches and monasteries, which, together with the royal palace, greatly added to the magnificence of that kingdom. The viceroy of it hath 14 prefectures under him, and takes the title of viceroy of *Dembea Cantiba*; but on what account our authors do not tell us [r]. The natural and artificial rareties belonging to it will be mentioned in the sequel, under their proper head.

The kingdom of Narea *described;*

THE last kingdom worth taking notice of is that of *Narea*, or *Enarea*, which is the fartheſt and laſt of them all, being ſituate under the 9th, and part of the 8th, degree of N. latitude, and under the 30th and 31ſt of W. longitude. It was formerly governed by its own monarchs, who, as well as their ſubjects, were heathens; but, being ſince conquered by the emperor *Saghed*, or *Segued*, ſomewhat above a century ago, as will be ſeen in the ſequel, were obliged to embrace Chriſtianity, with all the errors of the *Abiſſinian* church; for, till then, no Jeſuit or miſſionary had penetrated into their territories. But there is ſtill a conſiderable part of it unſubdued, and perhaps unconverted; for that which is ſo, extends hardly above 30 or 40 leagues on either way. However, the whole kingdom is reckoned rich and fertile, producing great plenty and vaſt quantities of cattle, and driving a very conſiderable commerce with the *Caffres*, who bring thither abundance of gold, which they exchange for clothes, ſalt, and other commodities.

conquered and converted.

Rich and fertile: rich trade with the Caffres.

THE *Nareans* are, even by the *Abiſſinians* themſelves, allowed to be the beſt and handſomeſt people in all *Ethiopia* [s]. They are tall, ſtout, and well-ſhaped; and, in their dealings, honeſt, wiſe, faithful, and undiſguiſed. They are alſo brave and warlike, and have always gallantly defended their country againſt the incurſions of the wild and barbarous *Gallas*, though theſe have proved ſtrong and numerous enough to ſubdue above half the *Abiſſinian* empire. The tribute they pay to the *Abiſſinian* emperor ſeems rather to proceed from their loyalty, than any force or obligation; as, on the one hand, they receive no aſſiſtance from him againſt thoſe common invaders; neither, on the other, doth he keep any ſtanding forces, garriſons, or fortreſſes, to maintain them in awe: and, ſhould he moreover have occaſion to do ſo at any time, he would find it a very difficult taſk, being ſeldom known to have any to ſpare, on account of the frequent revolts which

[r] LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 17, 18. [s] See Abbot GREGORY ap. Ludolph, l. i. c. 3. §. 12. Vid. & TELLEZ, LOBO, & al. ſup. citat.

happen

happen in the heart of the empire; and, if he had, they muſt be obliged to paſs through ſome of the territories of thoſe barbarians. This kingdom is ſaid by ſome authors to have mines of gold; but that probably is owing to the great quantity of that metal which the neighbouring *Caffres* bring into it; which they would hardly do, if the *Nareans* had any ſuch rich mines of it; unleſs we will ſuppoſe, as is moſt likely the caſe, that they, as well as thoſe of other kingdoms of this empire, deſignedly conceal, and forbear ſeeking for them, leſt the fame of them ſhould move the *Turks*, or the plundering *Gallas*, to invade them, as they have frequently endeavoured to do, and deprive them at once of their liberty, and of the moſt valuable product of their country. Thus much ſhall ſuffice for the moſt conſiderable kingdoms that are ſtill ſubject to the *Abiſſinian* emperors [t].

Gold mines, why concealed.

The provinces that continue to obey them are ſtill in a worſe caſe than thoſe kingdoms, being not only heavily taxed by thoſe princes, and cruelly oppreſſed by their governors, but likewiſe very much ruinated by the *Gallas*; as are ſeveral of thoſe other kingdoms who have revolted from their obedience, or been ſubdued by ſome neighbouring ſtates, ſuch as the *Turk*, the king of *Adel*, and others at war with the *Abiſſinian* monarchs; in all which there is little elſe to be ſeen but poverty and miſery among the ſubjects, and griping avarice among thoſe that govern them, as may be ſeen in almoſt every page of the Jeſuits travels through thoſe countries [u]. But as we have had ſo frequent occaſion to mention thoſe *Gallas*, *Galli*, or *Balli*, as they are ſtiled, who have made ſuch dreadful havock here, it will not be improper, before we go farther, to give our readers ſome account of thoſe plundering barbarians, eſpecially as they have got poſſeſſion of ſo conſiderable a ſhare of this empire, and have now in ſome ſenſe acquired a large part, if not by far the largeſt part of it. For the better underſtanding of which, we muſt here take notice, that they are divided into eaſtern, ſouthern, and weſtern, according to their ſituation with reſpect to *Abiſſinia*. The eaſtern are ſeated along the frontiers of the kingdom of *Tigre* and *Dancali*, and have ſeized the greateſt part of this laſt, together with thoſe of *Angot*, *Dowaro*, *Olfale*, *Xoa*, &c. The ſouthern extend themſelves along the river *Hoax*, or, as Mr. *Ludolph* calls it, *Howas*, from the frontiers of the kingdom of *Adel* weſtward, and have made themſelves maſters of the greateſt part of the kingdoms of *Gomar*, *Bergumo*, *Gu-*

The ſad ſtate of the provinces, and revolted kingdoms.

The Gallas, who, and whence.

Their conqueſts and ſettlements.

[t] Tellez, Almeyda, Ludolph, & al. ſup. citat. [u] Vid. int. al. Alphonso, Mendez, Lobo, & al.

ragea, Cambate, Ganza, Ceuta, Damota or *Dumut*, &c. The weſtern ſpread themſelves all along the river *Maleg*, where they poſſeſs thoſe of *Bizamo*, part of *Xoa* or *Shewa*, *Gaffat*, *Gonga*, and ſome part of that of *Gojam* on the weſt; but how far up northwards, towards *Nicaia*, we are not told [w]. Thus far had theſe wild people not only diſmembered this great empire of a conſiderable number of its provinces, but likewiſe hedged it cloſely in on three ſides in the time of the *Portugueſe* firſt coming thither; and how far they have encroached into it after their expulſion, from which time thoſe emperors became ſtill weaker, and leſs able to ſuppreſs their inroads, for want of a ſufficient number of forces, artillery, and garriſons to guard their frontiers, we can only gueſs from the diſtracted ſtate of the empire at that time, both from the foreign wars and domeſtic broils that then raged on account of religion, and the partial preference which had been ſhewn to the *Romiſh*, againſt the national church, by the then reigning emperor *Baſilides*; for it is not to be ſuppoſed that that fierce invading nation would let ſlip any ſuch opportunity of penetrating ſtill farther into his dominions when they ſaw him ſo powerfully beſet from within and without (G).

The emperor's want of force to ſuppreſs them.

Their original.

THEIR origin is variouſly conjectured; the generality of the learned think them deſcended from the *Jews*; but whether from thoſe whom *Shalmanezer* king of *Aſſyria*, or *Nabuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, tranſplanted from *Paleſtine*, or from thoſe whom *Titus Veſpaſian*, *Adrian*, or *Severus*, ex-

[w] Vid. LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 16. TELLEZ, LOBO, DAVIT, DAPPER, & al. ſup. citat.

(G) This ſtrange invaſion and devaſtation, we are told by the miſſionaries, had been in ſome meaſure foretold by their too zealous and ſtrenuous patriarch *John Bermudes*, the ſame who came into *Abiſſinia* with the famed *Chriſtopher De Gama*, and who, being baniſhed on that account by the emperor *Claudius*, or, as he is otherwiſe called, *Amal Segued*, ſolemnly told that prince, upon his departure, that the empire would be ſhortly ravaged by ſwarms of black piſmires, as a puniſhment for his obſtinacy and treachery. Soon after which he ſaw all his dominions invaded by *Turks*, *Moors*, and *Gallas*, ſome attacking him on the ſouth, others on the north, and eſpecially on the eaſt, where they ſtripped him of all his ſea-ports on the coaſts of the *Red Sea*; whilſt the *Gallas*, who had attacked him on the ſouth, gave him a fatal overthrow, in which he loſt his life, as will be more fully ſhewn in the ſequel (9).

(9) *See Lobo ap. Le Grand. Relat. ubi ſupra, pag.* 66, *& ſeq. & alib.*

pelle

pelled from thence, and ſettled in ſome of theſe parts of *Ethiopia*, they are not agreed. It is plain, however, that, bating the ſingle ceremony which they retain amongſt them, in common with the *Jews*, *Arabs*, *Abiſſinians*, &c. there is ſo little affinity in their religion, cuſtoms, manners, language, or even in their name (H), that we cannot but wonder how that notion came into their minds upon the evidence of one ſingle rite ſo common among moſt of the nations in theſe parts. Were we to be allowed to offer our conjecture about it from their name, and more than a bare conjecture can be offered in this caſe, we ſhould be more willing to allow both them and it to be of *Celtic* or *Gallic* extraction; that name ſignifying in that language, as we have formerly ſhewn [x], ſtout or warlike, an epithet which the antient *Celtes* and *Galli*, or *Gauls*, took much pride in, and have made themſelves famous by, not only in *Europe*, but in *Africa*, where they erected a powerful kingdom, and held it ſome centuries, with a bravery anſwerable to it, till, being at length driven from it by the *Romans*, they might go in ſearch of new habitations farther towards theſe mountainous parts, as was cuſtomary for them to do, rather than ſubmit to a foreign yoke,

Suppoſed to be of Gallic *extract.*

[x] See Ant. Hiſt. vol. vi. p. 6, & ſeq. & notes. See alſo their hiſt. in vol. xiv.

(H) There is one etymon of their name inſiſted on in favour of this far-fetched original, which would be ſcarcely worth mentioning, but for its palpable abſurdity; *viz.* that the word *Galla*, or *Calla*, ſignifying milk in the *Hebrew*, they were ſo denominated from the whiteneſs of their complexion †; as who ſhould ſay, milk-whites; but, beſides that the milky whiteneſs is no where known to be the common complexion of the *Jews* almoſt in any country, much leſs in this hot one, it is plain to the mereſt novice in their tongue, that חלב *cheleb*, and חלבה, and not *Galla* or *Calla*, ſignifies milk.

It muſt not be ſuppoſed, however, from this forced etymon, that they are really of a white complexion; for they are not only of as deep a tawny or black as any *African*, but look upon a white man with a kind of wonder and diſlike *; nevertheleſs they may be eaſily ſuppoſed to have been white at their firſt coming into *Afric*, though they in time degenerated into downright tawny-moors; for ſuch certainly were the *Vandals*, and other northern nations that came hither from *Europe*, and who might probably be deemed to be denominated *Gallai* from their complexion, tho' that was the general name of their whole nation ‡.

† *Jeſuits Travels, lib.* i. *c.* 12. * *Lobo ap. Le Grand, p.* 22. ‡ *See Ant. Hiſt. vol.* vi. *p.* 6. (B). xviii. *p.* 528, *& ſeq.* xix. 341, *& alib. paſſ.*

yoke, as the reader may see by what hath been said of them in the ancient history [z].

THE only difficulty will be, how to account for their adopting, afterwards, the rite of circumcision, to which they seem to have been utter strangers in all their other migrations and settlements; for in all other respects, we shall shew them to bear a greater resemblance to one another, than to any other nation we know of. But here may we not reasonably suppose, that upon their coming to settle in these parts, after their expulsion from their *African* conquests, at which time, the *Abissinian* empire was both more extensive and flourishing, they might be prevailed upon to admit of this ceremony among them, which they saw was practised, not only in all dominions, but by all the neighbouring nations, far and near, either to ingratiate themselves the more effectually with them, or, which perhaps is more likely, in order to get leave to settle amongst them; especially as we have formerly shewn, that this custom hath been received and constantly practised by several nations, who yet used it not in a religious or political, but in a physical sense; that is, to preserve health and cleanliness in those parts, to help procreation and fecundity [a]; and, accordingly we are told, at their first coming into these parts, they were neither *Christians*, *Mohammedans*, nor Heathens, having neither temples nor idols, nor hardly any knowlege of God. But that since they have been intermixed with the subjects of the empire, who are Christians, and those of the kingdoms of *Adel* and *Adea*, who are *Mohammedans*, they have adopted circumcision, rather as a custom of the country (I), than as a religious rite *.

How they came to adopt the rite of circumcision.

THIS seems still farther confirmed, by the account which the missionary fathers give us of their origin, upon the testimony of the *Abissinians*, and Mr. *Ludolph*, upon that of his abbot; the former believing, that they were some of the old inhabitants of the eastern coasts of *Afric*, that is, those of the

Their origin, ac-

[z] Anc. Hist. vol. vi. p. 24. xvi. p. 620. xviii. p. 531, & alib. pass.

[a] See Ancient Hist. vol. iii. p. 260, (R), vol. viii. p. 295, (D).

* TELLEZ Travels of the Jesuits, l. i. c. 12.

(I) And we may farther add what father *Lobo* tells us *, who conversed some time amongst them, that it is not the children who are circumcised, but the men, and that not till they are past bearing of arms; which may be sooner among them than with us, because their young men are commonly their soldiery, who are allowed to live as it were at random; but after they have quitted that life, they are circumcised, live with their wives, and take care of their children, which till then were left loose to the wide world.

* *Relat. de l'Abissinie, p.* 22.

Red Sea, from which they gradually ſpread themſelves ſtill nearer to the *Abiſſinian* frontiers; the latter affirming them to have been a band of diſcontented ſlaves, who, like all other banditti and free-booters, having gathered themſelves into hords, or tribes, ſeized on all the territories they could get footing in, round about the *Abiſſinian* confines; and, taking the advantage of an unſucceſsful war, which the emperor was then engaged in againſt the king of *Adel*, firſt invaded his frontiers, and, by degrees, made themſelves maſters of the great number of out-provinces which we have lately mentioned; which account, when diveſted of that uſual hatred and reſentment, which the *Abiſſinians* muſt naturally be ſuppoſed to have conceived againſt them, in conſequence of that invaſion, and the horrid ravages and cruelties that accompanied it every where, may probably amount to no more than this, that they came thither a tribe of exiles, that had been driven out of their old habitations, and, having been permitted to ſettle on the out-ſkirts of the empire, under the protection of its monarchs, took every opportunity that offered to them, not only to ſhake off their allegiance, but to ſeize on as many of his dominions as they found incapable to defend themſelves againſt them, and to form themſelves into independent ſtates in thoſe new conqueſts (K).

according to the Abiſſinians.

Why moſt probably diſguiſed.

(K) It is not eaſy to gueſs at the time of their firſt ſettling in theſe *Ethiopic* dominions; but that of their firſt ſhewing themſelves in the hoſtile manner above-mentioned, is ſuppoſed to have been about the year 1537, under the reign of the emperor *David*, otherwiſe ſtiled *Onag Segued*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the ſequel; about which time, the moor *Granhe*, king of *Adel*, had waged a ſucceſsful war againſt him, and ſubdued ſeveral provinces on that ſide; for that gave the *Gallas*, or *Balli*, ſuch an encouragement to attack him on theirs, if they were not privately in league with, and inſtigated to it by, that king, that they entered his dominions with a numerous hoſt, put all to fire and ſword, and made themſelves maſters of a large territory on that ſide alſo (10).

Father *Lobo* reckons no leſs than ſix nations of them, that he muſt have paſſed through in his way to *Abiſſinia* by land, whom he found ſo fierce and uncivilized, that it quite diſcouraged him from purſuing his journey, through ſuch vaſt deſert and arduous tracts of ground as they occupied on that ſide, and made him try a new and more expeditious way, if any could be found, to reach to the *Abiſſinian* court (11). By this one may gueſs how far the reſt of them may have ſpread themſelves on the two other ſides of the empire, where they met ſtill with leſs oppoſition than on this.

(10) *Tellez*, *Lobo*, *Almeyda*, *Ludolph*, *Davity*, *Dapper*, & *al. ſup. citat.*
(11) *Lobo* 2d *Voyag. ap. Le Grand*, p. 25.

Now

Their manners and customs much like those of the ancient Gauls.

Now it would be difficult to shew, that this was ever the practice of the exiled *Jews* any-where; but that it was that of those northern *Galli*, or *Gauls*, that over-ran so many kingdoms and provinces, in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Afric*, is beyond all dispute; and that it was a constant maxim amongst them, which they publicly owned and gloried in, that the longest sword, or strongest arm, gave the justest title, we have formerly shewn [b]; neither did they ever lose sight of it in their practice, except when their power was unequal to it, we have almost as many instances as there are paragraphs in their history.

But these are not the only instances in which these *Gallas* resemble the ancient ones; one may find almost the same conformity run through their religion, government, martial discipline, manners, and customs, of which the reader may be an easy judge, by comparing the account we are going to give of the one, with what we have already said in the ancient history of the other [c], only with this difference, which we hint here as a necessary caveat; *viz.* that as these of *Abissinia*, since their first arrival into this part of *Africa*, have hardly had any conversation, except with nations much more barbarous than themselves; such as the *Caffres*, *Agaus*, *Gafates*, &c. it must not be wondered, if they are found, in some instances, degenerated from the nobleness, politeness, and martial valour, of those ancient ones; tho', even in this respect, we may safely take a second caution with us, *viz.* that our account of them, coming to us through the hands of the *Abissinians*, whose settlements they so forcibly and unjustly invaded, it is scarcely to be supposed that they should have done them strict justice in it, but rather, that they have either concealed or disfigured their virtues and good qualities, if any they observed in them, and exposed their vicious ones in the most disadvantageous light.

But much degenerated by conversing with the Agaus, *&c.*

Their religion.

With regard to religion, they are allowed to acknowlege a supreme governor of all sublunary things, whom they call *l'Oul*; but whether they mean by it the heavens, or the sun, or the Creator of them both, we are not told; but it is only said in general, that they pay no outward worship; and that in this, as well as other parts of religion, they appear to be very ill instructed and ignorant [d]. They are also given to very strange superstitions, and have some barbarous customs amongst them; in some of which, if they are not belied, they

Cruel customs.

[b] See Anc. Hist. vol. vi. p. 28. & seq. xviii. p. 603 (H), & alib. pass. [c] Vid. int. al. vol. vi. x. & xviii. pass. [d] Lobo, & al. ap. Le Grand, ub. sup. p. 66.

seem

ſeem to out-do even the wild beaſts, particularly in their unnatural neglect of their own children, and inſtead of breeding them up, and providing for them, as even the moſt barbarous nations are wont to do, during their tender years, leave them to wander at random, like little ſavages; by which means they contract, with their robuſt hardineſs, a natural ferocity, which being afterwards improved, by their being ſo early initiated into the martial trade, they become not only ſtout and intrepid, but to a great degree brutal and cruel. They are taught the uſe of the ſword, and that it is an honour and happineſs to live by it, as giving the beſt title to every thing they poſſeſs, and being the moſt effectual means of preſerving it: they are brought up to a deſire of glory and conqueſt, and to deſpiſe ſlavery and death. Their youth are not allowed to cut their hair, the doing of which dubs them men, till they have killed an enemy, or ſome wild beaſt, ſuch as a lion, tyger, leopard, *&c.* after which they are permitted to poll their heads, leaving only a lock on the top, as the *Japoneſe*, and other *Indian* nations do; and this inſpires them with an uncommon ambition to ſignalize themſelves by their bravery, as the moſt effectual means of raiſing themſelves into eſteem, and obtain the more honourable ſeats at their councils, feſtivals, *&c.* for the greater number of theſe actions a man hath performed, the higher he is raiſed. For this reaſon, they take care to ſave all the heads of thoſe enemies they have killed, as trophies of the greateſt value; and whenever any conteſt, or doubt, ariſes about them, as when there is no beard upon them, and may be ſuppoſed to have belonged to a female, they have a law, which obliges the perſon to produce a more deciſive part along with it, elſe they are not admitted. To prevent, therefore, all diſputes, they are obliged to lay thoſe trophies, that are gained in battle, before their proper officers, at the head of their tribes, as ſoon as the engagement is over: there they are publicly viewed and examined, and, if approved, are entered into the common regiſter; after which, the owner hath liberty to carry them to his own tent, together with his ſhare of the ſpoil, or plunder, which is adjudged to him according to the ſhare he hath had in the victory: by this method, all colluſion and deceit is prevented, or elſe diſcovered and puniſhed, it being every man's concern to diſcourage and detect all ſuch falſe pretences to merit, as well as that of their commanding officers, to inflict an adequate puniſhment on the delinquents.

Cruelty to their children.

Their way of gaining eſteem.

Bloody trophies.

THEY are no leſs ſevere in detecting and puniſhing their cowards and runaways. It is even a capital crime among them to

Way of fighting,

to give way after the onſet is begun; ſo that they all fight either to conquer or die, neither giving, nor aſking, quarter, and fall on with ſuch vehement fury on the foe, that that there is no poſſibility of making head againſt them[e]; and this is the reaſon they have gained ſo many ſignal victories over the *Abiſſinians*, though much ſuperior in number and ſtrength, and provided with better horſes and arms than they. Whenever, therefore, the *Gallas* make any of their excurſions into the territory of an enemy, inſtead of truſting to numbers, as the *Abiſſinians* and other *Africans* do, they commonly chuſe a ſelect number of determined youths, to the amount of 8,000, or 10,000 at the moſt, who, being all ſworn to ſtand by one another to the laſt, fall on, and fight with ſuch deſperate intrepidity, as ſeldom fails of putting an enemy of twice or three times the number into a ſpeedy diſorder: and of this the great emperor Sultan *Segued*, who had often experienced their valour, to his own coſt, was ſo ſenſible, that he was wont to ſay, "That the *Ethiopians* never could ſtand the firſt ſhock of the *Gallas*; for "which reaſon, he always ſuffered them to penetrate a good "way into the country, that they might have time to plunder and cool; and at their return, when they had loaded "themſelves with booty, and were thinking only how to "convey it home, and enjoy the prize, and their firſt fury "much abated, he then lay in wait for them in the way, and "called them to account for what they had got; by which "means, he not only recovered the booty, but ſacrificed "their lives to his reſentment[f]."

and making inroads.

Mean cavalry.

THE *Gallas*, heretofore, had no cavalry among them, but have learned, ſince their coming into *Ethiopia*, to fight on horſeback as well as on foot. Their horſes, indeed, are mean, in compariſon of thoſe of the *Abiſſinians*; but yet they keep their ranks ſo cloſe, and engage in ſuch good order, that an enemy ſeldom can ſtand the ſhock. The ſaddles they uſe are very light, plain, and eaſily made, and their ſtirrups thin and ſmall, becauſe they put not their feet, but only the great toe, in it; all which they have learned of the *Abiſſinians*, who all ride, the emperor not excepted, barefoot. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, and the dart, when they fight at a diſtance; at all which they are very expert, and the ſword among thoſe of high rank, and the club and pole, with one end hardened in the fire, when they come to cloſe engage-

Way of riding.

Weapons.

[e] LUDOLPH, & al. ub. ſup. letters, c. xii. lib. i.

[f] Id. ibid. vid. Jeſuits

ment;

ment: they likewiſe have the uſe of ſhields, which are commonly made of ſtrong bull's or buffalo's hide.

THEIR government ſhews itſelf no leſs of *Gallic* extract, than their martial diſcipline [g]. They have no kings, but are divided into a great variety of tribes, (ſome make them amount to above ſixty) each of which chuſes a chief, or general commander, whom they call luva, lowa, or lubo [h], from among themſelves, every eight years, or oftener, if one dies before that time, and him they obey as their prince or ſovereign. The firſt thing which thoſe luvas do, after they are choſen, is to ſignalize themſelves by ſome plundering inroad into the empire, at the head of a ſelect flying army, killing and ravaging where-ever they come, ſparing neither quality, age, ſex, or place, in order to gain to themſelves and ſoldiers a ſtock of wealth and fame; ſo that it ſeems as if this unfortunate empire was their granary and magazine, where they go for a ſupply of all their wants. At his return from this firſt irruption, which they ſtile *dela gritto*, or general muſter, becauſe it is out of that that he picks up his ſelect flying camp, his authority is confirmed, which reaches only to military affairs, that is, to convene the great council at proper ſeaſons, where all civil matters are finally decided, peace or war reſolved; and if the latter, he commands in chief, and diſtributes to the reſpective officers under him, their ſeveral poſts and commands; and in the like manner when the war or expedition is over, aſſigns to each man their proper honours and rewards, according to their merit and behaviour: but if any diſcontent, or matter of complaint, ariſes, the national council hath then alone the power to confirm, alter, or abrogate his former ſentence or decree; but whether to depoſe them for male-adminiſtration, we are not told; though that is moſt likely to be the caſe, among ſuch a fierce and warlike people [i]. To give our *Engliſh* readers ſome idea of the wretched ſtate, and mock grandeur, of theſe octennial monarchs, we ſhall oblige them with the deſcription which father *Lobo* gives us of one of them, and his court, and of the reception and treatment he met with there; but which, to give it no better place than it deſerves, we ſhall ſubjoin in the following note (L); neither did we find the ſubjects much better bred,

Government.

Their Luvas, or octennial chiefs.

Dreadful inroads.

Their power and office.

Exceſſive meanneſs.

[g] See Anc. Hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 595, & ſeq. [h] LOBO, ub. ſup. p. 23, TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al. ub. ſup. [i] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al.

(L) Being obliged, ſays the good father, to pay my reſpects to the lubo, or king, in order to diſcover a new way into *Ethiopia*,

The people very poor.

bred; for having had the complaiſance to tear a white handkerchief into a good number of ſlips, and divided it among them to ſatisfy their avidity after it, they became ſo greedy and troubleſome for more, and gathered in ſuch tumultuous troops about him, that, to avoid their fury at his refuſal, he was forced to barricade himſelf, and his four *Portugueſe* companions, in his hut, and to fire a gun over their heads; the noiſe of which laid them all flat on the ground, and ſoon frighted them into a deep ſubmiſſion [k]. They are nevertheleſs ſo proud, with their exceſſive poverty, that they neither till, ſow, or plant, or gather any thing that the land produces, except, perhaps, when they ſnatch a cudd out of a cow's mouth to put it into their own, that being reckoned a moſt delicious morſel among them; ſo that all their ſpacious plains and vales only ſerve to afford their cattle ſuch food as the earth naturally brings forth. They look after their cattle, drink their milk, and eat their fleſh raw, which is all their food, except, perhaps, human fleſh, which we are told they likewiſe eat *; ſo eaſily are their hunger and thirſt ſatisfied. They have not the uſe of bread, nor of any ſuccedaneum to

Neglect of agriculture.

Mean food.

[k] Lobo ub. ſup. Voy. 2. p. 22, & ſeq. * Lobo ub. ſup. p. 19.

Ethiopia, I found him with all his wives and flocks about him; the place where he received me being a hut, thatched with ſtraw, but ſomewhat larger than thoſe of his ſubjects. His manner of giving audience to ſtrangers is ſomewhat ſingular: he appears ſeated in the midſt, with all his courtiers about him, ſitting againſt the wall, each with a goad, or ſtaff, or club, in his hand, longer or ſhorter according to his rank; the longer, the more dignified. As ſoon as the ſtranger enters the place, all thoſe courtiers fall foul upon him, and baſtonade him, till he has regained the door, and got hold of it with his hand; upon which they return to their ſeats, and he is complimented, as if nothing like it had been done to him. I myſelf, ſays he, did not fare one jot better, notwithſtanding the peaceable and friendly offices that had paſſed between us; and when I aſked the meaning of ſo ſtrange a ceremony, I was anſwered, that it was to make thoſe that came among them ſenſible of the valour and bravery of their nation above all others, and how reaſonable it is for them to behave ſubmiſſively to it. And well might they think ſo, ſeeing they hardly know any other people, except thoſe indigent wretches that croſs over mountains and foreſts to traffic with them; yet, adds our author, they have ſuch high eſteem for the *Portugueſe*, that they ſtile them the gods of the ſea (12).

(12) *Lobo, ap. Le Grand Relat. de l'Abiſſinie, Voy. 2. p. 23, & ſeq.*

it;

it; but when they find any in the *Abiſſinian* countries, where they make their frequent inroads, they ſeize greedily on it, and eat it with a good appetite, yet will not this induce them to ſow any corn in their own lands: and this reaſon they give for it, that the *Ethiopians*, and other enemies, may not be tempted to invade them, and reap the benefit of their labour; for it is their conſtant cuſtom, whenever they find any neighbouring ſtates to pour in their troops among them, to retire into ſome remote parts, with all their families and cattle; which laſt is all their wealth; the carrying away of which, is carrying away all: ſo that the enemy, finding nothing to ſubſiſt upon, during the ſeveral days march, and the long barren tracts they have ſtill to go over, to come at them, they muſt of courſe be obliged either to go back, or periſh; for neither the *Abiſſines*, nor any of their neighbours, have the forecaſt to make a ſufficient proviſion of food and drink for ſuch long journies; and, finding two ſuch powerful enemies as hunger and thirſt, in the way between them, are more effectually repulſed, than they could have been by all their weapons and brutiſh bravery. To this ſtrange warlike policy it is, that they are able to ſecure their conqueſts againſt an enemy, in all other reſpects, ſuperior to them; and to defend themſelves, without ſtriking a blow, againſt them; whilſt their poverty, and the barrenneſs of their country, is as effectual a barrier againſt all invaſions [l].

Their reaſon for it.

Strange way of repelling their enemies.

THE *Gallas* are not, however, without ſome good qualities; they are honeſt, and true to their promiſe, and are never known to violate an oath. Their ceremony of taking of them, is, by bringing a ſheep to the place, and anointing it with butter; after which, the perſons, or if it be taken in the name of a tribe or family, the heads of it, lay their hands upon its head, and ſolemnly proteſt, that they will religiouſly obſerve every part of their engagement. The explanation they give of this ceremony is, that the ſheep is, in ſome ſenſe, the mother of all that ſwear, and the butter is an emblem of the mutual love of the mother and her children; and, conſequently, that a man ought never to violate an oath which he hath taken upon the head of his mother [m]. They have given, likewiſe, ſome further marks of their fidelity and good diſpoſition, both at the emperor's court, and in ſundry noblemen's houſes, where they had been bred up, and where they proved ſo tractable and docile, as not to be exceeded even by the *Abiſſinians* themſelves. But that which crowns all,

Good qualities.

Faithfulneſs.

Regard for their oaths.

[l] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & al. [m] LOBO, ub. ſup. Voy. 2. p. 24.

Zeal of some of their converts.

if not exaggerated, is, that some of them, who had been converted to Christianity by the *Romish* missionaries, proved as constant in maintaining it under tortures, as they had been ready to embrace it in words [n]. To conclude this digression, if it be really one, concerning these invaders and destroyers of so many rich provinces of this once opulent and flourishing empire, and whom the good fathers last quoted believe were sent thither as a punishment for the heresy of its inhabitants, and their apostacy from the true Christian faith, and what they stile the true catholic church; we may observe, on the other hand, that Providence hath been no less kind and merciful to these provinces, that still continue under its monarchs, by fencing them with such prodigious lofty and rugged mountains, whose height renders them no less inaccessible to their cavalry, which is the main force of these invaders in all their expeditions, than their extreme coldness doth to their infantry: whilst, on the other side, their continual wars and feuds, one tribe and kingdom against another, as providentially prevents their uniting their whole strength against it, which if they had, they would long ago, in all probability, have made themselves masters of the whole [o].

SECT. III.

The Climate, Soil, Product, Animals wild and tame, Vegetables, Insects, &c. *of* Abissinia.

Natural history of Abissinia.

WE have already hinted, that this was one of the countries which the ancients deemed uninhabitable, on account of its being within the torrid zone, where they imagined, not only men and animals, but even trees and vegetables, must be all burned up. This mistake hath been since sufficiently exploded; and this large empire is so irrefragable a proof of the contrary, that though it lies, as we shewed in the last section, between the 8th and 17th degrees of latitude, yet are we now well assured, that it is so far from being liable to any excessive heat, that it is, for the most part, as cool and temperate as *Portugal* and *Spain*; insomuch that, in many provinces, they are quite free from those scorching heats, which rage among more northern nations in the height of summer; or, to speak still more clearly, are more afraid of the cold than heat [a]. This must, however, be understood

Climate.

[n] Tellez, Almeyda, Alvarez, p. 60, & al. [o] Tellez Travels of the Jesuits, ub. sup. [a] Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Ludolph, Poncet, & al.

only of ſome of their vaſt mountains and high lands; for, as to the low and flat, the vallies and ſandy deſerts, they cannot but be exceſſively, and at ſome times intolerably, hot. Another difference of climate we muſt likewiſe ſuppoſe of courſe, in a country of ſuch vaſt extent, not only as they draw nearer to the line, but, as they lie nearer or farther from the *Red Sea* (A). However, in the main, the country is very healthful and pleaſant all the reſt of the year, the people healthy and ſprightly, enjoying a clear and ſerene ſky, and commonly live to a good old age. They divide the year into four ſeaſons, as we do, *viz.* the ſpring, called by them *Matzau*, on account of its following the winter, and in which the fields are covered with verdure, and begin to be enamelled with variety of flowers; it begins with them on the 25th of *September*. The ſummer, named by them *Fzadai*, begins in *December*, and is that in which they gather their harveſt. The third ſeaſon begins in *March*, and is called by them *Hagain*, but though it immediately follows the ſummer, yet can it not be properly called autumn, becauſe it is not that on which they gather their fruits, as here in *Europe*, but rather the very hotteſt ſeaſon of the whole year. And, therefore, with reſpect to *Abiſſinia*, the year might be more truly divided into three ſeaſons, *viz.* the

Difference of winters.

Their four ſeaſons.

Winds.

(A) Accordingly we find, that thoſe ports which are contiguous to that ſea, as from *Mazua* to *Dancali*, have their winter in *December* and *January*, much like what it is in *Portugal*; and this mildneſs reaches about 12 or 14 leagues up the inland, without any extreme cold, or exceſſive rains; as if nature only diſpenſed the latter to moiſten and refreſh the earth, without incommoding its inhabitants; whilſt farther up the inland, they are troubled with very fierce and laſting rains, till you come to the high mountains of *Byzan*, two days journey ſhort of *Dowaro*, where the winter begins about the middle of *June*, and laſts till almoſt the end of *September*. And thus, we are told by father *Emanuel d'Almeyda*, he found it to be, in all the parts of the empire through which he travelled (1). So that according to theſe obſervations the winter, through all the inland of *Ethiopia*, is in the ſame months as it is on the coaſts of *India*, from *Diu* to cape *Comari*; and on the coaſts it is the ſame as in *Portugal*: whereas it is the reverſe on the oppoſite coaſts of *Arabia*, from the mouth of the *Red Sea* to the iſlands of *Curia-Muria*, where the winter is from *June* to *September*; as on the coaſts of *India*, and up the inland of *Arabia*, it laſts from *November* to *February*, as in *Portugal* (2).

(1) *Tellez Travels of the Jeſuits, lib.* i. *c.* 7. *vid.* & *Ludolph, Davity, Dapper, & al.* (2) *Id. ibid.*

spring, which begins *September* 25; summer, which may be divided into two parts, the milder of which, named *Fzadai*, begins on the 25th of *December*, and the hotteſt, on the 25th of *March*; and then follows the winter, which begins on the 25th of *June* [b]. This laſt chiefly conſiſts in violent rains, which lay all the low-lands under water, and is thus deſcribed by the *Abiſſinian* abbot: *The winter, with us, doth not conſiſt in the mere rains which come down from the clouds; for, beſides them, the earth doth every-where open her mouth, and throws but water; which thing happens in the very houſes which chance to be built in low lands; for which reaſon, we ſeldom build them but upon high ground* *. As the ſphere is almoſt direct here, ſo the days and nights are very near equal, and the twilight very ſhort accordingly.

Violent ſtorms.

As the climates and ſeaſons, differ in this empire, ſo do the winds; ſome, eſpecially on their lofty mountains and high lands, being almoſt conſtantly refreſhing and delightful; others, on the low lands, where the air is leſs agitated are hot, troubleſome, and unhealthy. At ſome ſeaſons they are violent and ſtormy, particularly one, which they call *Sendo*, which, in the language of *Amhara*, ſignifies a ſerpent; which blows with ſuch fierceneſs and violence, that it pulls up trees by the roots, overturns houſes and every thing, even ſometimes the rocks, which it meets in its way, and even whirls them up into the air. *Gregory*, the *Abiſſinian* abbot, affirms, that theſe whirlwinds may been ſeen with the naked eye, the groſſer part of them cloſe to the earth, and the reſt winding itſelf upwards like a ſerpent [c]; but whether viſible or not, it is certain they are felt in many, if not moſt other countries, and in as impetuous a manner, though not perhaps ſo frequently as here.

Whirlwinds.

Thunder and lightning.

THE great difference of cold and heat between the high and low lands, is likewiſe attended with terrible thunders and lightnings, which very often prove hurtful to men and beaſts, and do great harm to the product of the earth; for theſe are commonly attended with ſuch prodigious rains, as ſeem to threaten a ſecond deluge; for at ſuch times, they do not come down in drops, but in torrents, that ſeem to fill the lower atmoſphere: By theſe, the rivers ſwell with ſuch prodigious ſwiftneſs, and to ſuch a degree, that they quickly lay all the low lands under water, and run with ſuch violence, that they ſeem as if they would ſweep all before them. Nei-

Exceſſive rains.

[b] LUDOLPH, lib. i. c. 5. DAVITY, DAPPER, TELLEZ, &c.
* Ap. LUDOLPH, ub. ſup. [c] Ap. LUDOLPH, ub. ſup. l. i. c. 5. §. 43.

ther

ther are they like our haſty ſhowers, ſhort and fierce, but laſt the beſt part of three whole months, and make what is called the winter-quarter among them; during all which time, there is not a day in which it doth not rain, more or leſs, in the ſame plentiful manner: but commonly the mornings are clear, and enjoy ſuch a fine ſunſhine, that where the waters have a free current, the ground appears as if it had received no rain at all; but ſoon after mid-day, the clouds gather thick and faſt; and an hour or two after, a violent ſtorm ariſes, mixed with dreadful lightning and thunder, ſo that the whole atmoſphere ſeems to be turned into fire and water; during which time, thoſe that cannot get under ſome good ſhelter, run great hazard of their lives from both; for the lightning is no leſs hurtful and deſtructive to men, cattle, trees, houſes, *&c.* This ſtorm commonly laſts three or four hours, more or leſs; after which the ſun ſhines again on the ſudden as clear as ever; and thus it continues to be during the whole winter ſeaſon: for which reaſon, they ſeldom build their houſes in low, but always as much as they can on high ground. There is another great inconvenience attending theſe violent and tedious rains, *viz.* that they make moſt of their rivers impaſſable, there being neither bridges nor boats among them to help them over, ſo that paſſengers are often confined ſome conſiderable time before they can purſue their journey: they have, indeed, in ſome provinces, a way to convey themſelves over by the help of a rope, which they throw acroſs the river, and faſten to ſome tree, or poſt, on both ſides. Some will venture over upon ſome rafters, or floats, faſtened together, which is not done without great danger, and many of them loſe their lives by it [d].

Their inconvenience and danger.

BUT the greateſt inconveniency which attends theſe great and continued rains, is, that they infect the air with a dangerous malignancy; for, falling upon a ground that hath lain dry and quite parched up near nine whole months, as ſoon as they begin to fall upon it, they naturally raiſe ſuch vaſt quantities of unwholſome vapours, as ſeldom fail of producing ſome grievous diſtempers, from which, even thoſe that keep themſelves altogether at home, are ſeldom exempted [e]. Neither doth the danger end here; for the waters that are left in divers parts, begin, with the return of the ſpring, to corrupt and ſtink, and cauſe a freſh infection in the air, and freſh diſtempers in men and beaſts; ſo that if it were

Unwholſomeneſs.

Bad diſeaſes cauſed by the ſtagnated waters.

[d] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & al. ub. ſup. [e] LOBO, ub. ſup. p. 80. PONCET, & al.

not for theſe violent ſtormy winds, which begin to blow early in the ſpring, the air would be quickly ſtagnated, and a peſtilential diſeaſe reign through the whole empire [f].

The ſoil moſtly fertile. THE ſoil is various, according as the ground is higher or lower, ſtony, ſandy, or flat; but, for the generality, where it can be tilled and well watered, it produces very large crops of wheat, barley, millet, and other grain; and would much more, if the people were more diligent than they commonly are, in cultivating it. They have, indeed, two harveſts, which in ſome meaſure ſupply their want of induſtry. Their trees are crowned with a conſtant verdure; and, if they labour under a ſcarcity of fruit, it is rather owing to their negligence, than to any fault of the ſoil, it being manifeſt it is capable of bearing as great a variety of them as any country in *Afric*. The only kinds they cultivate here, are the black grape, peach, ſour pomegranate, ſugar-canes, almonds, and ſome citrons, oranges, *&c.* [g]. Roots and herbs they likewiſe have, which, notwithſtanding the heat of the country, grow naturally among them; and more they might have of other kinds, if they were not ſo idle and incurious about them.

Wheat and other grain.

Harveſt.

Make no wine. THEY do not ſo much as make wine of their grapes, tho' in all likelihood they would yield a very good kind; whether it be owing to their ignorance, or indolence, or that they prefer thoſe liquors which they draw from their ſugar-canes and their honey, which is here very excellent, and in moſt prodigious quantities, and of many different ſorts, as we ſhall obſerve in another place. They have a kind of fig, among other ſorts, which they call enſette, and the *Arabs*, mauz, which is not unlike the celebrated one that grows in *India* to a prodigious ſize, and is that which Mr. *Ludolph* hath endeavoured to prove the dudaim of *Moſes*; which ours, and other verſions, render mandrakes; of which we have taken notice already in our Ancient Hiſtory [h].

Their fruits.

THE chief grain that is moſt in uſe in this country, as being in ſome meaſure natural to it, is a ſmall one, which they call teff, and yields a good nouriſhment. It is thin and ſlender, and ſo ſmall, that one of muſtard will outweigh eight or ten of it, and would make very good and palatable bread, were it but made in a more cleanly way than they generally know, or care to do. But this is not the only inſtance in which the *Abiſſinians* diſplay their ſlovenlineſs, for they are ſo in every thing elſe, even to a very offenſive degree.

Grain moſt in uſe.

[f] Id. & al. ſup. citat. [g] TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, &c. [h] Vol. iii. p. 280, (Y) vid. Hiſt. Ethiop. lib. i. c. 9.

THEIR

THEIR cattle fare much better; for though here is neither oats nor hay, yet they have plenty of barley, with which they feed their horſes, camels, dromedaries, and other large beaſts. Though their low lands produce very good graſs, ſufficient to nouriſh vaſt numbers of cattle; yet, as they do not make any hay of it, they are obliged to ſupply that defect with that, or ſome other ſort of grain. One misfortune is, that notwithſtanding their plentiful crops, they are often reduced to a kind of famine, either through the vaſt ſwarms of graſshoppers that infeſt them, or, which is ſtill worſe, by the frequent marches of their ſoldiery from one province to another; the former deſtroying only what they find growing upon the ground, whereas the latter devour all that is laid up in their ſtorehouſes, the inhabitants being obliged to find them in proviſions where-ever they paſs. [i]. *Cattle, how fed. No hay made.*

THEY have not only the ſame variety of medicinal and odoriferous plants, herbs, and roots, that are to be met with in *Europe*, and which here grow ſpontaneouſly, and without cultivation, but a great many more, which are unknown to us, and are all excellent in their kind: amongſt them, that which they call amadmagda, hath the ſpecific vertue of recovering and healing diſlocated or broken limbs, of drawing out ſplinters of broken bones that were left in the fleſh. The aſſazoe hath the moſt ſingular virtue, not only againſt all poiſons, but againſt all venomous creatures; inſomuch, that the very touching them with it, ſtupefies and deprives them of ſenſe; and what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, if not exaggerated, the very ſhadow, or ſcent of it, drives away the moſt poiſonous ſerpents, or ſo benumbs their limbs, that they may be handled, or killed, without danger. Thoſe that eat of the root, we are told, acquire ſuch ſpecial virtue from it, that they may handle, or wallow naked with, all ſorts of ſerpents, without receiving any hurt [k], which virtue they retain for ſome years (B). This extraordinary plant is ſo much the *Phyſical, and other plants. The amadmagda. Aſſazoe, its ſingular vertue againſt ſerpents.*

D 4 greater

[i] Id. ibid. [k] TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. PONCET, & al.

(B) This ſeems moſt likely to be the plant, which the *Pſylli*, a people of *Africa*, mentioned by *Pliny* (3), and much famed for their ſkill in inchanting all ſorts of ſerpents and venomous creatures, and being ſurpriſingly familiar with them, made uſe of among them; but concealed the ſecret from the reſt of the world.

For we are told by ſeveral of the jeſuit miſſionaries, that they have ſeen much the ſame

(3) *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* vii. *c.* 2.

juggling

greater bleſſing in theſe parts, as, we are told, they have ſome kinds of ſerpents that kill by their breath, at three or four yards diſtance: they are ſhort, and thick about the middle, and have a wide mouth, at which they ſuck in a great quantity of air at once, and then breathe it out in as great a quantity, and with ſuch force, againſt the man or beaſt they intend to kill, that they ſeldom fail of effecting it [1].

Cotton, ſenna, and other plants.

BESIDES the plants above-mentioned, the country produces great quantities of ſenna; whole plains are ſeen covered with cardamom and ginger; the laſt of which hath a moſt agreeable ſcent, and is four times as large as that of *India*. Here is alſo plenty of cotton, which grows on ſhrubs, like the *Indian* [m]. Flowers are here, likewiſe, in vaſt quantities, and ſurpriſing variety; inſomuch, that the banks of their rivers are adorned, the greateſt part of the year, with jaſmins, roſes, lilies, jonquils, and a vaſt number of other kinds, which are unknown in *Europe*; and among theſe is the roſe, which grows upon trees, and is much more odoriferous than any that grow upon ſhrubs.

Flowers.

Domeſtic and other animals in great plenty.

THERE is ſcarce any country that produces greater quantities, or variety, of animals, both domeſtic and wild, than this of *Abiſſinia*: among the former, horſes, mules, aſſes, camels, dromedaries, oxen, cows, ſheep, goats, *&c.* are bred in vaſt numbers, they being the principal wealth of its inhabitants; and a ſtranger cannot but be delightfully ſurpriſed to ſee the vaſt herds of ſtately cows and oxen grazing in the fields, eſpecially in the kingdoms of *Tigre*, *Gojam*, and ſome others of the empire; their fat oxen, in particular, are of ſo monſtrous a ſize, that they have been miſtaken, at a diſtance, for elephants; whence the notion came, that this country bred horned elephants. Theſe horns are ſo large, as to contain above ten quarts of liquor, and are uſed by the people inſtead of pitchers, or wooden veſſels, to carry water, wine, milk, or other liquids; and four of them full, are a load for an ordinary ox. But beſides theſe large ones, that are fatted for ſlaughter, and have the milk of three or four

[1] Vid. LOBO Relation, ub. ſup. p. 116, & ſeq. [m] PONCET, p. 65.

juggling tricks played by ſome *Abiſſinians*, and other *Africans*, in ſeveral places, both in and out of *Abiſſinia*, with ſuch dexterity, as make them much admired by the populace (4).

(4) *Vid. Ludolph, Tellez, Lobo, Poncet, & al. vid. & Pliny. ub. ſup. lib.* xi. c. 25.

cows

cows given them every day, they have an ordinary ſort, deſigned for labour and carriage, whoſe horns are ſo ſoft and flexible, that they hang down like a dead weight *. Neither doth it yield a leſs delightful proſpect, to behold the ſheep, goats, and other ſmall cattle, browſing at a diſtance, and covering the adjacent mountains and ſteep rocks, where they feed upon ſuch aromatic herbs, as give a particular flavour and taſte to their milk and their fleſh.

Fine breed of horſes.

THEY have likewiſe here ſome of the fineſt breeds of horſes, of all colours and ſizes, and as ſprightly and mettleſome as thoſe ſo much famed ones which are bred in *Andaluzia*, and other parts of *Spain*; and, when well broke and managed, will gallop, trot, pace, curvet, and wheel about, with as much docile agility, as the beſt of ours; but the choiceſt breed among them is the black, of which they have the greateſt quantity (C); though there is no want of thoſe of the roan, bay, grey, dapple, cream-coloured, pye-bald, and other colours; none of which are ſhod as ours are; they are commonly uſed for the war only, and muſt be led by the bridle over the mountains and defiles; but on the plains they are mounted, and run very ſwift. Their ſaddles are very light, but ſure, like thoſe of our managed horſes, only riſing a little higher both before and behind; their ſtirrup-leather is commonly long, but the ſtirrups are ſmall, as they only clap their great toe into them. *Way of riding.*

Mules.

INSTEAD of horſes, for long marches, they make uſe of mules, which are commonly very gentle, ſure-footed, and fit to go over craggy mountains; theſe they train up to an eaſy, yet quick pace, and are moſt commonly preferred to horſes by the *Abiſſinians*, not only on that account, but much more out of regard to their own pedigree; for, as they boaſt themſelves to be deſcended from the *Jews*, whoſe princes, and great ones, are recorded in ſcripture to have chiefly rode upon mules, ſo they count it an honour to do the ſame here, and to have their horſes led by the bridle, till ſome martial engagement obliges them to mount [n].

* DAPPER, TELLEZ, & LUDOLPH, ub. ſup. l. i. c 10. LOBO, ub. ſup. p. 70, & al. [n] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, DAPPER, & al. ub. ſup.

(C) Accordingly we are told by *Elmacin*, an *Arabic* hiſtorian, that *Cyriacus*, king of *Nubia*, who is alſo ſaid to have reigned at that time over *Abiſſinia*, appeared in the field againſt the *Saracens*, with whom he was at war, at the head of 100,000 of his negroes, mounted on the like number of theſe black horſes (5).

(5) *Vid. Dapper Abiſſin. & al. ſup. citat.*

THE

Camels and dromedaries.

THE laſt domeſtic animals worth naming, are, the camels and dromedaries, which are likewiſe bred up in great numbers, on account of their extreme uſefulneſs for carriage, and long journies, through theſe hot and barren deſerts: but as theſe differ little, either in ſhape or uſe, from thoſe we have deſcribed in our general account of *Afric*, we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid there of them [o]. There is one ſort, however, of them in this country, which, tho' of the camel kind, yet is well worth our notice here; they call it *giratacacheme*, or *ſlender-end*, on account of its uncommon ſhape, it being much taller than the elephant, but as finely and ſlenderly made, as that is clumſy and unwieldy; inſomuch, that a man on horſeback may eaſily paſs under its belly: the common height of its fore-legs is reckoned about twelve ſpans, or four yards; but that of the hinder ſomewhat ſhorter. The neck is proportionable, and long enough to reach to the ground, and graze, graſs being its proper food, and the whole, in moſt reſpects, anſwerable to the deſcription which the ancients give of the camelopardus.

The camelo-pardus.

Elephants, all wild here;

AMONG the animals of the wild kind, the elephant deſerves our firſt notice, as they breed here in ſuch prodigious numbers; and yet none of them were ever known to be brought up tame in the whole empire; for which reaſon, we may juſtly rank them among the wild kind, though they are of a different nature in ſeveral countries we have ſeen through the courſe of this hiſtory [p]: however, they ſeem quite natural to this climate, or rather, a native nuiſance to the country, by the dreadful havock they make among the corn, and other grain, of which they deſtroy ten times more with their large feet, than with their mouths, *&c.* They root up large trees, and break ſmall ones, to feed on their leaves; by which, in time, they deſtroy whole foreſts, as they commonly go in large droves, from fifty to a hundred, or more. The food they affect moſt, is that of a tree, not unlike our cherries, but which is full of pith, like our alder, but of a delicious taſte to them. Their ſize is ſo monſtrous, that a man, mounted on a tall mule, cannot reach their back by ſome ſpans [q]. As to their ſhape, extraordinary docility, and other particulars relating to them, they have been ſo amply deſcribed in ſome former volumes, that we ſhall not need add any-thing to it [r]. The next is the rhinoceros, a creature of monſtrous bulk and

Numerous and deſtructive.

[o] See before, vol. xiv. c. 1. [p] Idem ibid. [q] LOBO, ub. ſup. p. 69. TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al. [r] See before, vol. v. p. 307, & ſeq. viii. p. 110, 447, & alib. paſſ.

make

make, and a mortal enemy to the elephant: but this creature hath been likewiſe deſcribed already [s]; and though moſt of the *Portugueſe* writers affirm it to be a native of this empire, yet we do not meet with any that pretend to have ſeen it there; from which we may conclude, that they may be as ſcarce as the elephants are numerous in it (D). *Rhinoceros ſcarce.*

Lions are here likewiſe in great numbers, and very deſtructive and dangerous: they have them of ſeveral ſorts and ſizes, and particularly thoſe that are ſtiled of the kingly or royal breed: and as they do a great deal of miſchief among the large cattle, the *Abiſſinians* are no leſs induſtrious and adventurous in deſtroying them, and will even encounter them with their lances, or with a dagger [t]; for that noble animal, fierce as it is amongſt other brutes, will not encounter a man, except he be aſſaulted by him, or greatly pinched with hunger. They are ſo large, that ſome which have been killed by the inhabitants, have meaſured eight cubits in length, from neck to tail [u], particularly one in the kingdom of *Tigre*, near *Maegoga*, *an.* 1630, which was deſtroyed by a ſhepherd in the open field, with a throw of his dart: this fierce creature was coming down from the mountains, all covered with the blood of the many creatures it had gored and rent in pieces, when the ſhepherd ſeeing him at a good diſtance making towards him, took that interval to dig a great hole in the ground, and upon his approaching within reach of his weapon, he caſt it at him with ſuch force, that it pierced him through the ſhoulder: the monſter, after many dreadful roars and leaps, fell luckily into the pit, where he was diſpatched by the victorious countryman, not without many grievous *Lions large and numerous. Make vaſt havock among the cattle. Killed by the* Abiſſinians.

[s] See before, vol. xiv. c. 1, & ſeq. [t] See Lobo Voy. 2. p. 69. Tellez, Ludolph, lib. i. c. 10. [u] Id. ibid.

(D) Some think that the fathers *Gaſpar, Schot, Coyarruvias*, and others, have confounded this animal with the Bada, or Abada, mentioned by F. *Joban dos Santos*, which is about the ſize of a colt of two years, and hath two horns, differently placed, the one on the fore part of the head, which is about three or four ſpans long, and of a dark brown, or quite black hue, ſmooth, and ſharp-pointed, with a ſmall riſing on the top; the other on the back of the head, but ſhorter, and more ſlender than the other. We are told, that the bones of this animal burnt to aſhes, and mixed with water, make an excellent pultice againſt all kinds of tumours, draws the peccant matter out of the fleſh, and heals the wound it makes in it (6).

(6) *Le Grand Diſſert. ſur la Cote orientale d'Afrique, p.* 230.

grievous wounds [w], as well as great danger and difficulty. We ſhall ſay nothing of their tigers, leopards, wolves, foxes, various kinds of apes, and other beaſts of prey; which, tho' numerous, fierce, and miſchievous, have nothing particular in this from thoſe of other hot countries. Many of the *Porgueſe* authors affirm the famed unicorn to have been ſeen in ſome parts of the empire, particularly in the kingdom of *Damot*, and territories of the *Agaus*, which are both woody countries; but add, that its flight from one wood to another is ſo ſwift, that they had not time enough to examine, much leſs to ſhoot at it, though they have ventured to give a deſcription of it, which we ſhall not repeat here, but refer our readers to what hath been ſaid of it, and its various kinds, in a former volume [x].

The zecora, or wild mule.

THE wild mule, or, as ſome falſely call it, aſs, and the *Abiſſinians*, zeora, or zecora, is alſo a native of this empire; but having been already deſcribed in a [y] former volume, we ſhall only ſay of it, that the *Gallas* are now poſſeſſed of the countries where it moſtly breeds: it is, however, ſo much admired for its beautiful ſhape, colour, and ſtripes, that kings and emperors look upon one of them as a preſent fit for them, eſpecially as they can, it ſeems, be eaſily tamed, though naturally wild: two thouſand ſequins have been given for one of them by an *Indian Moor*, in order to carry it to the great mogul [z]. The wild aſs hath been often confounded with the zecora, though it be different from it, as it hath horns and cloven hoofs, like the deer kind: it commonly hath a white ſtrake, that comes down from its buttocks to its hams: its furr is harſh, and of an aſh colour; its fleſh tender, and good to eat. There is another much of the ſame kind, but with a dark-brown ſkin, very ſmooth; its legs are much ſhorter behind than before, and yet is much ſwifter of foot than a buck. We ſhall conclude this article of wild animals, with the deſcription of a ſingular one, which we ſhall give in the author's own words.

Wild aſs.

An extraordinary animal.

"This extraordinary animal, as he ſtiles it, is no bigger than "one of our cats, and hath the face of a man, with a white "beard, and its voice mournful; it always keeps upon a tree, "and, they aſſured me, that it is there brought forth, "and there it dies. It is ſo very wild, that there is no poſ"ſibility of taming it: when they have caught one of them, "with a deſign to bring it up, all the care they can take of

[w] Jeſuits Travels, l. i. c. 7.
[x] See vol. xiv. c. 1.
[y] See before, ibid.
[z] Jeſuits Travels, l. i. c. 7. vid. & LUDOLPH, & al. ſup. citat.

"it

" it, cannot prevent its pining itſelf to death: they ſhot one " of them in my preſence, which clung faſt to the branch of " the tree, twining its legs about it, and died ſome days " after [a]."

Crocodile and hippopotamus.

AMONG the amphibious kind, the crocodile and hippopotamos, or ſea-horſe, are the largeſt, and the moſt deſtructive to man and beaſt. The *Nile* is, as it were, their nurſery, from which they make their excurſions into the adjacent lands, and deſtroy all that come in their way: but, as they are likewiſe common in *Egypt*, where we have already given a deſcription of the former, we ſhall refer our readers to it [b]. The latter, or ſea-horſe, is twice as large as an ox, and hath a head near three times as big as that of a bull: its legs are ſhort; the fore-feet, or hoofs, divided into five clefts, and the hinder into four: its ſkin is ſleek, hard, and of a dark-brown; the jaws wide, and full of teeth, and from the under one come out four fangs, near two ſpans in length; two of them are ſharp and ſtrait, and the other two crooked, like the tuſks of a wild boar: ſome deſcribe him with the ſame number in his upper jaw, but without any foundation, unleſs theſe of *Ethiopia* differ, in that reſpect, from thoſe of *Egypt*, and other countries [c]. His head is the only part which hath any reſemblance to that of a horſe, having a white ſtrake, which comes down between his noſtrils, and a white ſtar on the forehead: he ſpends the day commonly in the water, and the night on land, where he hath his paſture, and falls foul on all that comes in his way; and as he is very clumſy and large, deſtroys as much with his feet as he doth with his rapacious mouth; and, like the elephant lately mentioned, not only devours, but tramples all down, graſs, corn, herbs, roots, Turky wheat, and all that the poor inhabitants had ſown for their ſubſiſtence; but what is ſtill more terribly deſtructive, it ſtifles both man and beaſt that come under the reach of its claws, with its huge weight, and ſucks only the blood out of their bodies, leaving the reſt to rot on the ground, or to become a prey to crocodiles, and other voracious creatures [d]: yet is it of ſo fearful a nature, that it flees at the ſight of an armed man, and much more ſo at that of fire, or fire-arms: but is much more bold in the water, where he will attack boats and barges, and often overturns them; eſpecially the females, when they come to have colts,

The latter deſcribed.

Its dreadful jaws.

Terrible havock.

[a] PONCET voyage to Ethiop. p. 66. [b] See Anc. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 420, & ſeq. [c] Conf. LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 11. MAILLET, LOBO, & al. [d] See LUDOLPH, lib. i. c. MAILLET deſcript. of Egypt, vol. ii. p. 126, & al. mult.

at

at which time they part from all the reſt, and keep ſolely to them, and attack all that come in their way: at other times, they keep with the male; and it is as common to find one of them with many females, as with us to ſee a bull among many cows; yet ſo jealous are they, that one never ſees two males together in one herd. They are often troubled with a kind of cramp, or gout, in their limbs; at which time they have no power to defend themſelves, but lie flat upon the ground, with one of their fore-feet under their belly, and ſhew all the tokens of an acute pain. At ſuch times as theſe it is that the inhabitants deſtroy them, chiefly for their teeth, which are of a finer white, and retain it much longer, than any ivory: they likewiſe eſteem their left hoofs, as a ſovereign remedy againſt melancholy. Their ſkin, bones, fat, and almoſt every part of them, is turned to ſome advantage; which is an encouragement to the natives to hazard their lives in ſearch of them. The misfortune is, that their hide, which is ſmooth, and near two inches thick, is proof againſt any of their weapons; ſo that there is but one ſmall ſpot on its forehead at which it may be wounded: the hide of one of them, they ſay, is a ſufficient load for three or four camels, and a man that ſtands upright in the belly of one of them, can hardly touch the back-bone with his hand. We do not find, however, that any *Nubians*, *Abiſſinians*, or people of any other nations, ever caught one of them alive, or ever could diſcover any creature that is its mortal enemy, as the ichneumon, or water-cat [e], is to the crocodile; the ſword-fiſh, to the whale; or the ibis, to the flying ſerpent [f]; though that doth not prove that the Divine Providence hath left him without ſuch a one, notwithſtanding they have not been yet able to diſcover it: and thus much may ſuffice to give our reader an idea of that dreadful monſter, whoſe very roaring is ſo loud and terrible, that it chills the blood of every creature that hears it [g].

Subject to the gout.

White teeth.

More valuable than ivory.

Skin proof againſt weapons.

Monſtrous ſize,

and dreadful voice.

To this we ſhall only add the water-lizard, called by the natives angueg, and by the *Italians* caudiverbera, from the vaſt ſtrength and keenneſs of its tail, with which, they tell us, that creature, which is ſcarcely bigger, and more ſlender, than a cat, can cut a man's leg off at one blow: its ſkin is ſmooth and without hair, its aſpect foul and frightful; it feeds on the graſs when it gets out of the water; and Mr. *Ludolph's Gregory* gives it the ſhape and form of a dragon, whatever he meant by that name *.

The water lizard.

[e] See Anc. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 420. [f] Ibid. p. 422. [g] Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Ludolph, Maillet, & al. plur. * Ludolph, l. i. c. 11. Tellez, Dapper, & al. vid. & Bochart, l. iv. c. 3.

Here

HERE is likewiſe great plenty and variety of fiſh, both in their large lakes and rivers, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in ſome following ſection: at preſent we ſhall juſt mention one, on account of its ſtrange properties; we mean, the famed torpedo, or torpid fiſh, which is frequently caught in both of them, and is affirmed to be of ſo cold a nature, that it conveys an immediate chilneſs and numbneſs into the blood of every one who but barely touches it; inſomuch, that the inhabitants make uſe of it to allay the exceſſive heat which they ſuffer under ſome of thoſe burning fevers which are ſo very frequent in moſt parts of this empire; and this is done by the bare touch of the creature. Some think it might be as efficacious againſt the gout, though the experiment cannot but be ſomewhat dangerous: but the *Abiſſinians* apply it in the cure of tertian and quartan agues; though the application cauſes ſuch excruciating pains in all the limbs of the patient, that they are forced to tie him faſt to a board all the time: they are even ſuperſtitious enough to think it an efficacious remedy to drive devils away [h]. However, as to its ſtrange chilling quality, ſeveral *Portugueſe* fathers have confirmed it by their own experience; and add, that the pain that follows the touch is inſtantaneous, and almoſt intolerable [i]. *Fiſhes plentiful.* *The torpedo;* *its ſtrange quality.*

WE ſhould certainly tire our readers, were we to go thro' the vaſt variety of fowl, of all kinds, with which this country abounds, or even with thoſe that are in ſome meaſure peculiar to it. Thoſe that moſt deſerve attention, among the latter, are, the oſtrich, the largeſt and moſt unwieldy of all the volatile kind, and which, though its feathers are not able to raiſe it from the ground, yet by the ſtrength of them, and the motion of its feet, can move with greater ſwiftneſs than the fleeteſt horſe in his full ſpeed. We have formerly given ſome account of this ſtrange bird, and of the manner of catching it [k], as well as of the ibis, or bird which deſtroys thoſe innumerable flying ſerpents, which annoy this country at ſome times of the year, and would ſoon reduce it to a wilderneſs, if the Divine Providence had not appointed that beneficial race to deſtroy them [l]. This bird is more properly a native of *Egypt*, but is no leſs a benefactor to *Abiſſinia*, in clearing it from ſo deſtructive a plague; for which ſervice, he is called in the *Amharan* language, the ſerpent-eater. *Fowls and birds.* *Oſtriches.* *Ibis, or ſerpent-eater.*

[h] LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 11. §. 13. & ſeq. TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, & al. [i] Id. ibid. vid & codig. l. i c. 11. [k] Anc. Hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 293. [l] Ibid. vol. i. p. 422. vid. LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 12. §. 8. & ſeq. & al. ſup.

THE

Pipi, or hunter's guide. THE pipi, ſo called from its conſtant uttering thoſe two ſyllables, hath an admirable inſtinct in directing huntſmen to their game, and will not leave them till they follow them to the place where it lies; but they muſt take care not to do ſo unleſs they are well armed; for it often leads them to ſome fierce wild beaſt, or monſtrous creature, as it did once a friend of Mr. *Ludolph*'s, and a native of *Tigre*, to a tree, to which hung a ſerpent of a prodigious ſize; which obliged him to run away back faſter than he came [m]. This extraordinary bird, it ſeems, chiefly lives upon the blood, or fleſh, of thoſe creatures that are thus killed by his direction. *Stately abagun.* The abagun, or ſtately abbot, as that name imports, is in ſome meaſure peculiar to this country, it being found no-where but here and in *Peru*. It is only remarkable for its beauty, and for a kind of horn growing on its head, inſtead of a creſt, which is ſhort, round, and ſplit at the upper end like a mitre [n]. *The devil's horſe.* The ſaitan, favez, or the devil's horſe, reſembles a man armed with feathers, commonly walks with a majeſtic gravity, or runs with ſurpriſing ſwiftneſs; but when too cloſely purſued, expands his wings, and flies away. Its height is near that of a ſtork, but its ſhape more genteel and beautiful. That which they call the *Cardinal.* cardinal, from the beautiful redneſs of all its feathers, except thoſe on its breaſt, which appear of the colour and ſmooth gloſs, of the fineſt black velvet, is another of the charming birds that are natives of this country: as is alſo that which *White nightingale.* they call the white nightingale, with a tail of the ſame colour, about two ſpans long, which, when it flies, looks like a white piece of paper faſtened to its rump [o].

WE ſhould never have done, were we to go through all the great variety of the feathered kind, both wild and tame, with which this empire abounds, in common with ours, and other *European* countries, but which excel them, for the moſt part, either in beauty, goodneſs, largeneſs, *&c.* For we are *Large partridge.* told, for inſtance, that their partridges are as big as our capons [p], and that they have ſeveral kinds of them, as well as of pigeons, turtle-doves, and a great number of others. We ſhall therefore conclude this article with one ſpecies of them, which ſeems peculiar, as well as of ſingular uſe, to it, *viz.* *Maroc, or honey bird.* the maroc, or honey-bird, ſo called from its particular inſtinct in diſcovering the hidden treaſure of the induſtrious bees, of which they have alſo a great variety; ſome of which are domeſtic, and kept in hives, others which lay up their honey in hollow trees, and a third ſort which hide it in ſmall holes and

[m] LUDOLPH, ibid. §. 12, & ſeq. [n] LOBO, relat. p. 71.
[o] Id. ibid. [p] Id. ibid. & al. ub. ſup.

caverns

caverns in the ground, but which they take ſurpriſing care to cleanſe for their uſe, and afterwards to ſtop them ſo cloſe and ſo artfully, that it is next to impoſſible to find them out, though they moſtly lie along the highways. This laſt, though of ſomewhat a darker colour than that of the hives, is not inferior to it in goodneſs; and it is this kind that the maroc diſcovers to the inhabitants, by an unuſual noiſe and fluttering of its wings, which, when perceived by the paſſenger, he has nothing to do but follow him to the place, where the feathered guide takes up a more delicious note, and purſues it till his man hath taken poſſeſſion of the hidden ſtore; in the plundering of which, he takes care to leave behind a ſmall quantity to his ſongſter, it being the chief food he lives upon. Theſe laſt kind of bees are in the greateſt plenty; and, we are told, their being deprived of the ſting, which the others are provided with, by the wiſe Author of nature, is the reaſon of their thus laying it up ſafe under ground: its wax is much whiter, and fitter for chirurgical applications, as well as the honey is for phyſical compoſitions, and both a kind of unlaboured treaſure to the inhabitants [q]; on which account, as well as for the vaſt herds of cows they keep, and the plentiful quantity of milk they yield, this land may be ſaid to have the ſecond title to *Paleſtine*, of being ſtiled, A LAND FLOWING WITH MILK AND HONEY.

Plenty of honey.

Laid up under ground by one ſort of bees.

To counterbalance theſe, and other bleſſings we have already mentioned, they are not without a proportionable variety of obnoxious animals, ſerpents, and inſects, equally hurtful; beſides thoſe wild and dreadful beaſts, lately deſcribed: among which, we may place in the firſt rank, thoſe devouring and frequent ſwarms of locuſts, which, in one ſeaſon, leave whole kingdoms and provinces deſolate; and the dire effects of which deſtructive vermin, are inimitably deſcribed by the prophet [r]. *A fire devoureth before them, and behind them a flame conſumeth: the land is before them as the garden of* Eden, *and behind them a deſolate wilderneſs; yea, and nothing eſcapeth them*, &c. This country being extremely mountainous and rocky, is ſo much the more apt to breed them; and accordingly doth, in ſuch vaſt multitudes, that they come like very thick clouds, which cover the whole ſurface of the earth, and even eclipſe the light of the ſun at noon-day. Their teeth are ſo ſharp and hard, that they not only devour every blade of graſs, root, and branch, and the leaves of the trees and buſhes, but even the wood of the

Locuſts very deſtructive.

[q] Tellez, Almeyda, Ludolph, Lobo, & al. plur. [r] Joel, ii. 3, & ſeq.

small twigs, and even the bark of the largest trees, leaving on every thing they have touched, a nasty burnt hue, as if it had passed through the fire, which exactly answers the description above quoted out of the prophet; so that the said effects of them are felt sometimes for two or three years after. They commonly range the whole season, shifting from place to place till about their *Michaelmas* tide, which they celebrate in the month of *November*; about which time, a westerly wind begins to blow, which drives them all into the *Red Sea* [s]. We need not trouble our readers with a fuller description of them, they having of late made such threatning approaches to these isles: Heaven grant they may never come nearer us! for if they did, we should soon be reduced to a worse plight than the *Ethiopians*, and other *African* nations, whom necessity hath taught to turn that destructive plague into a delightful nourishment (E). Notwithstanding which precautions, the devastations they make are so terrible and universal, that whole kingdoms and provinces become depopulated; and the inhabitants, being obliged by the famine which they commonly leave behind, to remove into others for subsistence, where they appear, at their arrival, more like ghosts than men, having nothing left but the bare skin

Time of their going off.

How destroyed and eaten.

Depopulate whole provinces.

[s] Lobo, ub. sup p. 81, 86. Tellez, Almeyda, & al. vid. & Ludolph, lib. i. c. 13. pass.

(E) They have, it seems, found out several ways of destroying, and dressing them for food. As soon as they see them coming at a distance, the whole country rises up in arms against them: they knock them down with flat wooden, or leather, weapons, not unlike our butchers flie-flaps, but larger, and heavier in proportion: and as they fly in such thick swarms, the ground is soon covered with their carcases, which they sweep up in heaps, about three or four feet high: to some of these they set fire, which burns their legs and wings, and parboils the rest of their flesh, which is now become such a delicious morsel with them, that after they have eaten their fill of them, they strew the rest with salt, and preserve it for future food. Others dry them only in the sun, and preserve them for use; and having pounded them in a mortar, make a kind of thick spoon-meat of them; which one of our authors, who tasted it, tells us, had an ill flavour and taste (7); owing probably to their having been kept too long; but the people, to palliate it, told him, that they only eat them out of devotion and respect to *St. John the Baptist*, who is recorded to have made them and wild honey his constant food (8).

(7) *Lobo, Relat.* 2. *p.* 81 & 86. *vid. & al. sup. citat.* (8) *Matth.* iii. 4 upon

upon their bones, and being ſcarcely able to crawl or ſpeak. What is ſtill more deplorable, is, that this famine is commonly attended with ſome peſtilential diſtemper [t], no leſs deſtructive than thoſe which, as we lately hinted, are cauſed by the ſtagnated waters, after their violent and continued winter rains.

THIS country hath likewiſe its full ſhare of ſerpents, and variety of reptiles, inſects, and other vermin, infeſting either men or beaſts, or the fruits of the earth: we have already mentioned ſome of their ſerpents, and other venomous creatures, as well as of the ſalutiferous herbs with which Providence hath furniſhed it, by way of antidote and preſervative againſt them; beyond which, we cannot add any thing worth our readers attention, ſeeing they ſo nearly reſemble thoſe which we have had occaſion to deſcribe in other parts of the world, thro' the courſe of this hiſtory.

SECT. IV.

Of the ſeveral People and Nations that inhabit the Abiſſinian *Empire; their Complexion, Features, Genius, Diſpoſition, Arts, Trades and Occupations, Dreſs, Food, Drink, and other Cuſtoms.*

HAVING now gone through the ſeveral climates and ſoils of this country, and given an account of its chief products, vegetable and animal, we come now naturally to deſcribe the various people that inhabit it, whom, for diſtinction ſake, we ſhall at preſent in general divide only into *Chriſtians*, *Jews*, *Mohammedans*, and *Gentiles*, without entering into any particulars about their reſpective religions, which will be better ſeen in a ſubſequent ſection. By the *Chriſtians*, we chiefly mean, not only thoſe of the *Abiſſinian* church, who are the principal natives of the country, but thoſe whom the *Roman* miſſionaries brought over to their own communion, and continue ſtill in their adherence to it; of whom we are told, there are great numbers ſcattered about, notwithſtanding the grievous perſecutions that have been raiſed againſt them and their teachers [a]. The *Jews* have ſettled in this empire from time immemorial, excluſive of thoſe who are ſaid to have come hither from *Paleſtine*, with *Menileck*, the ſon whom the queen of *Sheba* had by *Solomon*,

The various nations inhabiting this empire.

Jews *anciently ſettled here.*

[t] Id. ibid. [a] De his, vid. TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, ALVAREZ, CODINC. LOBO, LUDOLPH, JARRIC, DAM. DE GOEZ, LE GRAND, & al.

Perſecuted by Sultan Segued.

of whom we ſhall ſay more hereafter. Theſe looked upon themſelves as natives of the empire, and were ſettled in *Dembea*, *Vegora*, and *Samen*, where they defended themſelves a long ſeries of ages, in ſome of the moſt ſtrong and rocky parts of theſe kingdoms, till they were at length diſlodged and driven from thence by the emperor *Suſneus*, commonly called Sultan *Segued*. Of theſe ancient *Jews*, many embraced Chriſtianity, from the earlieſt times of its being propagated in this empire, which leſſened their number conſiderably: ſince which, the empire has been ſo ſtreightened and mangled by the *Gallas*, vaſt numbers of them having been ſlain, and the reſt ſo ſeverely handled by that emperor, that many of them fled into other countries; others were obliged to embrace Chriſtianity, and lived comfortably there, by their ſeveral trades, ſome by weaving, others by making darts, javelins, ploughs, and other iron inſtruments of huſbandry and war, they being reckoned the beſt workmen in that branch in the whole empire; by which means their number is very much decreaſed to what they were even in the twelfth century [b]; and thoſe that remain, are forced, for the moſt part, to live in ſome of the moſt craggy and mountainous parts of the country. Neither hath their extreme indigence and miſery been capable of making them forget, or ſet aſide, their ancient diſtinction of caraites and talmudiſts, of which we have formerly given a full account [c], but retain it with as vehement zeal and inveteracy as ever (A).

Embrace Chriſtianity.

Exerciſe trades.

The others keep their old diſtinction.

NEXT

[b] Id. ibid. vid. & BEN. DE TUDELA Itinerar. [c] See Anc. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 7, & ſeq. x. p. 485, & ſeq.

(A) There is ſtill a third ſort of them, we are told, who inhabit ſome parts of the *Abiſſinian* frontiers, between them and the *Caffres*, who dwell along the *Nile*; theſe own no dependence to the emperors, but are a kind of republic of themſelves, and are ſuppoſed to be deſcended either from thoſe whom the kings of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon* (1) carried away captive, or from thoſe who diſperſed themſelves over the world, or were ſold by *Titus Veſpaſian* after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* (2). On which account they were never incorporated with thoſe that came hither with *Menileck*, the ſon of *Solomon*, king of *Iſrael*, but looked upon as aliens, and bear to this day that epithet, being called by the reſt *Salaxa*, or ſtrangers, or exiles. They retain ſtill their *Hebrew* bibles though in the corrupt talmudiſt dialect, and have their ſynagogues like the reſt; but when

(1) 2 *Kings*, xvii. *paſſ.* xxiv. & xxv. *paſſ. vid. et Anc. Hiſt. vol.* iv. *p.* 321, *& ſeq.* 395, *& ſeq.* (2) *Ibid. vol.* x. *p.* 686, *& ſeq.*

the

NEXT to the *Jews* are the *Mohammedans*, who are in ſome meaſure diſperſed through the whole empire, in ſuch numbers, that they are reckoned to make up near one-third part of the inhabitants of the *Abiſſinian* empire, yet live friendly and quietly with the Chriſtians, with whom they are every-where intermixed. Many of theſe give themſelves up to agriculture and farming; but thoſe that make the greateſt figure, and get the moſt riches, are the factors: for ſince the *Turks* have deprived the *Abiſſinians* of their ſea-ports on the *Red Sea*, they allow not any of the Chriſtians to reſort thither for commerce, ſo that they have engroſſed it wholly into their own hands; and whatever gold, and other commodities are exported, muſt be conveyed thither by the *Mohammedans*; who there exchange them for ſilks, ſtuffs, and other merchandizes, which they ſell to them at a very high price; and as they are not over-conſcientious, making the greateſt gain of this traffic with the Chriſtians, they quickly grow immoderately rich, and get vaſt eſtates by this factorſhip, to the impoveriſhing of the Chriſtians [d], How *Mohammediſm* was firſt introduced into this empire, will be ſeen in a more proper place; and we have had frequent occaſion, through the courſe of this work, to obſerve, how very much that religion, if it deſerves that name, is apt to inſpire its profeſſors with a more than ordinary contempt for all others, and to behave with ſingular haughtineſs and tyranny towards all other nations, where-ever they gain the upper hand [e]; and tho' the frequent attempts of the *Turkiſh* Sultans, to make themſelves maſters of this large and noble country, have hitherto proved, in a great meaſure, abortive; yet it is much to be feared, that their ſtripping it of all its ſea-ports and commerce, ſeizing on ſo many of its frontier provinces, joined to their having introduced their religion not only into moſt of the neighbouring kingdoms, but even into every part of this empire, will ſome time or other furniſh them with the unhappy means of enſlaving it, eſpecially, as the ignorance and indolence of the *Abiſſinian* clergy, and their ſubjection to the patriarch of *Alexandria*, who is a ſubject, and too often a

Mohammedans very numerous.

Engroſs the whole commerce and riches of the empire.

The danger of its being at length ſubdued by the Turks.

[d] TELLEZ, ALVAREZ, LUDOLPH, et al. ſup. cit. [e] See before, vol. i. p. 35, & ſeq. 205, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ.

their worſhip and ſinging is performed, in a more careleſs and ſlovenly manner, if poſſible, than it is amongſt the reſt (3).

(3) *Ludolph, l.* i. *c.* 14. *Travels of the Jeſuits, l.* i. *c.* 8, *et al. ub. ſup.*

creature, to the Porte, and ſends ſuch delegates among them, as are the moſt unfit to rule over that ſinking church, doth ſo largely contribute to the ſtill farther propagation of *Mohammediſm*.

Gentiles inhabiting part of this empire.

THE Gentiles, which inhabit ſeveral conſiderable parts of this empire, are chiefly the *Gallas*, of whom we have already given an account; ſome tribes of whom the emperor having ſuffered to ſettle in his dominions, in order to make uſe of them againſt thoſe of the ſame nations who have ſeized on ſo great a part of them, are ever at war with him; and the *Agaus*, who are ſettled in the kingdoms of *Bagâmeder* and *Gojam*; in the former of which, their territories, which are called *Laſta*, are ſo mountainous, rocky, and ſo full of inacceſſible paſſes, that they could never be ſubdued, but have been able to maintain themſelves in it againſt the united forces of the emperor. Thoſe of the kingdom of *Gojam* inhabit likewiſe a large territory, about twenty leagues in length, and about ſeven or eight in breadth, very rocky and mountainous, though nothing like that of *Laſta*. It is divided into about twenty diſtricts, each under its particular head: the inhabitants are ſtout and fierce, and have their habitations along the *Nile*. Their mountains abound in proviſions, and are full of thick woods and bamboos, which grow likewiſe ſo cloſe, that they ſerve them inſtead of ramparts and trenches againſt their enemies. Through theſe, they cut ſuch ſtreight and narrow ways, and with ſuch variety of turnings and windings, that one would take them for ſome ſpacious labyrinths. Within theſe they intrench themſelves in time of war, at about a mile diſtance from the entrance, which they take care to ſtop, as well as all the avenues and ways, by laying large trees acroſs them. Theſe cloſe thickets they call ſcutes, or ſecutes; and, being thoroughly acquainted with all their avenues, they ſally out like ſo many wild beaſts, and almoſt with the ſame ſavage fierceneſs, and with their bows and arrows, make a dreadful havock among all that venture to attack them [f]. But beſides theſe kind of out-works, they have their furtatas, or deep caverns, ſome in the ſolid rock, others under-ground, ſuppoſed to be the work of nature, but whether ſo, or of art and labour, are equally ſtrong and difficult of acceſs; the entrance of them is very narrow, but the inſide ſpacious and convenient; and in ſome of them they have ſprings of good water, for their own and their cattle's drinking. In theſe they commonly live in time of war; in them

The Agaus, their high ſituation and intrenchments.

Excurſions of all invaders.

Spacious dens.

[f] Travels of the Jeſuits, lib. i. c. 8. §. iii. c. 5, LUDOLPH, et al.

they

they keep their hoards of millet, barley, and other grain, together with their cattle and families, whilst the enemy is in their frontiers; and from these they make their sallies and armed excursions upon them, through the crooked and intricate paths and defiles, through which it is next to impossible to pursue them back to their dens.

We know little of their religion, if they have any, except that they are addicted to many superstitious customs; and those of *Gojam*, to some kinds of sorcery. They have great plenty of honey, of which they make a pleasant liquor; and abundance of cattle, on the milk and flesh of which they live, much after the manner of the *Gallas*. Their clothing is no other than the skins of those beasts, which they beat with large heavy clubs, till they have brought them to a sufficient thinness and pliableness; these they throw, men and women, over their bodies, and tie them about their middle, without any other garment. They are commonly of a very dark complexion, though not quite black like the negroes, and, for the most part, tall and well shaped, stout, and warlike, yet far from the rapacious temper of the *Gallas*, and other neighbouring invaders, living contented within their territories, more solicitous to preserve them from invasion, than to intrude upon theirs [s]: by which means they have been able to defend themselves against the free-booting *Gafates* on the one side, and from the imperial forces on the other, from time immemorial; though they have been since forced to submit to the superior arms of Sultan *Segued*, a warlike prince, who not only subdued them to his obedience, but obliged them to embrace Christianity about the year 1614, as we shall see in the sequel of this chapter. We shall say nothing of the *Gafates*, and some other infectious heathen nations, dispersed through other provinces of this empire; concerning which, we find little else mentioned by our authors, except their names, and the part they have acted in some of the wars, or other transactions that are to be met with in their history, without any further particulars relating to them, worth our readers notice.

Way of living.

Dress.

Browns.

Subdued and converted.

Other gentiles.

Among such a variety of nations, and such a number of kingdoms and provinces, there must be supposed a proportionate variety of languages, the major part of which are wholly unknown to us. The *Jews* that still remain there, speak a kind of *Hebrew*, but as corrupt as is their religion and morals. The *Moors* use their own *Arabic*, but no less short of the purity of that ancient tongue. Every nation,

Languages.

[s] Id. ibid.

Ethiopic. province, and almoſt diſtrict, hath its own dialect: that which is in uſe at court, and among the moſt polite, is, that of the kingdom of *Amhara*, but is ſpoken more or leſs corruptly in other provinces [h]: that of the kingdom of *Tigre*, however, is that which comes neareſt to the old *Ethiopic*, which was forced to give place to that of *Amhara*, after the failure of the *Zugean* line, though it had been time out of mind the current language of *Ethiopia*, and comes indeed neareſt the ancient *Ethiopic*. This laſt ſtill retains its priſtine dignity, and is ſtill in uſe, not only in all their religious and learned books, in the king's letters patent, and all their records, but in their liturgies and religious worſhip. But of this we ſhall have the leſs to ſay, having formerly given as full a deſcription of it, and of its peculiar character, and affinity to the ancient *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, and other oriental languages, as the narrowneſs of our limits would permit, and to which we ſhall now refer our readers, and to the more elaborate account which Mr. *Ludolph* hath given of it [i].

The learned language.

In uſe in their liturgies, ſacred books, &c.

THIS character and language is by them ſtill ſtiled *Leſhona Gœz*, which may be properly enough tranſlated, the learned language, as it is in conſtant uſe; and that in which not only all their ſacred and religious books are written, but which is, or ſhould be, underſtood, at leaſt, by all their biſhops and clergymen; though the generality of thoſe of the latter ſort think themſelves ſufficiently verſed in it, if they can but read and perform their clerical functions in it: in all other reſpects, both they and their greateſt dignitaries are not only very ignorant, but very zealous to continue ſo; thinking it both uſeleſs and dangerous, either to hold any diſputes with thoſe that are of a different church or opinion, and even to read any of their books; and that it is ſufficient for them implicitly to adhere to all the articles and rites of their own, as we ſhall further ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of their religion. As for arts and ſciences, or any branches of what we call polite literature, one may as well look for it among the *Caffres*, and other wild *Africans*, as either among their clergy or laity.

Clergy very ignorant.

IN all other reſpects, the *Abiſſinians* in general, both prieſts and people, have a very good character given them by moſt *Portugueſe* and other writers, both with reſpect to their perſons and minds, their natural diſpoſition, and moral virtues. With reſpect to the firſt, they are commonly well

[h] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, et al. ub. ſup. [i] See Anc. Hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 286, & ſeq. vid. & LUDOLPH, l. xv. c. 1. & al. paſſ.

made,

made, though of a brown olive complexion; their ſhape is full, and in ſome even majeſtic; their features well proportioned, their eyes large, and of a ſparkling black, their noſes rather high than flat, their lips ſmall, and their teeth extremely white and handſome (B), contrary to the inhabitants of *Senaar* or *Nubia*, who have flat noſes, thick lips, and their complexion of a very deep black [k]. With reſpect to their inward diſpoſition, we are told they are, for the far greater part, a ſober, temperate people, naturally inclined to virtue and piety; one finds them commonly leſs addicted to thoſe vices which reign with us in *Europe*; one may likewiſe obſerve, in their mutual converſation, a great degree of ſimplicity and innocence [l]. They ſeem quite averſe to all kind of cruelty, and would in all likelihood have continued ſo to this day, had not the *Portugueſe* exaſperated them into an equal abhorrence of all *Franks* or *Europeans*. They ſeldom have any quarrels one with another; if they have, and their anger riſes to any height, as it ſometimes happens on parti-

The Abiſſinians *tall and handſome.*

Naturally ſober and good-natured.

[k] Tellez, Almeyda, Pays, Lobo, Ludolph, & al. ſup. citat. Poncet, p. 90, Fr. edit. & 70, Engl. [l] Guerreiro, Ann. relat. 1607, 1608, p. 38.

(B) This is the general character that is given them, with regard to their perſons, by the conſent of all the writers abovementioned, but was moſt eminently diſplayed in that of *Zaga Chriſtos*, a native, and, according to his own pretenſions, a prince of the *Abiſſinian* empire, and the ſon of the emperor *Jacob*, who was ſlain in a battle againſt *Suſneus*, or *Segued*, his competitor. This prince appeared in *France* in the year 1653, and was treated there as ſuch; but whether deſervedly, or not, which hath been much diſputed, he is yet allowed to be a native of that empire; and ſuch a one, as (according to the deſcription which the learned *Bochart*, who ſaw him there, gave to Mr. *Ludolph*) eclipſed all the princes of the blood, with the gracefulneſs of his perſon and converſation (4). Yet is not this laſt gentleman the only one that believed him an impoſtor, by many; tho' others, no leſs numerous and judicious, made no queſtion of his being really deſcended from the imperial family of *Abiſſinia* (5). However that be, he died in *France*, in the 26th year of his age, at *Ruel*, near *Paris*, and the picture which ſo many eye-witneſſes have given us of him, ſufficiently ſhews how far the *Abiſſinians* exceed the *Nigritians* in the comelineſs of their ſhape and features (6).

(4) *Ludolph, lib.* ii. *c.* 7. §. vii. *p.* 53, *et ſeq.* (5) *Renaudot contra Ludolph, Rogers, Paleſtin, et al. vid. et lib. cui Titul. Les etranges Evenements du Voyage de S. A. Sereniſſime Prince Zaga Chriſt. &c.* (6) *Vid. Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, et al. ſup. citat. La Croz. Hiſt. du Chriſtianiſme d' Abiſſinie, t.* 1. *p.* 76.

cular

Disputes and quarrels quickly decided.

ticular occasions, or when they have drank a little too plentifully of wine, or *tava*, which is a kind of ale, made of barley-flower, mixed with some intoxicating drugs, they never decide it by the sword, as is done in *Europe*, but, at the most, by cuffs and cudgelling; and as soon as their heat is allayed by that, or the intervention of cooler reason, to which they are ready to give a listening ear, they immediately submit to an arbitration, or lay the whole matter before the judge of the place. Here they are allowed to plead their own cause by word of mouth, without the help of a lawyer, or the tedious and changeable train of bills and answers; and when judgment is once given, whether by the judge or the arbitrator, they faithfully stand to it, without grudge, murmuring, or appeal: by which excellent method they save a great deal of time, charge, and discontent, and are quickly rid of all the other anxieties that constantly attend our law-suits (C).

Without lawyers.

Genius for learning.

THEY are naturally docile, and fond of knowlege, which was one of the main motives that induced them to give the jesuit missionaries so kind a reception at their first coming: and if there is not more learning found amongst them, it is rather for want of proper means, than of capacity of attaining it, especially since they are so hemmed in on all sides, that they cannot venture out of their country without imminent danger, nor receive any strangers amongst them on the

(C) This admirable disposition of the generality of the *Abissinians*, is unanimously confessed by all the relations we have of them, and even by father *Tellez*, who is seldom, in other cases, inclined to speak well of them; however, we must except those of the kingdom of *Tigre*, who commonly indulge their resentment to go a much greater length, especially in case of bloodshed; in which, not only the nearest relations, but all the kindred of the deceased, live years together in open enmity to the slayer, and all his family: this they called having blood between them, which is seldom expiated without shedding a great deal more on each side. The truth is, if we may believe the accounts which the missionaries give us of them, they are of a light unsteady temper, cruel, treacherous, and vindictive, equally ready to break, as to take, the most solemn oaths; to swear allegiance, and rebel, against their lawful princes, who, on their sides, are no less readily disposed to forgive the greatest crimes and affronts, and to receive them again into favour. But the worst charge of all, and perhaps that which hath been the mother of most of the rest, from that quarter, is their apostasy from the *Roman* catholic faith, after they had once so readily embraced it; of which, more in its proper place (7).

(7) *Jesuits Travels, lib.* 1. *c.* 8.

same

ſame account. But the moſt eſteemed of all the ſubjects of this large empire, for ſenſe, ingenuity, courage, equity, and other ſocial virtues, are thoſe of the kingdom of *Enarrea*, which is one of the laſt conqueſts of the *Abiſſinian* monarchs; though, as we have hinted heretofore, it hath continued the moſt faithful of all his native ſubjects ever ſince [a]. *The* Narreans *the moſt eſteemed of all.*

ALL the *Abiſſinians*, in general, are naturally religious, even to a high degree of bigotry and ſuperſtition; great frequenters of their divine worſhip, devotees to their numerous ſaints, ſtrict obſervers of their faſtings and long Lents (D): They behave with great reſpect and modeſty, not only towards their clergy, but more eſpecially in their churches, which they never enter but with their bare feet; on which account the pavement is commonly covered with carpets, or ſomething equivalent: they are never heard to ſpeak or whiſper to each other, to blow their noſes, nor even to turn their heads on one ſide. They are denied *The genius and diſpoſition of the* Abiſſinians. *Decent behaviour at church.*

[a] See before, pag 38.

(D) They obſerve four Lents, like the oriental churches; *viz.* the great Lent, which laſts fifty days; that of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, which laſts forty days, more or leſs, according to the nearneſs of their Eaſter; that of the Aſſumption of our Lady, which laſts fifteen days; and that of Advent, which laſts three weeks. In all which Lents they abſtain from eggs, butter, cheeſe, and do not touch any eatable or drink till after ſunſet; but after that they may eat and drink till midnight. Inſtead of butter they uſe oil; but as they have no olives, they extract theirs from a ſmall grain, which is far from unpleaſant.

With the ſame ſtrictneſs they faſt on all *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* of the year; and always go to prayers before they begin their meals on thoſe days. The very peaſants leave their work to have time enough to perform that duty before they offer to break their faſt.

They diſpenſe neither old nor young, nor even ſick perſons, from faſting, tho' in ſome caſes they abate ſomething of the rigour of it. Their children themſelves are bound to it, from the firſt time of their being admitted to the holy communion, which is commonly about ten years of age (8).

The Monks are ſtill more ſtrict and rigorous. Some of them eat but once in two days of their meagre fare; and others, we are told, eat only on *Sundays*, and ſpend the reſt of the week in devotion; ſome of them ſpend the whole holy week without eating or drinking. Many other inſtances of mortification are practiſed by thoſe monks and other devotees, which are ſcarcely credible, and for which we ſhall refer our readers to the authors themſelves (9).

(8) *Tellez, Almeyda, Ludolph. l.* iii. *c.* 6. §. 81, *& ſeq. Poncet. & al.* (9) *Id. ibid.*

entrance,

entrance, if they neglect to appear clean and neat, both in their bodies and dress. Perhaps they have learned this from the *Mohammedans*, who are intermixed among them, and who, how remiss soever they are in other particulars of their religion, yet always behave with the most exemplary respect in their mosques [o].

Regard for their saints, relicks, and images.

THEY pay no less a regard to relicks and all kind of religious imagery, of which they have great variety, both in their churches and domestic oratories; such as crucifixes, pictures and statues of the virgin *Mary*, and all their saints. They even affect to wear their little images about them by way of ornament, as well as devotion; and a present of this nature is more regarded amongst them, than one of a far more intrinsic value [p]. Their very women, though far from that recluseness and strictness which is so common over all those warm climates, affect much to mix these superstitious ornaments among those which are more peculiar to their sex and different ranks; the meanest, amongst their trinkets; and those of quality, among their finest jewels. The latter usually go gorgeously dressed in the richest silks and brocades; their upper garments are wide and full, not unlike our church surplices. They attire their heads and hair an hundred different ways, and take care to have their ears adorned with the richest pendants. They spare no cost to embellish their necks with the most costly ornaments of chains, jewels, and other embellishments [q]: and in these vanities they are the less to be wondered at, as they indulge themselves in a much greater liberty of going abroad and visiting, than the *Turkish* and other ladies of this part of the world; who, though mostly confined at home, and seeing none but their husbands and slaves, yet are no less curious and lavish to shew themselves to them in the most advantageous and richest attire. The habit of men of quality is a long fine vest, either of silk or cotton, tied about the middle with a rich scarf: that of the citizens is much the same, but of cotton only, they not being allowed to wear silk, neither is their cotton of the same fineness: the common people have only a pair of cotton drawers, and a kind of scarf, or piece of the same linen, with which they cover the rest of their body. And, till about a century ago, this was the common dress of all the country, none but the emperor and royal family, and some distinguished favourites,

Their women enjoy great liberty.

Their dress.

The peculiar privileges of the women.

The habit of the men.

[o] See before, vol. i. & seq. pass. [p] PONCET. et al. sup. citat. [q] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, PONCET, et al. ub. sup.

were

were allowed to wear any other: and that piece of cloth ſerved them at night for a blanket or ſheet to wrap themſelves in. As to the women, we may ſuppoſe that they were allowed to go as fine and genteel as their circumſtances would allow them, ſeeing they were permitted to appear abroad, and viſit their friends and relations. How they came by ſuch an uncommon privilege in this, above all eaſtern countries, we cannot find; only this one may plainly perceive, that their huſbands are nothing leſs than pleaſed with it; and rather bear with it as with an ill habit, againſt which they can find no remedy, than as a mark of politeneſs and grandeur.

Women of quality diſhonourable to their huſbands.

IT is ſtill harder with thoſe who have married princeſſes of the royal blood, and who, on that account, ſtretch their privileges much farther, and think no gallantries, how injurious ſoever to their honour, ought to be denied to them: in which liberties they are ſo far upheld by their own relations, that all complaints againſt them will not only be in vain, but be taken very ill[r]. It is not ſo indeed with thoſe of inferior rank, who, excepting theſe gadding excurſions, which cuſtom allows them, are generally very obſerving and faithful to their huſbands. Theſe are obliged, for the moſt part, eſpecially among the meaner ſort, to condeſcend to ſome of the moſt laborious offices of the family; ſuch, particularly, as that of grinding all the corn that is uſed in it, which the loweſt male ſlaves will refuſe to do: for as they have no mills, they are forced to grind all things by hand, whether it be for bread or for drink; and this muſt be repeated every day, becauſe what is made one day will be good for nothing by the next, which makes the taſk ſtill harder; becauſe it requires much labour and firing to prepare them. If theſe were the mills an *Abiſſinian* once boaſted of, ſaying, "That the emperor had no leſs than 500 of them in his camp," he might as well have ſaid 5000; for a leſs quantity could have hardly been ſufficient for it; and this ſhews rather their want of induſtry, than their grandeur.

Lower claſs of women grind corn for the family.

Have none but hand-mills.

IN their marriages they are in ſome points rather too ſtrict, as in forbidding it to perſons in the 2d, 3d, and even 4th degree of conſanguinity; but in others very remiſs. They allow marriage to be of divine inſtitution; and (if we will believe the relations of the miſſionaries[s]) they give it

Marriage abuſed amongſt them.

[r] Id. ibid. vid. et LOBO ub. ſup. p. 73.

[s] See LE GRAND abi ſup. differt. 13. p. 335, et ſeq.

even

even the title of sacrament; in consequence of which they think it unlawful for a man to have more than one wife at once. Neither do they allow any to be lawful, unless the persons have been joined by a priest: and yet there are numbers of them that have a plurality of wives, and live with them unmolested. Such are, indeed, deprived by the church of the benefit of the holy communion, on account of the scandal it brings to religion: but the state, not deeming polygamy to be detrimental to society, suffer it to go unmolested (E).

Polygamy tolerated by the state.

Divorces why so frequent.

DIVORCE likewise is reckoned unlawful, except in case of breach of conjugal fidelity; and yet nothing is more commonly practised amongst them, even where no such plea is so much as pretended. Nay, we are even told that, till the coming of the missionaries thither, they used to contract their marriages in such a manner, and with such reserves, as they thought would render them invalid, and open a door for such divorces; that is, with such tacit or express consent that they should part from each other, whensoever they found that they could not mutually agree; and even gave each other some security for the performance of their promise. The principal motive for these divorces, besides that allowed by the gospel [t], were want of children, or

How obtained.

[t] MATTH. v. 32, & seq.

(E) The missionaries boast of it as a great piece of merit, not only that they reformed these abuses among all their converts, but likewise that their example excited the *Abissinian* clergy to do the same among their laity. Thus one of them tells us, that a man of his acquaintance had lived so long peaceably with his three wives, that he had had no less than thirty-seven children by them, without receiving any other censure or molestation than that of his being debarred from the sacred communion and church-worship. But, upon his repudiating the two last, he was again re-admitted to both (10.) So remiss had they been in that point, till the coming of these fathers among them.

Father *Tellez* moreover mentions an antient custom among the *Abissinian* emperors, of having not only a great number of wives, but likewise a multitude of concubines, supposed to have been introduced among them, in imitation of their progenitor, *Solomon*, king of *Israel*: but adds, that when *Susneus*, or rather Soltan *Segued*, came to be converted to their church, these good fathers refused him absolution, till he had cast them all off except his first (11).

(10) *Alvares Hist. Abiss. c.* 20. *Vid. Ludolph. lib.* iii. *cap.* 6. § 99, *et seq.*
(11) *Hist. Abiss. l.* i. *c.* 19.

ſtrife about them, a mutual diſlike or diſagreement, bodily infirmities, a lingering ſickneſs, and ſuch-like; in all which caſes the woman hath the ſame privilege of abrogating the marriage contract with the man. The diſſatisfied party, in ſuch caſes, applies firſt to the *Abuna*, or patriarch, or to their biſhop; and having obtained the deſired divorce, which is ſeldom denied, if the party cannot be prevailed upon to withdraw his or her ſuit, they next petition for a licence for contracting a freſh marriage, and obtain it with the ſame eaſe; even where the reaſons alleged are ſo frivolous, that the prelate cannot admit of them, they may have recourſe to ſome inferior prieſt, of a more pliable nature, who will make no difficulty to marry them; in which caſe they are only liable to be excluded from the ſacred communion for ſome time, more or leſs. This makes theſe divorces as frequent as they are eaſily obtained, among married people, eſpecially thoſe of the richer ſort; whilſt, with regard to the grand motive, the breach of fidelity on either ſide, they find often a gentler way of ſalving that ſore, by ſome fine, or preſent, equivalent to the wrong, or at leaſt ſuch as the wronged party deems to be ſuch: for married people, it ſeems, have here each of them their own lands, goods, and chattels, *in proprio*, and ſo can make a ſuitable compenſation for the tranſgreſſion [u]. But where ſuch a compoſition cannot be agreed on between the injurer and injured, the women are commonly the moſt ſeverely puniſhed of the two, and in a way that is ſomething ſingular; for firſt ſhe is condemned to the loſs of all her goods, and to go out of her huſband's houſe in a mean or ragged dreſs, with an expreſs prohibition never to come into it again. 2. All that ſhe is allowed to carry out with her is a ſewing needle, by which ſhe may get a livelihood. 3. Sometimes ſhe is condemned to loſe her chief ornament, her head of hair, and to be cloſely ſhaved, except one ſingle lock on her fore-top, which only diſguiſes her the more. All this wholly depends on the huſband's will, who, if he thinks proper, may take her in again; or, if he doth not, they may both marry where they will or can. If the huſband be the offender, he is likewiſe liable to be puniſhed, as well as the woman with whom he hath offended; but that ſeldom mounts higher than a fine upon them both, which is appropriated to the plaintive wife. Thus likewiſe the paramour of the adultreſs, if convicted, is condemned

Adultery eaſily compenſated by a fine.

How puniſhed on the wives;

on the huſbands;

on their paramours.

[u] See TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, ALVARES, LUDOLPH, LOBO, and LE GRAND, ub. ſup.

to

to what they ſtile the *Circo-arbah*, that is, to a fine of forty cows, horſes, ſuits of clothes, *&c.* and, if unable to pay it, he remains a priſoner with the huſband, at his diſcretion, till he doth; or if he lets him go before, he obliges him to ſwear that he is going to fetch what will ſatisfy him; upon which the guilty perſon ſends him ſome wine, and a piece of cow's fleſh, and they eat and drink together; and upon his aſking pardon of the offended, he firſt remits him one part of the fine, and then another, and a third, and at laſt forgives him the intire fine.

Marriages mere bargains.

UPON the whole, marriage among them is no better than a firm bargain or contract, by which both parties engage to cohabit and join their ſtocks together, as long as they like each other, after which they ſhall be at liberty to part. So that there can but little gallantries or courtſhip be required before-hand, or any other ceremony, except the conſent of the parents, and the interchange of a few preſents; excepting what is performed by the prieſt at church, or at the church-door. This cuſtom of meeting and bleſſing the candidates for marriage at the church doors, is doubtleſs derived to them from the *Jews*, among many others; none but prieſts and deacons being married within the body of the church. We find ſomething like it practiſed formerly in *England*, and taken notice of by old *Chaucer*, in his *Wife of Bath*, in this diſtich;

A Jewiſh *cuſtom.*

She was a worthy woman all her life,
Huſbands at the church-door had ſhe had five *.

IN this part of the matrimonial celebration, the officiating prelates or prieſts are very liberal of their ceremonies, prayers, incenſing, and ſinging. We ſhall give an inſtance of one, as related by an eye-witneſs †, in which the *Abuna*, or patriarch, officiated in chief.

How celebrated at church.

THE bride and bridegroom were waiting at the church door, where a kind of bed or couch had been prepared for them, and on which the patriarch ordered them to ſeat themſelves: he then, with his croſs in one hand, and an incenſer in the other, makes a kind of proceſſion round them; and then laying his hands on their heads, tells them, that as they now become one fleſh, ſo they ought to have but one heart and one will; this is followed by a ſhort exhortation, ſuitable to the occaſion; after which he goes

* SELDEN uxor Hebr. lib. ii. c. 27. † ALVAREZ ubi ſup. Vid. & LE GRAND, diſſert. 13. p. 340.

into

into the church, and celebrates the divine office, at which they both aſſiſt; and that being ended, he gives them his bleſſing, which makes the marriage valid, and ſo diſmiſſes them. The more religious ſort not only attend divine ſervice, but receive the holy communion either juſt before or after their being joined (F) [w]. What other feſtivities and rejoicings attend thoſe nuptials, we are not told; except that, even after conſummation, the huſband and wife keep their ſeparate tables; or if they agree to eat together, each bring their own victuals, ready dreſſed, with them, or ſend them in before, by their ſervants or ſlaves.

Huſband and wife keep two tables.

We have already hinted, in part, how ſober and moderate they are in their eating; and we might have added, that no food can be well coarſer, meaner, or more diſguſtful, than theirs, even among the better ſort. A piece parboil'd, or half broild, but for the moſt part quite raw fleſh, moſtly beef. This is ſerved up on an *Apas*, or cake of bread, ground and made by the women, of wheat, peaſe, millet, teff, or other ſorts of grain, according to their circumſtances: ſo that this *Apas* ſerves them not only inſtead of a diſh or plate, but likewiſe inſtead of a napkin or table-cloth, which they never uſe at their tables. For

Their mean food.

[w] De his vid. Tellez, lib. i. c. 16. v. 35, & ſeq. Alvarez, Ludolph. lib. iii. c. 6. §. 102. iv. c. 4. §. 2. Lobo, voy. 3.

(F) It is not to be ſuppoſed, that all their marriages are celebrated with ſuch pontifical ceremony: nevertheleſs whether this office be performed by a biſhop or a prieſt, the ſame rites of incenſing, proceſſioning, chanting, *&c.* at the church-door, and aſſiſting at the divine ſervice, are always obſerved, whenever there is a mutual deſire in the married couple that their marriage ſhould be made as valid as poſſible; becauſe in ſuch caſes, a divorce is not obtained without great difficulty, unleſs it be for breach of conjugal fidelity. But when they enter that ſtate only with a view and tacit reſerve to cohabit no longer than they can like each other, then the ceremony is only performed either at the church door, or in any other place, by any obſcure prieſt; for then they think their union leſs binding, as it is indeed deemed leſs valid by the clergy (12).

This is the ſad account our miſſionaries give us of the ſhameful proſtitution of that holy rite, both by the prieſts and laity; if their joint and ſtrenuous zeal againſt theſe holy fathers and their church, which haſtened their expulſion out of the whole empire, hath not, perhaps, too far induced them to exaggerate it.

(12) *See Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Ludolph, et al. ſup. citat.*

whenever they have any chicken or mutton broth ſerved up, or any other ſpoon-meat, the *Apas* ſerves them inſtead of ſpoons to eat it with, and of a cloth to wipe their mouths and hands. Theſe laſt diſhes are commonly ſerved up in black earthen porringers, or diſhes, covered with what they call *Eſcambias*, which are like caps made of fine ſtraw.

ſlovenly tables.

Thoſe of the greateſt quality, and even the emperor himſelf, have no better at their tables; and that which is oldeſt is the moſt eſteemed among them [x]. As their meats have nothing that is inviting, ſo neither have the ſauces which they eat with them; they commonly ſwim with butter turned into oil, and taſte and ſmell of ſome very ſtrong ingredients, which ſo add to their diſreliſh, that an *European*, even a *Spaniard* or *Portugueſe*, can hardly tell how to behave, when invited to their table (G), and are uſually obliged to riſe with an empty ſtomach. They have one cleanly cuſtom at their meals, *viz.* to waſh their hands before they ſit down, becauſe they touch every thing they eat with them; and thoſe of high rank are ſtill more nice in that particular, who have their victuals cut into bits, and conveyed to their mouths by ſome young pages [y].

diſtaſteful ſauces.

The rich are fed by hand.

[x] Vid. Tellez, &c. ubi ſup. Travels, l. ii. c. 12. & al.

[y] Iid. ibid. up. ſup. Jeſuits

(G) And this not only on account of the ill look, reliſh, and flavour, of their niceſt diſhes, but becauſe it is reckoned amongſt them a piece of high breeding to gobble large mouthfuls, and to make as much noiſe as they can in chewing their meat: it being a common ſaying amongſt them, *That none but beggarly wretches chew their meat only on one ſide, and none but thieves and robbers eat without making a noiſe.* All which, added to the uneaſy poſture of ſitting, and other parts of the œconomy of their table, render their beſt treats almoſt inſupportable. Their greateſt regale is a piece of raw beef, brought in reeking warm from the beaſt; and if they invite company to eat with them, the whole quarter is ſerved up at once, with plenty of ſalt and pepper. The gall ſerves inſtead of oil and vinegar. Some add a kind of muſtard, peculiar to them, which they call *Manta*, and which is made of what they draw out of the paunch of the ox or cow. This they ſtew ſome time on the fire with pepper, ſalt, and a ſliced onion, before they bring it to table, which, when covered with ſuch a large piece of warm raw beef, and ſeaſoned with the above-mentioned ſauces, is as highly eſteemed among them, as one furniſhed with the greateſt dainties would be among us (13.) But this diſh can only be purchaſed by the rich, on account of the pepper, which is very ſcarce and dear in this country.

(13) *See Lobo ub. ſup. p. 72. Telles, Ludolph, et al. ſup. citat.*

THERE

THEIR tables are commonly round, large enough among the rich for twelve or fourteen perſons to ſit about them; but ſo very low, that the gueſts only ſit upon carpets, and the meaner ſort upon mats, or on the ground. They obſerve the good old cuſtom of not drinking any thing till they have finiſhed their meals; their common rule is, *Plant firſt, and then water.* But after the table is cleared, the cups and flaggons are brought in, and plied ſo merrily about, eſpecially at their feaſts, that the quantity makes ample amends for the ſmallneſs of the liquor, and ſeldom fails of ſetting their tongues a running, till their brain being quite turned, their legs can hardly carry them from their ſeats. For their common liquor is neither wine, cyder, fine ale, or ſtrong beer, but is made of five or ſix parts of water to one of honey, mixed in a jar, with a handful or two of parched barley meal, which ſets it a fermenting; after which they put into it ſome chips of a ſort of wood which they call *Sardo*, which, in five or ſix days, takes off the fulſome taſte of the honey, and makes the whole very palatable and wholſome, though nothing ſo ſtrong as our wines, and other fuddling liquors. They might, indeed, make excellent wine from their grapes; but whether, thro' indolence or ignorance of managing it ſo as to keep [z], they content themſelves with the hydromel above-mentioned, or with a ſort of beer made of barley meal, mixed with ſome intoxicating drugs for their common drink: though they make a kind of extempore wine for the holy communion, which is extracted from dried grapes, ſoaked ſome days in fair water: this is done to avoid its contracting any acidity, which, according to their canons, renders it unfit for that uſe (H) [a].

Their tables low and round.

Carouſing at their feaſts.

Common drink weak.

Make no wine.

THE

[z] TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 9. §. 19. et al. ub. ſup.
[a] Id. ibid. Vid. Ludolph. l. iii. c. 6. §. 81, et ſeq. et al. ub. ſup.

(H) Their ritual expreſsly enjoins the prieſts to take ſpecial care, *that the wine which they uſe in the divine ſervice be neither ſour, nor without its natural taſte and flavour; and in caſes of neceſſity to make uſe of ſuch as they ſhall expreſs from the dried grape.* And we are told, that one of the Jeſuit miſſionaries being in doubt about the lawfulneſs of ſuch wine for the ſervice of the maſs, was anſwered by the phyſician *Poncet*, often quoted in this chapter, that the water which ſoaks into the dry grape doth only reſtore it to its natural ſtate, and ſupplies the place of

Mean furniture. THE furniture of their houſes, even among thoſe of higher rank, is much of a piece with that of their tables. No fine paintings, tapeſtry, or other ornaments, are to be ſeen in them; and indeed their way of living is in ſome meaſure incompatible with any ſuch finery. Even their beds are no better than couches, the beſt of them; on which they lay their upper garment to wrap themſelves in; whilſt underneath they have nothing but hides, more or leſs fine or ſoft, to lie upon. Some of their princes, and great and rich men, have, indeed, ſince the *Portugueſe* opened a kind of import of *Indian* commodities, got the way of purchaſing *Indian* quilts, with ſilk borders, which now come to them from the ports on the *Red ſea*; and theſe they ſpread upon their couches, chiefly in their outward chambers, that they may be in full view of thoſe that come to viſit them, and ſerve them inſtead of chairs. As to the meaner ſort, they moſtly lie on mats on the ground, or perhaps with a hide or two under their upper day garment, with which they wrapt themſelves about at night [b]. But the oddeſt furniture of their beds is their bolſter, if we may give that name to a forked piece, which ſerves not to lay their heads upon, which would greatly diſcompoſe the much ſtudied œconomy of their head of hair, about which they are extremely curious, both men and women; but to ſupport their necks in ſuch a manner, that the leaſt curl be not ruffled by the pillow underneath. By which means alſo the butter, which they laviſhly beſtow upon it, in order to give it a ſhining ſmoothneſs, is preſerved from being licked up by whatever they lay under their heads.

Beds.

India quilts.

Other bed-clothes.

Nicety in adorning their hair.

Go bare-headed. BUT our readers will perhaps leſs wonder at this piece of vanity, when they are told that the hair is the only ornament of their heads [c], none but the emperors alone being allowed to wear either cap or any other covering: which is a great inducement to them, as they have a great deal of idle time upon their hands, to beſtow ſome part of it in this pleaſing amuſement. And this they do even to a degree of emulation, each ſtriving for the moſt elegant ſymmetry in

How men and women adorn their hair.

[b] TELLEZ, LOBO, &c. ub. ſup. Vid. et Jeſuits Travels, l. i. c. 8. et alib. paſſ. [c] Iid. ibid.

that which was conveyed into it by the root or ſap of the vine, and had been ſince evaporated in its drying (14).

(14) *Vid. Le Grand, diſſert.* 12. *pag.* 328. *Gregor. Abiſſin. ap. Ludolph, l. i. c.* 9. §. 19, *et ſeq.* iii. *c.* 6. §. 81, *et ſeq. et al. ſup. citat.*

the

the plaiting and curling their own. The truth is, their hair not being apt to grow thick and long, but moſtly thin and frizzly, there ſeems to be ſome additional art required to keep it in a tolerable order, anſwerable to each ſex; and therefore, whilſt the men take much pains in braiding it up in various forms, the women ſtrive to have it hang looſe in the like variety of curls and ringlets, excepting the fore-top, which they are ſtill more curious and nice to adorn with jewels or trinkets, according to their rank. Upon the whole, their dreſs is chiefly accommodated to the climate, and where they are ſituate ſo long a time under the ſcorching beams of a vertical ſun, that they are hardly able to bear any clothes to touch their fleſh, their chief care is to have them as light, and to hang as looſe as poſſible, during that ſeaſon. Hence it is, that their cloak, or piece of cloth that covers their bodies, and their breeches and womens drawers, are made ſo wide and long, as to let in as much air as poſſible; which in the cooler ſeaſons they bring much cloſer to their bodies; and then the richer ſort appear in handſome banyan veſts, open only to the waiſt, and cloſed with ſmall buttons: theſe have little collars, and very long and ſtreight ſleeves, gathered in at the wriſt. Some authors have miſtaken them for ſhirts; though they have another light callico garment under them, next to the ſkin, which is made of thin taffety, ſattin, or damaſk, according as the ſeaſon and their circumſtances will permit [d].

Their dreſs ſuited to the climate.

AND as they are thus negligent and inelegant in their dreſs, food, and furniture of their houſes, ſo are they, and much more, with regard to the ſymmetry and architecture of their buildings, which is owing to their living in tents or camps, after the manner of their monarchs. So that, excepting ſome few old royal palaces and churches, of which we ſhall ſpeak among their artificial rarities, here are neither public ſtructures nor private buildings to be ſeen throughout the whole empire; and thoſe which they ſtile houſes, would hardly deſerve the name of huts amongſt us; being built of nothing but clay and laths, or ſplinters, put together in the meaneſt and moſt ſlovenly manner; ſo as to be eaſily reared, and as readily abandoned, when they think proper to remove their quarters [e]. The ſame method is taken by the inferior ſort who follow the royal camp, and are not able to purchaſe pavilions or tents, and as quickly build themſelves ſuch huts, and with almoſt as little trouble, as is com-

Meanneſs of their houſes.

[d] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, PONCET, et al. ibid. [e] Id. ibid.

No palaces, cities, castles, &c.

monly taken up in rearing of a large tent. Thus, whatever ſome authors have romanced concerning their ſtately edifices, number of their cities, towns [f], *&c.* is found by experience to be all falſe. We have taken notice of the once famed city of *Axuma* being reduced to a poor deſpicable village [g], though it ſtill retains its antient dignity, and title of metropolis of the whole empire. All the reſt, if ever any of them made any figure heretofore, were either encompaſſed with walls, or adorned with noble ſtructures, are now reduced to the ſame diſmal plight; excepting, perhaps, that they contain a greater number of ſuch ſcattered huts as we have deſcribed, and ſo ought rather to be called large villages, than cities or towns. And this is ſo far evident, that abbot *Gregory*, and as many other *Abiſſinians* as have travelled into *Europe*, could not forbear being aſtoniſhed at the largeneſs and magnificence of our great cities, and looking upon them as ſo many prodigies of human induſtry, and much more ſo, when they found them ſtand at ſuch ſmall diſtances from each other [h]: they being unable to conceive how it was poſſible to find ſufficient quantities of wood, victuals, and other neceſſaries, for the vaſt numbers of people and cattle which they contained.

Their pretended cities mere villages.

The moſt noted of them.

WHAT other places worth naming are to be met with in the whole empire, are only theſe few; *viz.* 1. *Fremona*, of which we have already ſpoken [i], and which owed its grandeur to the *Portugueſe* miſſionaries, whoſe reſidence it became in the reign of the emperor *Adam Segued*, who choſe it for them, on account of its being at a great diſtance from his court, as he was no friend to them, but, as they pretend, was more inclined to *Mohammediſm* than to Chriſtianity [k]. So that it is moſt likely to have fallen into utter decay, ſince their total expulſion (I). 2. *Gubay*, in the kingdom

[f] See URETTA's fabulous account of them in the appendix to this chapter, and all the maps of this empire, &c. [g] See before, p. 33. [h] See TELLEZ et al. ſup. citat. LUDOLPH. lib. ii. c. 11. § 18, & ſeq. [i] See before, p. 33, & ſeq. [k] LOBO, & al. ſup. cit.

(I) This place, which ſtands near the conflux of two ſtreams, from whoſe murmuring noiſe it had the name of *Maegoga* (for that of *Fremona* was given to it by the Jeſuits, from the famed *Frumentius*, or *Fremonatius*, the firſt biſhop of *Axum*), had been well fortified by thoſe fathers againſt the robbers and freebooters of that territory. They had built a ſtrong houſe of ſtone and clay on the ſecond head of the aboveſaid brook, to which ſeveral others were added quickly after, which lay ſcattered at a diſtance from each other, up on the declivity of the hill, and each

kingdom of *Dembea*, remarkable only for being the reſidence of the empreſs. 3. *Dobarna*, in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and the reſidence of its viceroy. 4. *Nanina*, in the kingdom of *Gojam*, formerly inhabited by the *Portugueſe*, till their total expulſion. And laſtly, *Macana Celace*, in the kingdom of *Amhara*, worth naming only for being the native place of abbot *Gregory* [1].

NEITHER had the emperors either caſtles or palaces to keep their court in, till the coming of the *Portugueſe* miſſionaries among them, but lived altogether in their ſtately pavilions, attended with all their nobles, guards, and other retinue. And ſuch ſtrangers were they to all kinds not only of ſtately, but even of common regular buildings, that when the celebrated Father *Pays* undertook to build a magnificent edifice for Soltan *Segued*, in whoſe high favour he then was, none of that prince's ſubjects knew ſo much as how to dig the ſtones out of the quarries, much leſs how to ſquare or work them fit for uſe: inſomuch that he was obliged to teach them both that, and how to make the proper tools for the carpenters, joiners, maſons, and, in a word, for every part of the work, and how to join the ſtones with the red clay mentioned in the laſt note, inſtead of the uſual mortar made of quick-lime. Hence the reader may gueſs at their great aſtoniſhment, when they, who had never till then been uſed to ſee even a few ſtones regularly ſet upon one another, did now behold not only a large ſtupendous ſtructure, reared with ſo much ſtrength and regularity, but

Father Pays builds a ſumptuous palace for the emperor; which aſtoniſhes the whole nation.

[1] Lib. i. c. 3. §. 10. ii. c. 11. §. 20.

each of them had a good incloſure of ſtone and clay.

The whole was ſurrounded with a ſtout wall of the ſame materials, flanked with ſeven or eight baſtions, and lofty curtains between each of them. Within they had between twenty and thirty muſkets, and a drake, which were managed by the ſons of the *Portugueſe*; ſo that the place was looked upon as impregnable. They had likewiſe built a ſtately church in it, of the ſame materials, which were here to be found in great plenty. The quarries furniſhing them with a ſtone almoſt fit for any work, and which is digged about three or four inches thick, and of what breadth or length one will, without the help of either pick-ax or wedge; and is eaſily parted with ſlight iron crows. The clay likewiſe, which is here of a reddiſh hue, is of ſo glutinous a nature, that it makes a good ſtrong cement, without the help of quick-lime (15)

(15) *Travels of the Jeſuits, lib.* iii. *c.* 6. *Lobo, ub. ſup. voy.* 3. *p.* 79. *Le Grand, diſſert.* 2. *p.* 202. *Ludolph. lib.* ii. *c.* 11. §. 19.

even high and ſtately ſtories raiſed one upon another, and for which they had not ſo much as a proper word, but ſtiled them *Babeth-Laibeth*, or houſe upon houſe. How muſt they be ſurpriſed at the elegance and ſymmetry of the ſeveral wide and noble ſtair-caſes, by which one aſcended from the one to the other; to ſay nothing of the ſpacious galleries that led through all the apartments of the whole building; and of a vaſt variety of other ornaments, within and without, as might have made it a fit reſidence for the greateſt monarch in *Europe*. What extraordinary idea muſt this ſtupendous fabric, of which we ſhall give a ſketch in its proper place, give to that whole nation, of the greatneſs and magnificence of the *Romiſh* church and its ſovereign pontif, as well as of the city of *Rome*, his metropolis, in which alone ſo many hundreds, not only of the like, but even much grander and more ſuperb ſtructures, are the common palaces of his inferior cardinals and biſhops, and almoſt of every ambaſſador that is ſent thither by their reſpective crowned-heads: a powerful motive, of a worldly one, to make the whole indigent clergy of *Abiſſinia* feel the immenſe difference between the *Roman* and the *Egyptian* patriarch; between the richneſs and ſplendor of the *Romiſh* court, and the poor and ſlaviſh one of *Alexandria*. It ſerved no leſs to convince the *Abiſſinians*, who came from all parts of the empire to ſee and admire it, of the truth of what they had told them, concerning the magnificence of the *European* edifices, and of the ſuperior genius of thoſe nations, who could contrive and complete ſuch incredible monuments of art[m]. What became of it after the univerſal expulſion of the *Portugueſe*, we can only gueſs; and that if it eſcaped the fury of the natives, it muſt of courſe have ſoon fallen into decay for want of proper hands to keep it in repair.

And ſhews them the magnificence of the Europeans.

Few trades or manufactures.

THEY have but few manufactures among them; and tho' linen and cotton be their chief dreſs, and their country as proper for producing them as any in *Africa*, their indolence is ſuch, that they cultivate no more than juſt ſerves their preſent want; and the leſs quantity of either ſerves them, as they make no uſe of any, either at their tables, nor for their beds, and a ſcanty portion will ſuffice the common ſort to cover their bodies with. The *Jews* are ſaid to be their only weavers, as they are in moſt parts of the empire their only ſmiths, in every metal, and every branch of their manufacture, which are likewiſe very few and inconſiderable. What carpenters, joiners, maſons, *&c.* this country pro-

[m] TELLEZ, PAYS, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. ub. ſup.

duces,

duces, may be eaſily gueſſed, from the meanneſs of their buildings and furniture; and the ſame may be ſaid of ſuch other trades as are in uſe in other countries, as taylors, ſhoemakers, *&c.* from the plainneſs of their dreſs. The potters, and makers of horn trumpets, and drinking cups, are indeed in the greateſt requeſt: theſe, and ſome ſtill inferior ſorts of tradeſmen, are incorporated into tribes, or companies, and have their ſeveral quarters, neither intermingling, nor intermarrying, with the reſt, but the children commonly following the buſineſs of their parents [n].

GOLD and ſilverſmiths, jewellers, and other ſuch curious arts and trades, are altogether unknown to them, unleſs it be by ſome of their manufactures being brought among them by way of traffic or exchange; and theſe are only to be met with among the great and opulent. The ſame may be ſaid of their ſilks, brocades, velvets, tapeſtry, carpets, and other coſtly ſtuffs, which are all brought hither by the *Turks*, by the way of the *Red Sea*, and exchanged for gold-duſt, omeralds, and fine horſes. The *Jews*, *Arabians*, and *Armenians*, are the common merchants, or brokers, between them and the *Abiſſinians*; theſe laſt ſeldom or ever travelling out of their own country, or being indeed ſuffered to do ſo by the *Turks*; who, as we have elſewhere hinted, being become maſters of all their ſea-ports, enrich themſelves by this monopoly, and are extremely careful to prevent any trade or traffic being opened into this country by any other nation, or of its being carried on by any other hands but their own [o]. Beſides the commodities already mentioned, which are exchanged between them, the *Turks* bring them ſeveral ſorts of ſpices, and among them, pepper; all which are but too few to give their common food a tolerable reliſh; and yet, the pepper, which is the moſt coveted by them, is brought thither with ſuch privacy, and the price of it ſo very high, that none but the very richeſt of all can purchaſe it. In return for theſe, the *Abiſſinians* bring them ſkins, furrs, leather, honey, wax, and ivory, in great quantities, for which they are forced to take what the brokers pleaſe to give them [p].

Turks engroſs the whole commerce.

Their brokers, who.

Commodities exchanged.

THEY have neither inns, taverns, nor public houſes, for the entertainment of ſtrangers, but are beyond meaſure hoſpitable to them, conſidering their extreme indigence. If one of them ſtays longer in a village or camp than three

Their ſingular hoſpitality.

[n] LUDOLPH, l. iv. c. 5. paſſ. TELLEZ, LOBO, & al. [o] See before, p. 24, & alib. paſſ. [p] LUDOLPH, ibid. c. 7. paſſ. TELLEZ, & al.

hours,

hours, the whole community is obliged to lodge and furniſh him with proper neceſſaries for himſelf, ſervants, and cattle, at the public charge. In that caſe, he need only enter into the firſt hut or tent he likes, and acquaint the maſter of it with his wants, who immediately goes and informs the lord, or chief of the place, of it; upon which, a cow is forthwith killed, and ſo much of it ſent to him as will ſuffice him and his company, together with a proportionable quantity of cake, or bread, and beer, or hydromel, and other proper conveniencies for their lodging: and all theſe they are the more careful to ſupply him with, becauſe their neglect would be liable to be puniſhed, with a fine of double the value of what they were bound to furniſh him with, ſhould he prefer a complaint of it to a proper magiſtrate. This laudable cuſtom, however, is not without ſome great inconveniences, inaſmuch as it gives encouragement to a parcel of idle vagabonds to abuſe it, and cauſes the country to ſwarm with that deſtructive vermin [q].

Abuſed by vagrants.

SECT. V.

Of the natural and artificial Rarities of Abiſſinia.

Natural rarities.

AMONG all the natural rarities of this country, which may juſtly challenge our admiration, we may reckon the ſurpriſing longevity of the men, under the various changes of their climate, from the extremes of the moſt ſultry and burning heats, to the moſt vehement and continual rains and inundations, and the many diſtempers which they naturally occaſion [r]. And next to that, the livelineſs and fecundity of the women, and eſpecially the eaſe and quickneſs with which they are delivered, though they commonly bear two or three children at a birth; inſomuch, that without the aſſiſtance of doctor or midwife, of cordial, or other medicines, they go through their pregnancy without qualms or uneaſineſs, and without feeling any of thoſe dreadful and tedious pangs of child-birth, which commonly terrify and affect that tender ſex, in ours and other parts of the world: here they have little elſe to do but kneel and ſtoop before they are delivered of their burthen, and riſe up ſtrong and active; and, in a very little ſpace of time, are able to return to their domeſtic employments. They ſcarcely allow themſelves the formality of a few days lying-in, nor any of the comfortable changes o

The longevity of the men.

Agility and fecundity of the women.

[q] Vid. int. al. Lobo, p. 73, & ſeq. Lud. ibid. c. 6. §. 46

[r] See before, p. 52, & ſeq.

die

diet proper to their condition; and ſuckle and rear up their offspring, whether they have more than one or two at a birth, without any intermiſſion from their other family concerns [b]. This fecundity is ſtill more remarkable in their domeſtic animals, as well as wild beaſts; about which we need not repeat what we have ſaid in the foregoing ſection, and to the vaſt product of their ground, in ſpite of the epidemic indolence that reigns amongſt the inhabitants [c].

THE next we are to ſpeak of under this head, is, that of their metals and minerals, ſalts, and other foſſils. Of their mines of gold, we have already hinted ſomething, though with diffidence, on account of the fear which the natives are in of tempting the *Gallas*, and other incroaching neighbours, to ſeize on them, ſhould they once be appriſed of them; ſo that though this country may be as likely as any other in *Afric* to produce plenty of that valuable metal, yet they prudently chuſe to have ſo tempting a treaſure concealed from ſtrangers, and content themſelves with what is, or perhaps they pretend to be, brought to them from *Cafria*, *Nigritia*, and other parts, rather than to hazard the enſlaving of their country, by owning their having any of their own; for it is plain that they gather quantities of that which the torrents bring down from the mountains, and which often comes in large grains, and of a fine pure nature, ſome of which, we are told, is even found about the roots of their trees [d]. Silver is ſtill more ſcarce among them; but whether owing to the ſame policy, or to the want of proper hands and ſkill to manage them, we do not hear of any mines they have of it; though by their having ſome of lead, one would be apt to conclude, they muſt likewiſe have ſome of ſilver: but what they want of the latter, is richly compenſated by what they have of the former; and much more ſo, by the great quantity of iron they draw from their mines, and which is reckoned of greater uſe and value. The misfortune is, that they are not only quite ignorant of every branch that belongs to the digging of it, but look upon it as a ſlaviſh, diſmal, and hazardous buſineſs, and far beneath the high opinion they entertain of their own nation above all others. To dig and labour ſo far in the dark boſom of the earth, with a ſmall glimmering light, to be forced to bear with the unwholſome damps and vapours of a ſubterranean dungeon, to be in continual danger of being overwhelmed by the ground over

Gold mines.

None of ſilver, tho' ſome of lead.

The people quite ignorant of metals and mines.

[b] Vid. TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, PONCET, CODING, & al. plur. [c] See p: [d] Id. ub. ſup. Vid. LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 7. §. 1, & ſeq.

their heads, which they know not how to prop, or of being annoyed, if not drowned, by ſprings from beneath, which they neither know how to drain, or draw away. Theſe, and many other difficulties and dangers, which they frame to themſelves, make them look upon ſuch a work as fit only for the worſt of ſlaves, and content themſelves with ſo much of that uſeful metal as they find on the ſurface of the ground [e]; ſo that we need not wonder if we hear of no mines, or any other metals, ſuch as copper, tin, *&c.* nor of any other minerals, which require digging at any diſtance below it.

Mines of ſalt.

THEY are much more expert and ready at working at their ſalt mines, where there is leſs labour and danger, and of which they have a conſiderable number, eſpecially on the confines of the kingdoms of *Tigre*, *Dancali*, and *Angot*. This ſalt is not like that which we make in *Europe*, of ſea water, or ſalt-ſprings, but is ready made to their hands, by the Divine Providence, and in ſuch vaſt quantities, that thoſe mines, which are no other than huge rocks or mountains of ſolid ſalt, are in ſome meaſure inexhauſtible. Theſe rocks are hewn in pieces, ſomewhat in the ſhape of our bricks, but of different ſizes and weights: the ſalt, though very ſolid and hard on the ſurface of the rock, is much ſofter within the mine, till conſolidated by the ſun, and is in no way inferior in taſte and goodneſs to the beſt of our own. From theſe parts, in which theſe huge rocks grow, and called from thence the land of ſalt, thoſe pieces are diſperſed through the whole empire, where they are bought, eſpecially at their fairs, not only as a neceſſary commodity, but as the moſt current money, by which they can furniſh themſelves with all other goods they want, and where they bear a greater or leſſer value, according to the diſtance of the place from whence they are brought: thus, in thoſe parts which are near the mine, one hundred-weight of it will purchaſe what they reckon equivalent to about five of our ſhillings; at a greater diſtance, eighty pounds will do the ſame; and ſo at a farther diſtance, will ſixty, fifty, *&c.* do the ſame. At the imperial camp, or court, ten pounds will ſtill be equivalent to a crown; and, in ſome of the moſt diſtant provinces, three pounds of it will fetch a ſmall piece of gold, called a darim, but of what value our author doth not tell us [f].

Salt the chief coin of the country.

Its different value in all parts of the empire.

THERE is ſtill a farther uſe made of this ſalt by the *Abiſſinians*, which is that of being a condiment to mutual love and friendſhip; ſo that they never go out without a ſmall piece of

[e] LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 7. §. 1, & ſeq. TELLEZ, LOBO, & al.
[f] LOBO, ub. ſup. p. 74.

it in their purſe, which commonly hangs at their girdle. Whenever, therefore, any two friends or acquaintances meet, their firſt greeting is, to take the piece out of the bag, and offer it to the other's mouth, and each gives a lick at the other's piece with his tongue: to refuſe this compliment, on either ſide, would be looked upon as a groſs affront, and an open declaration of ſome inward reſentment or private grudge; or at beſt, as a piece of ill-manners and unpoliteneſs [g], and is, for that reaſon, readily complied with (A).

THEY have alſo ſome large ſpacious plains, whoſe ſurface is incruſted with another ſort of ſalt, and in the fetching of which, many hundreds of camels, mules, and aſſes, are daily employed; particularly in the confines between *Dancali* and *Tigre*. This ſalt, like the former, is carried in bricks about a ſpan long, and four inches in breadth and thickneſs, is very white, hard, and in the greateſt plenty, though the caravans are continually going and coming with it; the plain that yields it being ſaid to be four days journey in length. To this laſt we may add a third ſort, of a reddiſh colour, which is hewn from an intire rock: this is commonly uſed in phyſic; and the mountain muſt be paſſed by night, the heat being ſo violent in the day, that it often ſtifles both man and beaſt; and the very ſhoes are parched, as if they were laid upon burning coals [h].

A vaſt plain of ſalt.

A red ſalt uſed for phyſic.

THE next ſort of natural rarities, is their ſtupendous, high, craggy, and almoſt inacceſſible mountains; in compariſon of which, the *Apennines*, *Alps*, and *Pyrenees*, are but mere hillocks, and little eminences; and yet are here in ſuch vaſt numbers, that there is not one province, or kingdom, (except that of *Dembea*, which is for the moſt part a fertile plain,

High and ſtupendous rocks and mountains.

[g] Id. ibid. [h] ALPHONSO, MENDEZ. See Jeſuits Travels, l. iii. c. 8. LOBO, & al. ſup. citat.

(A) It is not unlikely that this cuſtom of carrying a piece of ſalt in their bag, was at firſt introduced with no other view than to moiſten their parched mouths, as they travelled thro' thoſe broiling climates; whence common civility and good-nature might induce them to offer it to thoſe ſtrangers they met, and were perhaps deſtitute of it. It might very probably be the natural clammineſs of their tongues, which is uſually occaſioned by exceſſive drought and heat, cauſed ſome difficulty of ſpeaking to one-another, till it was diluted by the ſalt, that gave birth to this odd, and, to all appearance, unpolite ceremony. But this we only offer as our private conjecture, no author having given us any account how it was firſt brought in among them.

eſpecially

eſpecially about the large lake of its name, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its place) but what is covered thick with them; ſo that one can ſcarcely travel a day's journey without meeting with them; ſome of which are ſo lofty, ſteep, and craggy, that they are at once dreadful to behold, and no leſs difficult and dangerous to go over; and yet of ſuch ſingular ſervice are they to the country, that they ſeem deſigned by Providence as impregnable fortreſſes, without which, that ſmall part which is left of that once vaſt empire, would long ago have been ſwallowed up by the *Turks*, *Gallas*, and other hoſtile nations, if thoſe impenetrable barriers had not ſtood there to guard it on every ſide. Whilſt their inacceſſible ſummits ſeem vaſtly to out-top the higheſt clouds, the valleys beneath look as if they were going to hide themſelves in the loweſt abyſſes of the earth; the former partaking of the keenneſs of the ſecond and third regions of the air, and the latter, by their exceſſive heat, remind you of the central fire of the earth. Theſe ſtupendous ridges, which the natives call *Dambas*, preſent you, at a diſtance, with a delightful variety of ſhapes; one ſort bearing ſuch a reſemblance to ſome vaſt extenſive city, that you can hardly forbear thinking that you ſee the high walls, towers, baſtions, and a great diverſity of other ſtructures, as you approach nearer towards them. Another ſort of them appears, ſome like pyramids, others like towers of various ſhapes, ſome of an exact ſquare, others of as perfect a round from top to bottom, as if they had been turned, or wrought with the chiſſel; ſome appear of a vaſt and moſt difficult aſcent; and when you come up to what you ſuppoſed to be the top, you find it to be only the foot of another, full as high, craggy, and difficult [1].

An impregnable barrier to the empire.

Dreadful wallies.

Various ſhapes.

Guça, *or* Guza.

Of this nature is that which is called *Guça*, or *Guza*, in the kingdom of *Tigre*, which travellers, who come from the *Red Sea*, muſt croſs, in going to that of *Dembea*, and which, when you have gained the top of it, preſents to you a handſome ſpacious plain, in the midſt of which ſtands another mountain of equal height, which you muſt likewiſe go over, after you have ſufficiently refreſhed yourſelf on the fertile and delightful top of the *Guza*. The aſcent takes up about half a day's journey, and goes winding all the way up; the paths are very narrow, and cut into the ſide of the ſolid rock; and all the way you go preſents you with a moſt deep and dreadful precipice, the bottom of which cannot be reached by the naked eye, but only offers a gulph, which at once

[1] Tellez, Pays, Kercher, Poncet, Almeyda, Ludolph, Lobo, Le Grand, & al. mult.

makes

makes one's head quite giddy, and fills the heart with a continual dread. Should any of the caravans that keep going up and down theſe ſteep and narrow roads chance to meet another in its way, they are in the greateſt danger, both man and beaſt, of being thrown down the precipice, and being broken into a thouſand pieces before they reach the bottom, unleſs they take the utmoſt care in paſſing by one another. The mules are by far the beſt for thoſe that ride, becauſe they are the ſureſt footed; but they have an ill faculty with them, that they will always go cloſe to the edge of the precipice, and cannot without great riſk be turned to the other ſide of the road, or to keep to it when one hath. What adds ſtill more to the horror of the journey, whether it be up or down the ſteep declivity, is, that at the bottom of the valley below, there commonly runs a ſwift torrent of water, with a moſt hideous roar, which being echoed by the adjacent rocks, and often heightened by loud winds, as well as by the continual trampling of the men and beaſts upon the rock, increaſes the horrid din to ſuch a degree, that one cannot poſſibly hear one's ſelf, much leſs one-another, ſpeak, though ever ſo loud, or ever ſo near [k].

Is only the baſis of Lamel.

Difficult acceſs.

Frightful acceſs.

BUT the wiſhed-for ſummit once attained, which is reckoned above three hundred fathoms perpendicular above the plain top of *Guza*, and the moſt difficult part of all the way, being only provided with a ſort of ſteps like winding ſtairs, two or three cubits high, and uncouth, on both ſides of the rock, one is made ample amends by the beautiful proſpect it at once preſents to the view, which is not that of rugged and interſected peaks above, and deep gaping valleys beneath, as one might expect, and as the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* afford, but of a ſmall, tho' delightful, plain, about two miles in compaſs, and a muſket-ſhot in breadth, and terminated at one end by a new, flat, and upright rock, like the back of a chair, of which this little plain is the ſeat; ſo that take the whole mountain together, that of *Guzza* ſeems to be a kind of pedeſtal to this; and this, which the natives call *Lamalmon*, repreſents, in ſome meaſure, a chair without arms, the back of which is the upright rock at the end of the plain, which is as perpendicular as if it had been hewn out with a chiſſel. Along what we may call the ſeat of this wonderful and ſupereminent chair, is pleaſantly ſituate a town of the ſame name, whoſe inhabitants make a handſome livelihood by helping the caravans to load and unload the

The fine proſpect from the top of Lamalmon.

Beautiful ſhape.

Difficult aſcent.

A town upon it.

[k] Id. ibid. See the Travels of the jeſuits, l. i. c. 7. ALVAREZ, ALMEYDA, &c.

beaſts

beasts of burthen, a good part of the way of the craggy ascent above-mentioned, in order to help them to leap from one step to the other; so that one would be surprised to see with what facility they make them climb and keep their feet, and they themselves convey their burthens from one stair to another, thro' every difficult part of this ascent.

BUT what yields a still more surprisingly delightful prospect from this little lofty spot, is the unbounded view of the whole kingdom of *Tigre*, though the largest of the whole empire, and of the ridges of mountains of *Semen*, which run across, and intersect it in various parts, and which, at that height and distance, appear no higher than small hillocks. The misfortune is, that this little town, though strong and populous enough to defend itself against all assaults of any enemy, is but poorly furnished with all necessaries for human life, except water, which they have in plenty, and very good; every other kind, almost, they are obliged either to fetch from the lower lands, or to purchase at a dearer rate from the caravans, which doth not a little lessen the gain of their labour, and keeps them still poor and indigent [1].

The people poor.

MUCH of the same nature is the famed mountain, or rock, of *Guexen*, situate between the kingdoms of *Ambara* and *Xava*, on the summit of which was such another, but larger plain, well watered and wooded, and with some ground for tillage and pasture, and guarded on all sides with strong and difficult passes made by the natural rock, and in which the princes of the blood were formerly kept prisoners, and whence they were fetched to be raised to the imperial throne. This stupendous and impregnable mountain is a perpendicular rock, in the nature of a fortress, the breadth of which, on the top, along the slope, may be about half a league, but at the bottom is about half a day's journey in circuit; the height is such, that the strongest cannot cast a stone with a sling high enough to reach the top. The ascent, though not very steep at first, grows by degrees so difficult and painful, that even their cows, which in this country climb and skip like wild goats, cannot be hoisted up without slings and pullies. On the top is nothing to be seen but a parcel of poor huts, dismally put together, of stone and dirt, covered above, and lined within, with straw, with scarce any tolerable furniture besides. These served for mansion-houses both for the unfortunate princes, who were sent thither, and for their guards. About the middle of the plain were two springs which supplied them with water, the one to

Guexen, a famous rock.

Described.

The princes of the blood confined upon

[1] Id. ibid.

drink,

drink, and the other to waſh themſelves in. A few corn fields they had for tillage, and ſome paſture ones for their cattle, and ſome few trees, in form of a thicket, ſerved them for a ſhady refreſhment *: in this diſmal ſolitude they ſpent their lives, till either raiſed to the empire, or ſet at liberty by death. This rigorous cuſtom was, however, ſet aſide about two centuries ago, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place: but the moſt conſiderable of them all, according to father *Alphonſo Mendez*, is that which they call *Thabat Mariam*, or more properly *Tadbaba Mar-jam*, whoſe ſummit vaſtly out-tops all the reſt, and even the clouds, by far, and is likewiſe very ſpacious. This famed mountain, whoſe bottom is watered by two large rivers deſcending from it, hath ſeven handſome churches built upon it, one of which, dedicated to *St. John*, is very rich and beautiful, having been formerly the burying-place of the *Abiſſinian* monarchs, of whom there are five monuments, covered with tapeſtry, which hath the arms of *Portugal*; from which, one may conjecture them to have been preſented for that purpoſe by king *Emanuel*, to the then emperor *David* [m].

the top of it.

Mount Tadbaba Mar-jan *deſcribed.*

The burial-place of the emperors.

THE laſt we ſhall mention under this head, is that celebrated hollow high rock, in the kingdom of *Gojam*; juſt oppoſite to which ſtands another, much of the ſame height and bigneſs, ſo exactly placed by nature, that it echoes back a word barely whiſpered in the other, with ſuch force, that it is heard at a great diſtance; and the joint voices of three or four perſons ſpeaking together, ſound as loud as a great ſhout from a numerous army [n]. And thus much ſhall ſuffice, for the extraordinary mountains of this empire. Thoſe who want a large detail of them, may read the deſcription which father *Almeyda*, who had gone over moſt of them, hath given us of the reſt of theſe dreadful and gigantic piles; the very reading of which fills one with a chilly dread, rather than delight. We ſhall only add here, that ſome of thoſe craggy aſcents we have ſpoken of, would be wholly inacceſſible in many places, had not neceſſity forced thoſe, otherwiſe indolent, people, to have recourſe to cranes, and other ſuch ſhifts, by which they draw up, and let down, both the beaſts and their burthens, by dint of ropes and pullies; inſomuch, that even their mules and oxen, which naturally climb like wild goats, muſt be craned up and down in the ſame manner [o]. Their way of travelling through this rocky

Whiſpering-place.

Beaſts, cattle, and goods craned up and down.

* Id. ibid. Differt. 1. ii. p. 206. Rudolph, l. i. c. 6. §. 15.

[m] Id. ibid. vid. LOBO, & LE GRAND,

[n] KERCHER & PAYS, ap. Ludolph, l. i. c. 6. §. 15.

[o] Id. ibid.

Way of travelling. and mountainous country, is upon mules, or asses, which are the best, and, as we lately hinted, the most sure-footed beasts, to clamber up and down those craggy ascents: but in the plains the camels are the most commonly used, as the best fitted by nature for those hot, dry, and sandy climates, their horses being only to be mounted in time of war, to charge the enemy.

Lakes. THE next natural rarities of this country, are their lakes and rivers. Of the former, we meet with few of any note, except those of *Zoai*, or *Zowaia*, in the kingdom of *Xaoa*, out of which springs the river *Matchi*, which falls into the great *Hawash*, or *Xaoax*, and with it is buried or absorbed in the sandy deserts of the kingdom of *Adel*, and that of *Dembea* in the kingdom of that name, and stiled by the inhabitants *Bar-Dambea*, or the sea of *Dembea* (B). This last is by far indeed the most considerable of the two, on several accounts, but more particularly of its largeness, and its vast length and breadth, it extending itself from the 12th to the 14th degree of north latitude, almost thirty in most places, and thirty-five leagues where longest; and in breadth from ten leagues, where narrowest, to almost fourteen or fifteen where broadest, and about ninety miles in circumference, exclusive of its deep bays, creeks, and other windings: the waters of it are sweet and clear; and breed great plenty and variety of fish. The country round about is plain, fer-

The large one of Dembea.

Its extent.

Waters.

Fish.

(B) It hath had several strange names given to it, both by ancients and moderns, for which we can see no foundation. *Ptolemy* calls it *Colve*; *John de Barros*, *Barreau*, probably from one of its islands; as *Ludolph* calls it *Lacus Tzanicus*, from that of *Tzana*, one of the most considerable in it (1). Some geographers give the lake two names, and call the south part *Zambre*, and the north part *Zaira* (2); though there be not the least ground for such a division, the inhabitants giving it the name of *Bahr*, or sea. It is not therefore unlikely, that those authors followed the common error, that this vast receptacle received its waters from the two great rivers of *Zaida*, or *Zaira*, and *Goanza*; the former of which discharges itself, on the contrary, into the *Abissinian* sea, near the coasts of *Congo*; and the latter runs its course eastwards, towards the kingdom of *Angot*; whereas it is plain, that the river *Nile* is the only one that is known to flow into this lake, which is the cause that its waters rise to such a prodigious degree in winter, by the many other rivers flowing, as well as by the torrents that fall from the adjacent mountains into it, in such vast plenty (3).

(1) *Hist. Ethiop. l.* i. *c.* 8. (2) *Vid. Atlas of Mercator & Johnson, an.* 1635. (3) *Id. ibid. vid. Corneille, la Martiniere, & al. sup. citat.*

tile,

tile, and delightful; and the inſide of the lake abounds with a multitude of iſlands of different ſizes, the largeſt inhabited by *Abiſſinian* monks, and very pleaſant and fertile: about ſeven or eight of them have monaſteries, which, though going to decay, appear to have been formerly ſtately edifices; and among the various products which they yield, they have ſuch fine citron and orange trees, as exceed any in the empire, for beauty and fine taſte. One of theſe iſlands, and the moſt barren of all, which the inhabitants called *Dek*, is made the priſon, or place of confinement, for great priſoners of ſtate [p]. *Iſlands and monaſteries.*

THIS great lake is navigable, and the *Abiſſinians* ſail on it in flat-bottomed boats, which they call tancoas, and which are not made of wood, but of a kind of ruſhes they call tambuas, with which its waters abound, each of which is of the thickneſs of a man's arm, and about two yards in length. This tambua grows likewiſe in other lakes, and all along the banks of the *Nile*, and is uſed for the ſame purpoſes, though this laſt is thinner, and longer, than that which grows in the lakes, and is the ſame which *Pliny* hath deſcribed to us [q], and which the ancients called papyrus, and was ſerviceable to them not only in making of their paper, but likewiſe their boats, ſails, and other tackle; the like of which is done by the *Abiſſinians* with their *Dambean* reeds. The misfortune is, that this lake breeds multitudes of hippopotamos, or ſea-horſes, which not only endangers the navigation but deſtroy great quantities of fiſh, and make a dreadful havock where-ever they come, as they uſually do, to graze upon the land. However, it breeds neither crocodiles nor alligators, as the *Nile* doth; ſo that the cattle may ſafely feed on the fertile paſture grounds adjacent to it, and come and drink of its wholſome waters, without any danger from thoſe amphibious monſters: and as for the ſea-horſes, there are people who make it their buſineſs to deſtroy them, and live upon their fleſh, and cut their ſkins into long ſtraps, called allengas, which the *Abiſſinians* uſe inſtead of whips and ſpurs to their horſes. Much leſs is it infeſted with tritons, mermaids, and other ſea monſters, as ſome authors have pretended [r], who have been ſince confuted by others of greater authority, who have reſided in that kingdom [s]. *Navigation with ſmall boats.* *Breeds many ſea-horſes, but no crocodiles, &c.*

WHAT is ſtill more ſingular of this lake, is, that it receives the *Nile* into its boſom, and gives its waters a free paſſage *Croſſed by the river*

[p] TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. ſup. citat. [q] Nat. Hiſt. lib. xiii. c. 11. [r] Vid. JOHNSON's Atlas, an. 1653. [s] TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. ub. ſup.

Nile; *without mixing waters with it.*

passage a-cross it from west to east, without intermixing its own with it. Hence it is that the ancients, and many of our modern geographers, have imagined that celebrated river to have its rise from thence, though the contrary hath been since discovered by eye-witnesses, who have been at the pains to trace it back from the place where it falls into the lake, quite up to its famous, and so long sought-for springs, which are above twenty leagues in a direct line distant from it, as we have formerly had occasion to shew in our ancient history of this country, to which the reader is referred for a more particular account[t].

It will not be, however, foreign to our general design, to observe here, with the ingenious Mr. *Maillet*, an author who was not only personally conversant with most of the missionaries, and other *Portuguese* authors, who have wrote so decisively concerning the two sources of this famed river, but with many others who have had occasion to visit those parts, how little reason there is to acquiesce in the account they give us of this so much boasted discovery, especially as the merit and reputation of it is so apt to inspire one with an ambitious desire after a title, or even some bare pretence to it.

This seems no less evident to us, from the artful preference they have given us of these two springs, to a vast number of others, which, by their flowing into the same common stream, though perhaps from a much greater distance, might intitle them, with as much justice, to that dignified name: for when so many different brooks thus join their waves into one common stream, as they do here, how can one, with so much seeming certainty, assign that title to any one or two of them, exclusive of the rest; and yet unless this can be done, the head spring of that river may justly be deemed as unknown to us as it was to the ancients. What is the *Nile* itself, with all that multitude of streams that flow into it, but a mere brook before the *Jemma*, which falls from the distant mountains of *Dengla*, with a much greater force, and a much larger quantity of water, swells it into the bulk of a river; or, to speak perhaps more properly, receives it into its bosom, and by a strange and unnatural requital, is forced to yield at once its waves and dignity to that proud intruder.

But here we are told, that this last is stamped by nature with the marks of the sovereign dignity: its forked head, tipped on the top with two wonderful bottomless springs,

[t] Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 73, 407. xviii. p. 265, & seq.

running

running down from two ſmall hillocks, adorned with delightful trees leading to it, into a ſmall lake, the clearneſs of the ſtreams, the hollow ground through which it runs, the pleaſant track of verdure which it leaves above-ground all the way that its waves run under it, the hollow trembling ground through which its glides, and the conſtant tribute of water paid to it by a great number of brooks on both ſides, theſe, and a variety of other topographical embelliſhments, whether real or imaginary, whether peculiar to that river, or common to thoſe that flow into it, are what hath determined the good fathers to fix the diadem on its head, preferably to the *Jemma*, or any other pretender.

THUS much may ſuffice with regard to the ſource of this celebrated river. As to the cauſe of its not mixing its proud waves with thoſe of the *Dembean* lake, a fact founded on frequent and unqueſtionable obſervations, is rightly ſuppoſed to be the largeneſs and violence of its ſtream; which having received ſeveral other large rivers into it, and running its courſe downwards, with an unuſual rapidity and ſundry dreadful falls, carries all before it with an irreſiſtable force, and makes itſelf a channel of twelve or more leagues through the *Dembean* waters, for ſo far it is from the place of its entrance to that of its ſallying out of that lake [u].

THIS river is juſtly eſteemed by far the moſt conſiderable of all *Ethiopia*, on many other accounts beſides thoſe already mentioned; but as it hath been fully deſcribed, both with regard to its ſprings, windings, cataracts, rivers falling into it, and other particulars relating to it, in our Ancient Hiſtory [w], we ſhall refer our readers to the place above quoted, to avoid needleſs repetitions, and go on with deſcribing thoſe which have not been at all, or but tranſiently, mentioned there. Among theſe laſt is the *Tacaza*, which, as we formerly hinted, is one of the principal ones that falls into the *Nile*, and is ſuppoſed the *Aſtaboras* of *Ptolomy* [x]. It hath its ſource on the ridge of mountains called *Arywagua*, on the frontiers of the kingdom of *Angot*, next to that of *Bargemder*, where at the foot of the higher-ſeated mountain toward the eaſt, break forth with great force three ſeveral ſprings, within a ſtone's throw of each other, and joining their ſtreams together, make up a conſiderable one, which runs eaſtward ſome days journey, between the territories of *Daphana* and *Hoage*, which lie north of it: thence croſſing the kingdom of *Tigre*, it runs through the province of *Sire*, leaving its fertile lands on the

Chief rivers of the Nile deſcribed in the Anc. Hiſtory.

Tacaza.

Its courſe along the

[u] TELLEZ, PAYS, ALMEYDA, LOBO, & al. ibid. [w] Ub. ſup. [x] Ibid. p. 270, (E).

Caused de Aldaba.

east, and its celebrated desert of *Aldaba* on the west, once as famed for the number and austerity of its anchorites, as that of *Thebais*; thence continuing its course still northwards through the province of *Holeait*, and the low-lands of the *Caffres*, it at length enters into the kingdom of *Dequin*, inhabited by a kind of Moors, called *Baulons*, where it soon after loses itself in the *Nile*. This river, though not so large quite as that it runs into, is in many places very deep, and abounds with crocodiles and sea-horses, both of an extraordinary size, and the fish, formerly mentioned, called torpedo [y].

The Zebee, *its rise and course.*

THE *Zebee* rises in the kingdom of *Nerea*, and is said to be larger than the *Nile*; it rises in a canton of *Boxa*, belonging to that kingdom, and taking its course first westward, and then eastward, and thence southward, surrounds in some measure the kingdom of *Gingiro* into a peninsula, as the *Nile* doth that of *Gojam*; after this, it continues its course southward beyond *Ken*, and is supposed to be the same that disembogues itself at *Mombaza* [z].

The Mareb *runs part of its way under-ground.*

THE *Mareb*, another considerable river, hath its source at about two leagues distance westward from the town of *Debaroa*, since called *Fremona*, in the kingdom of *Tigre*, whence winding itself to the south, and entering into the sandy territories of the *Caffres*, it comes down with a dreadful fall from a rock thirty cubits high, and buries itself a long way under-ground, yet not so low, but that if one digs a few yards deep, as the *Portugueſe* did when they carried on the war in those parts, one finds not only plenty of sweet water, but of good fish. A little farther southwards the river rises again, and winding itself into the more fertile kingdom of *Dekin*, or *Dequin*, distributes all its fattening treasure of water on those lands, as if it had forgot to go any farther, or to return into the ocean [a]. In the winter season, this river, we are told, takes a different course before it buries itself in the sands, and runs between the provinces of *Suroa*, *Assa*, *Harve*, and *Towat*; and gliding along the foot of the monastery of *Halleluja*, which stands at a small distance from *Fremona*, above-mentioned, and consequently from the place where it rises; after which it enters into the sandy lands, and there sinks itself out of sight [b].

[y] ALMEYDA, LOBO, TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al. [z] TELLEZ Travels of the Jesuits, l. ic. 4. JOHN DOS SANTOS Ethiop. orient. l. v. c. 1. [a] TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. [b] LOBO, ub. sup. p. 212, & seq.

ANOTHER

ANOTHER river, almoſt equal to the *Nile*, is the *Hoax*, *Hauax*, or according to Mr. *Ludolph*, *Hawaſh*, which riſes between the kingdoms of *Xoa* on the north, and of *Ogge* and *Fattegar* on the ſouth, and directing its courſe eaſtward, receives ſeveral large rivers, particularly the *Machi*, or *Matſhi*, which flows from the great lake of *Zawaja*, or *Zaaj*, in the kingdom of *Ogge*, above-mentioned; thence, with this new addition, it hurries its rapid ſtream into the kingdom of *Adel*, which it enters at a place called *Anca-Garrele*, where the fathers *Pereyra* and *Machado*, two jeſuit miſſionaries, were beheaded, by the *Mohammedan* king, in hatred to Chriſtianity. This noble river makes ample amends to the inhabitants for the ſcarcity of rains, which fall here but ſeldom; and being, like the *Nile*, drawn into numerous chanels, enriches all that tract, by watering their fields and fertiliſing their vallies, ſo that they produce the greateſt plenty of corn and cattle; and at length, like the *Mareb* above-mentioned, buries itſelf in the earth [c], as if it thought it a more honourable ſepulchre than the ſea (C).

The Hauax.

Machi.

Their ſhort courſe.

OTHER

[c] TELLEZ, & al. ſup. citat.

(C) It will not be improper here to acquaint our readers, that this is the ſame river which a fabulous author calls the *Niger*, or black river, for no other reaſon than becauſe it runs through the country of the blacks; as if no other rivers of this and the circumjacent empire did the ſame, but run through the countries of the whites. This river, of which that writer makes the *Nile* to be only a branch (though it be certain there is no ſuch river in this *Ethiopia*, as we ſhall ſee when we come to ſpeak of it in its proper place) he goes on to tell us, in his romantic way, forms three lakes; from the one of which a river flows, which always runs over ſtones of great value, ſuch as rubies, ſaphirs, emeralds, garnets, &c. beſides gold-duſt; and falling into the ſea at *Melinda*, hath a great fiſhery of pearl and ambergris at the mouth of it (4).

To this imaginary river of our monkiſh author, we ſhall add another no leſs fabulous, and no leſs celebrated by the romantic *Hebrew* rabbies, *viz.* the *Sambation*, or *Sabbatic* river, which is affirmed to flow with a ſwift and loud current, during the ſix firſt days of the week, and to be dried up during the whole ſabbath, or ſeventh day. *Joſephus* is the firſt who tells us that *Titus* ſaw it in his way through *Syria* (5), but makes it to flow only on the ſabbath day, and to be dry all the other ſix; which is the reverſe of what its name imports. *Pliny*, upon the credit of ſome *Jewiſh* fabuliſt, ſpeaks more

(4) *Ludew. Uretſ. Hiſt. de Ethiop. lib.* i. *c.* 29. (5) *De bell. jud. lib.* vii. *c.* 24.

them, little more was left than their ruins, or at beſt ſome few fragments, ſtill ſerving to the ſame religious uſes [f].

We omit ſundry other ſuch rarities, both natural and artificial, mentioned by *Athanaſius Kercher*, which thoſe who can give credit to them, may ſee in his large collection. And the laſt we ſhall mention here, is the famed imperial palace, built after the *European* taſte, by father *Pays*, of which we promiſed to give a ſhort account under this head. This ſtately edifice was faced within and without with large ſquare ſtones, neatly wrought and joined together. Among the ſtately apartments of it, was one fair ſpacious room, fifty feet in length, and fifteen in breadth; and on the ſame floor, a ſquare bed-chamber, together with a ſpacious ſtair-caſe in the middle, leading from the lower to the upper floor. From this aſcended a ſecond, leading to the flat roof of the houſe, which was guarded about with a handſome parapet. On the top of this upper ſtair-caſe was built a little room, like a cloſet, in which the emperor uſed to delight himſelf much, becauſe he had from thence a diſtant view of the whole *Dembean* lake, and all the adjacent country, the palace being built on a riſing ground, in the large peninſula called *Gorgora*, on the northern ſide of the lake: from thence alſo he could ſee nearer at hand all that went in and out, without being perceived by any body [g]. This delightful ſpot being the place where that monarch uſed to ſpend the greateſt part of the winter, and had cauſed it to be beautified with ſtately gardens after the *European* manner.

The imperial palace deſcribed.

SECT. VI.

Of the Government, Laws, Emperor's Court, Power, Coronation, pompous Titles, Camp, Retinue, Army, Revenue, and other Prerogatives.

Government of Abiſſinia.

IT plainly appears, by all the records of this once vaſt and opulent empire, that its government was from its firſt foundation monarchical and deſpotic, and that, though its origin and uninterrupted ſeries of monarchs, which the *Abiſſinians* ſo much boaſt of, be at beſt very precarious and doubtful, yet there cannot be found, either in their tradition or annals, or through any of thoſe great revolutions which it hath undergone through ſo long a ſeries of ages, a period of time, in which thoſe princes did not rule with deſpotic ſway, and

The emperors power abſolute.

[f] TELLEZ, & al. ſup citat. [g] TELLEZ, & al. vid. & LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 12. § LOBO, & al. ſup. p. 116.

claim

claim an abſolute right over the lives, liberties, and fortunes of their ſubjects, as well as an uncontroulable authority in all matters eccleſiaſtical as well as civil [a]. There never were among them any written laws concerning their government, much leſs any to reſtrain their exorbitant power, or ſecure the ſubjects the leaſt privilege or property; but his ſole will is the univerſal law. Notwithſtanding which extenſive prerogative, derived to them from time immemorial, we find not that the clergy have ſo wholly acknowleged or ſubmitted to it; but that they have, upon various occaſions, ſtremuouſly oppoſed it, not only in matters wholly religious and eccleſiaſtical, but even in ſome that were merely political, ſuch as the ſucceſſion, or coronation, of ſome of their emperors, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

Their deſcent.

WE have already obſerved [b], that theſe princes boaſt themſelves deſcended from *Menileheck*, or *David*, the ſon of the great *Solomon* king of *Iſrael*, by the queen of *Sheba*. This princeſs, according to them, did, after her return from *Judea*, reign twenty-five years, and was ſucceeded by this ſon, from whom deſcended a ſeries of princes, in a direct line, down to the year 960, when the crown paſſed into another family; in virtue of which noble deſcent, they ſtile themſelves *Naguſh*, and are always addreſſed either by that of naguſha nagaſht, or king of kings; or by that of hatzeghe, equivalent to the *French* ſire. But beſides theſe, they aſſume commonly ſome other pompous ones in their edicts, letters, and other public writings: ſuch was, for inſtance, the letter of the emperor *Lebna Danguil, al. David, al.* Sultan *Segued*, (for he bore all thoſe names) to *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*; in which he ſtiles himſelf *David* the beloved of God, pillar of the faith, kinſman to the race of *Judah*, ſon of *David*, and of *Solomon*, ſon of the pillar of *Sion*, emperor of the great and high *Ethiopia*, and of its great kingdoms and provinces, *&c.* They likewiſe bear in their arms the lion of the tribe of *Judah* holding a croſs, with this inſcription in *Ethiopic*, *The lion of the tribe of* Judah *is conqueror* [c]. The reſpect that is paid to their preſence, is anſwerable to their title and dignity, none of their ſubjects approaching it without the deepeſt marks of ſubmiſſion, and ſuch as come little ſhort of adoration, that is paid to ſeveral *Indian* princes, of whom we have had occaſion to ſpeak in ſome former volumes [d].

High titles.

Homage paid to them.

[a] TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, LUDOLPH, PONCET, & al. plur. [b] See before, vol. xiii. p. 462. [c] 1 Kings, x. paſſ. vid. & TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO. Vid & LUDOLPH, Ethiop. lib. ii. c. 1. paſſ. & al plur. [d] See before, vol. viii. p. 142, & ſeq. ix. p. 10, & ſeq. & al. paſſ.

They

They do not indeed affect, like them, that majestic piece of grandeur, of being seldom seen by their subjects; for these will often shew themselves to them in public, and even admit them into their presence; but this is never done without the greatest solemnity; and those who are thus far honoured, are obliged to fall prostrate on the ground before him, and kiss the ground as they approach his person. Something like it they observe even in his absence, insomuch, that they never hear his name mentioned without bowing their bodies very low, and touching the ground with their hand. As for all the other marks of their boasted grandeur and magnificence, it chiefly consists in the retinue that constantly attends their court, or rather their camp, for we have already observed that they chiefly live in tents. In these one may indeed see something of imperial pomp and state, though vastly short of that of the *Chinese*, and other monarchs, in their progress from place to place[e]. They are not only accompanied by their own household and guards, which make up a numerous shew, but by all the grandees and officers of the empire, which out-vie one-another, not only in the largeness and splendidness of their retinue, but in the richness of their dress, and the sumptuousness of their pavilions; so that their camp always takes up a large space of ground, and makes a very magnificent shew; to which the regular disposition of the streets, and great variety of tents, streamers, and other ornaments, and especially the many lights and fires at night, contribute not a little; so that the whole appears like a vast open, and regular city, in whose center, or on some eminent part of which, is displayed the imperial pavilion, outvying all the rest, in height, bulk, and richness. Next to it, are those of the empresses and royal family, and then those of the lords and ladies of his court, all appearing with a proportionable, though inferior lustre. To these, we may add those stately large ones which serve them instead of churches, upon which they likewise bestow no small cost, to adorn and enrich them both within and without. As to the rest of this imperial camp, we must expect nothing extraordinary in it, except its vast extent, and the good order that is commonly kept in it, together with its market-places, courts of judicature, and other tribunals of justice, and the places where the young nobility perform variety of exercises on horseback, which afford likewise a delightful sight. All the rest appears only a huge variety of long extensive lanes, made up on all sides either of mean ordinary tents, or low miserable huts of laths

Their retinue.

Camp looks like a vast regular city.

Rich pavilions.

Some serve for churches.

[e] See before, vol. viii. p. 157, & seq.

and

and clay, covered with ſtraw, which ſerve for his guards, ſoldiery, and a prodigious multitude of ſuttlers and other attendance [f].

Manner of removing the camp.

WHEN the emperor removes this his camp, or, as it may be properly ſtiled, his metropolis, which is done oftener or ſeldomer, according to his pleaſure, or the condition the empire is in (D), (ſome princes having changed places in two, three, or more years, others but once in ſix or ſeven, or even as far as ten years) their chief care is to chuſe a moſt convenient ſpacious ſpot, well furniſhed with water, and eſpecially with wood, becauſe when that begins to fail them, they are obliged to remove; and it is ſcarcely conceivable what havock they make of it, for want of obſerving a due order in felling of it; ſo that vaſt foreſts, mountains, and vallies, are frequently laid bare in a little time; inſomuch, that whenever this huge unweildy incampment removes, there is then no

Vaſt havock made by it.

[f] TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LOBO, PONCET, LUDOLPH, DAM. GOEZ, & al. plur.

(D) Theſe removes are chiefly occaſioned either through the want of wood and other proviſions, or by the different wars which thoſe princes have in hand, ſometimes with one enemy, ſometimes with another, they being in a great meaſure ſurrounded by them on every ſide. During ſome part of the time of the miſſionaries reſidence in thoſe parts, the emperor had his camp at a place called *Dencas*, where it continued ten whole years; but before that, he had five or ſix other places, in which he had tarried only one, two, or three years. The emperors have likewiſe a place for their winter quarters, where they retire with their wives and houſhold, as it were from buſineſs, eſpecially in time of war, and return to the camp with the return of the ſpring (9).

The imperial army, as we ſhall ſee by-and-by, is ſupplied with proviſions, in their march, by the country people through whom they paſs; but if it ſtays any time in one place, the emperor, or, in his abſence, his head general, have no other way to ſubſiſt them, than by aſſigning certain towns to them; in virtue of which, they not only ſtrip the poor people of their proviſions, but carry off all that they can lay their hands on; by which means, whole cantons, and ſometimes provinces, are quite ruined, and almoſt depopulated; the poorer ſort being forced to abandon their dwellings, and either to go and ſettle in ſome more diſtant ones, or, which is often the caſe, to turn vagabonds, and live upon the hoſpitality of the people (10).

(9) *Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Ludolph, Dam. de Goes, Codign. & al.*
(10) *Id. ibid. See before, p. 90, & al. paſſ.*

more

How the emperor marches.

more to be ſeen for a long while after, but the mere naked ground; and it is looked upon amongſt them as a great, if not an incredible wonder, that ſuch great cities as are in other parts of the world ſhould be able to ſubſiſt ſo long a time in one place, without being in extreme want of wood. The emperor in his march, whether in time of peace or war, is always attended by his azaques and chief miniſters: he appears with a crown on his head, which is made up of pieces of gold and ſilver, embelliſhed with ſome ſea pearl; for other kinds of jewels were never ſo much as ſeen in *Abiſſinia*, if we may believe abbot *Gregory*, and the generality of *Portugueſe* miſſionaries; though *Poncet*, on the contrary, deſcribes the empreſs as covered all over with jewels, when he had the honour to be admitted to her preſence *. He alſo wears a kind of cap, or hat, made after the *Indian* manner, and commonly brought from thence. It was likewiſe the cuſtom formerly, for theſe princes to be ſurrounded with a ſet of *Indian* curtains, to keep them from public view; but that having been long ago ſet a-ſide, they will now frequently leave their mule, and ſhew themſelves on a ſtately prancing horſe. Some time before they begin their march, proper officers are ſent all the way before, to the governors of every province and place where they are to paſs, with orders not only to provide them and the whole army with all neceſſaries, but likewiſe to clear and repair the roads, and eſpecially to clear the woods, through which their way lies, of all ſuperfluous branches, briars, and every thing elſe that may retard their march; though they can travel but ſlowly, and by ſhort journies, by reaſon of the multitudes of women, children, cattle, and other luggage that commonly follows them. Theſe orders ſeldom fail of being executed with the utmoſt exactneſs by the country-people, becauſe, upon the leaſt deficiency, they are ſure to be ſeverely fined; and, which is ſtill worſe, are frequently undeſervedly ſo, through the knavery of the overſeers; ſo that on the time appointed, they all punctually come with their quotas of cows, corn, beer, hydromel, *&c.* all which are afterwards diſtributed with the ſame exactneſs among the ſeveral ranks and orders of the army; it being a ſtanding law, throughout the whole empire, that every diſtrict and canton, thro' which the emperor or his army are to paſs, ſhall find them in all thoſe neceſſaries, and make the roads fit for them §. Beſides theſe purveyors above-mentioned, the Titmerari, or officer that commands the van-guard, takes upon him the office of quarter-maſter general,

His army how ſupplied with proviſions, by the country people.

* Engliſh edit. p. 53. § Id. ibid.

general, and fixes his pike on the ſpot he chuſes for the imperial pavilion; after which, every one of the reſt knowing his own rank, and the ground that he is to take up, they eaſily gueſs by their eye where their tents are to be pitched; ſo that the whole encampment is completed in a trice, and with its uſual readineſs; and with ſuch regularity and exactneſs, as well as diſpatch, that, notwithſtanding their being ſo frequently removed, yet every one knows the ways and paths ſo well, that he can go to the tent of any one with the ſame facility that he can to his own, or as we can find a lane, ſtreet, or houſe, in any of our cities, or moſt populous towns. *Camp how pitched.*

THE camp is divided into ſeven pariſhes, every one of which hath its head prieſt, with all his deacons and inferiors under him, who aſſiſt him in the inſtruction of youth, in performing the divine ſervice, and other functions of the prieſtly office. Whenever the enemy happens to be near, the army is ordered to march cloſe, and in the beſt order; the van-guard and rear drawing up cloſe to the main body. The wings ſpread themſelves out; and the emperor keeps in the centre with his guards, great officers, ladies, *&c.* leaving ſtill a ſufficient interval for incloſing the baggage. At other times they obſerve little or no order in their marches, ſaving that there is always a number of warlike inſtruments, with kettle and other drums, ſounding before, and a ſet guard marching around him. He always mounts and alights in his tent; and, if he hath occaſion to alight by the way, the guards immediately make a ring about his perſon, and ſpread their cloaks to keep him unſeen; and if it is with a deſign to take reſt, a couch, which is commonly carried near at hand for that purpoſe, is brought to him, on which he lies on cuſhions covered with carpets of the fineſt ſilks. We omit ſome other curious, though leſs material, inſtances of the power and grandeur of the *Abiſſinian* monarchs, which ſome writers have given us an account of [h], as we do not find them mentioned by the principal authors we have hitherto followed, to come therefore to ſome more important ones. *Method of marching.*

WE have already hinted, that the *Abiſſinian* crown is altogether hereditary, and muſt be preſerved in the ſame family, that is, in the poſterity of *Menilehek*, their firſt monarch; but the ſucceſſion to it is not ſo abſolutely tied to the primogeniture, but an emperor, if he pleaſes, may ſet aſide his eldeſt ſon, or any other of them, for the ſake of a younger, whom he favours more, or thinks more worthy of it. This *Crown hereditary.*

[h] DAM. GOES Mores Abiſſin. paſſ. ILLESC. Pontif. Hiſt. l. vi. c. 22, & al.

often proved the cauſe of much jealouſy and miſunderſtanding between the young princes, and ſometimes of long and cruel wars between them; and in all probability gave birth to that ſevere cuſtom, held in this empire, of confining all the princes of the blood to the fortreſs or rock called *Amba-guexen*, lately deſcribed. The occaſion of it, as well as that of its being afterwards abrogated, appearing more ſingular than clear, the reader may ſee in the margin (E). But, whatever

Young princes confined in a fortreſs.

(E) This rigorous cuſtom, we are told, was not introduced till the year 1260, when the then emperor *Iqubnu*, or *Icon-Amlacus*, having bequeathed the empire between his five (ſome ſay nine) ſons, with a reſtriction, that they ſhould reign alternately, every one his year, according to their ſeniority; the youngeſt of them, named *Free-Hecam*, not having patience to ſtay till his turn came, and being vexed to ſee thoſe of his brethren, who had already reigned in theirs, ſitting at an upper table, whilſt he and the reſt were obliged to take up with a lower, and to go and waſh their hands in another room, becauſe it was thought unſeemly to do ſo before their betters; all theſe, joined together, inſpired the ambitious youth with a deſign to aboliſh that ſhifting annual government, and to graſp it all into his own hands.

He found it difficult to carry on ſuch a project without imparting it to ſome friend; and that friend found it no leſs dangerous to keep his ſecret; ſo that, inſtead of ſucceeding, he found himſelf intrapped in his own ſnare: for, as ſoon as it came near his turn to mount the throne, as he was ſtudying all proper meaſures to ſecure all his other brethren in ſome ſuch ſtrong place as that of *Guexen* above-mentioned, his confidant revealed the whole ſecret to the then reigning brother; who liked the project ſo well, that he ſent both the projector, and all his other brethren, under a ſtrong guard, to the *Amba-Guexen*, as the fitteſt place for his purpoſe. Soon after which, *Herod*-like, growing jealous of his own ſons, he ſent them all likewiſe into the ſame diſmal confinement. This is the ſubſtance of what our authors tell us (11) gave riſe to this unnatural cuſtom, which continued in uſe ſomewhat above two hundred years.

As to the occaſion of its being afterwards abrogated, it was as follows: *Nahod*, the prince then on the throne, and the father of *Onak Segued*, the laſt prince of that country who came out of that dreadful confinement, had a ſon about eight or nine years old, of whom he was exceedingly fond. A counſellor, who came to court one day, ſeeing him ſtanding by his father's ſide, could not forbear taking notice to the emperor, *how big his ſon was grown*; whereupon the young prince, who had a ready apprehenſion above

(11) *Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Poncet, Ludolph, & al. ſup. citat.*

his

er gave riſe to it, ſure it is, that the ſucceſſor to the crown e always fetched from thence while that cuſtom laſted, in der to be inveſted with the regalia of that empire. Till t time, they were kept, with the reſt of thoſe unfortunate iſoners, under ſuch a very ſtrict guard, that no creature s permitted to come near them; nor could any meſſage letter be conveyed to them, till it had undergone the exa- nation of their gaolers, whoſe buſineſs it was to keep them der the ſtricteſt and ſevereſt diſcipline; inſomuch that they uld not allow them to wear any better clothes than thoſe ton ones, which were the uſual garb of the common peo- , leſt a more diſtinguiſhed dreſs ſhould inſpire them with bitious thoughts[1].

We have a remarkable inſtance of this related by father Tellez, which is as follows: One of theſe guards or gaolers, who was naturally very rigid, obſerving that one of thoſe young princes was better clothed than the reſt, and was more ne and careful in his dreſs, not only ſeverely reprimanded n for it, but tore it off his back; and threatened him, t, if ever he caught him again in ſuch finery, he would vide him a dreſs that would not pleaſe him. Some rs after, this prince was raiſed to the imperial throne, and ered that guard to be brought before him; who, coming h a heart full of the deepeſt apprehenſion, caſt himſelf at feet, and begged pardon for what he had formerly done him. His fears, however, were ſoon turned into joy and titude, when that generous prince, bidding him riſe, pre- ted him with a rich ſuit, and a gold bracelet of great va- , and diſmiſſed him with words to this effect: *You did your y as became you, and I am highly pleaſed with it; and, as have ſerved my father ſo faithfully, ſo I doubt not you will*

A notable inſtance of one of them.

[1] Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, & al. ubi ſup.

years, was ſtruck with terror the expreſſion; and, fixing weeping eyes upon his fa- r. ſaid, in a moving tone, What am I then grown up for *Anba Guexen?*" Which rds made ſo deep an impreſs upon him, that he imme- tely reſolved to aboliſh that human cuſtom; and not only ore himſelf, but obliged his counſellors, and officers of his court, to do the ſame; *viz.* that no ſon of his, nor of any other emperor, ſhould thenceforth be ever confined to that place; which oath hath been ſo faith- fully obſerved ever ſince, that no prince of the blood hath ever been ſent thither from that time (12).

(12) *Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Poncet, Ludolph, & al. ſup. citat.*

do the same by me: return to your former charge [k]. This behaviour, which chiefly tended to make those guards more rigid and severe, plainly shews, that, however hard that prince might deem his condition to be whilst under that cruel restraint, yet he did not think it politic or safe, now he was on the throne, to abate any thing of that severity and harsh confinement. And we may very well question, whether any thing less than the extreme grief and tears of so tender a young prince as he, whom we have just mentioned in the last note, could have prevailed upon the emperor *Nahod* his father to abolish a custom of such long standing, and which had been till then looked upon as one of the greatest securities to the monarch upon the throne, against any domestic faction or rebellion.

That custom since abrogated, and revived again.

We may add, that (if what father *Alvarez* tells us of his own knowlege may be credited, and yet all his brethren own that he may be safely depended upon so far [l]) this custom was not so thoroughly banished out of the empire as *Tellez* would insinuate, since he, *Alvarez*, positively tells us, that *David*, one of the sons of that very *Nahod*, having been raised to the throne, and defeated by his elder brother, was sent with all his younger brethren to that doleful confinement; and adds farther, that he saw one of the youngest of them, who had found means to escape, taken, and relegated to the same place. We shall not take upon us to reconcile two such different accounts; but only observe, that it is not at all likely, in such a fierce contest between so many young princes for the succession, he that proved conqueror over the rest should scruple the reviving such a custom for his own security, tho' ever so justly and reasonably, and we may add ever so solemnly, abolished by their father, and all the nobles of his empire [m].

F. Uretta's account opposite.

Neither shall we trouble our readers with the opposite account which father *Uretta* the *Dominican* hath given us of that princely prison; who rather describes it as an earthly paradise, in which those princes enjoy every kind of pleasure and happiness, except their liberty, and are educated in a manner suitable to their birth [n]. That author is esteemed too fabulous to be credited against the consentient testimony of so many missionaries, whom he point-blank contradicts not only in this, but in most other parts of his history, which is for that reason generally looked upon as fabulous, and by

[k] Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, & al. sup. citat. [l] See before, p. 96, & seq. [m] Iid. ib. Vid. Ludolph, ubi sup. lib. ii. c. 8. §. 35, & seq. [n] Hist. de Ethiopia.

them

them represented as a heap of romantic forgeries [o]; yet is he not the only one who contradicts those fathers in many material points (F); and it will perhaps remain a doubt, on whom we may most safely rely, till a fresh access to these dominions be opened again to the *Europeans*. However, with respect to the nature of this manner of confining these young princes, we shall only beg leave to observe, that the delightful description which *Uretta* gives us of it being the most natural, and by far more for the honour of the *Abissinian* monarchs, than the dismal and melancholy one of *Almeyda* and his brethren, it is scarcely credible that so zealous a subject as the abbot *Gregory* would have confirmed the latter, had he not been convinced that it was the most agreeable to truth.

Ceremony of coronation;

The manner in which any of these young princes was brought out of that wretched abode, to ascend the throne, was as follows; which, by the way, was not done till after due consultation, and a strict inquiry into the character of the happy person. If the emperor, indeed, did declare him during his life, there was then no debate or opposition; but if he had not done it, the nobles and officers of the army had a right to chuse him whom they thought most worthy of the crown. As soon as they had agreed upon a successor, the viceroy of *Tigre* went at the head of some forces, and incamped at the foot of the mountain, whence, with a proper retinue of grandees and officers, he went up to the top; and, entering the hut or cell of the prince elect, he, with the usual formality, fixed the *Belul* or imperial ear-ring to his ear, which was the token of his election; immediately after which, the other young princes were sent for, to come and pay their homage to, and congratulate him, on his happy accession to the crown. The reader will easily conceive with what a heavy, not to say envious, heart they paid him that compliment, and took their final farewel of him.

[o] Thevenot, Ludolph, Telléz, & al.

(F) The reader may see, in particular, *Poncet's* description of some of the royal palaces, especially of the great city of *Gondar*, its vast concourse of merchants, and affluence; description of its houses, churches, and other buildings; the apparel of the empress, whom he represents as covered all over with jewels (13); and many more of the like kind, all which are quite contrary to the account of the missionaries, and Mr. *Ludolph's* & *Gregory's*.

(13) *See Poncet, English, p.* 53, *& seq.*

As soon as the new emperor was come down, the governors, and other officers, came at the head of the army to meet him; and, as soon as they approached him, they all alighted together and saluted him; and upon his giving them the signal, they all mounted again, and taking him into their center, conducted him to the *Debana*, or imperial pavilion, with loud acclamations of joy, heightened by the sounds of the trumpets, kettle-drums, and other musical instruments. Here he alone alighted within, whilst all the rest did the same without the *Debana*, and was soon after solemnly anointed by a proper prelate, called the *Saraje Macare*, whilst the rest of his clergy accompanied the ceremony with psalms and hymns suitable to the occasion [p]. Presently after that ceremony, he was invested with the imperial robes, and the crown was set upon his head, which, as we lately hinted, was made of several pieces of gold and silver, shaped like lilies, or flower-de-luce's, intermixed with pearl seeds, and fixed on a kind of hat or cap, of blue velvet; on the top of which was a cross of the same metal: the sword of state was drawn and put into his hand, and he being seated on the throne, a herald (or as father *Tellez* stiles him, the *Ker Ace*, or head chaplain) immediately proclaimed him emperor, in words to this import; *We have caused* ——— *to reign*; whose words were on a sudden answered by the loud acclamations of the whole assembly and army, who came to pay homage to him.

and anointing.

Other ceremonies on their coronation.

The sceptre, or an equivalent to it, is unknown amongst them, though it bears such a lively representation of the regal power and dignity in the sacred books of the *Old Testament* [q]. Some have indeed fancied, that the cross which they hold in their hand, was used by them instead of it; but that is a mistake, and this last is carried by all the clergy in general, in token of their sacred function, the emperor being obliged to be ordained priest or deacon before he can be crowned, as we shall shew in the sequel. A kind of ritual, which we suppose contains the whole duty of a good sovereign, is next read and explained before him, either by the metropolitan that anoints him, or by some of his substitutes: but whether the prince promises, or swears to the observation of it or not, we are not told. From thence the new monarch goes and assists at the divine service, and receives the holy communion; and is afterwards accompanied by his court and army to the royal tent, through the joyful acclamation

[p] Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Ludolph, & seq. [q] Vid int. al. Gen. xlix. 10. Ps. cx. 2. it. alib. plur.

mations of the people, and with the ſound of the trumpets, ſilver kettle drums, and variety of other muſical inſtruments; and the whole ſolemnity cloſed with feaſtings, and other tokens of joy [r]. We have omitted the whimſical ceremony of *cutting the cord*, which is peculiar to this country, and is to precede the coronation, but which being below the grandeur of ſuch a ſolemnity, we ſhall give it our readers in the margin (G).

That of cutting the cord.

THE

[r] TELLEZ, ALMEYDA, LUDOLPH, & al. ſup. citat.

(G) This ceremony is performed in the old ruinated city of *Axum*, formerly deſcribed (14), that being ſtill the place where all the *Abiſſinian* monarchs are crowned. The ſame authors have added ſome other circumſtances to it, which, though ludicrous, and beneath the dignity of a coronation, yet, thro' long ſtanding, received as an irrevocable ſanction; and there are few nations that have not adopted ſomething, at leaſt as whimſical and trifling as this we are going to ſpeak of, in their grandeſt ſolemnities; witneſs the champion's office at the coronation of our monarchs.

There is an ancient ſtone, all over carved with unknown characters, ſtanding at about the diſtance of two bow-ſhots from the cathedral of *Axum*, at which the emperor elect is obliged, as he goes thither, to alight, and perform the ceremony called *the cutting of the cord*, which is commonly a ſilk line, or ribbon, which the maidens of *Axum* hold acroſs his way. The place, before his coming, is ſpread over with rich carpets; and thoſe of his retinue that go before, open the way to him thro' the crouds on both ſides; and he being alighted, marches three times towards the ſilk line, and is aſked by the maidens who hold it, Who he is? to whom he anſwers, *I am king of* Iſrael; and they reply, *Then are you not our king*; and he draws back. But being aſked the ſame queſtion at his third approach, and anſwering, I am king of *Sion*, he draws his ſword, and cuts the cord with it; upon which, they joyfully cry, then are you truly our king, the king of *Sion*; upon which the air is immediately filled with the loudeſt acclamations of joy, with the firing of the army's ſmall arms, and the ſound of variety of warlike, and other inſtruments. The cord being cut, the abuna, or metropolitan, and his clergy, who ſtood at ſome ſmall diſtance from it, and come on purpoſe from *Dembea* to perform the ceremony, march forwards towards him, and introduce him into the outward court of the church, with proper pſalms or canticles, in their own tongue; where being crowned and anointed, he is thence conducted into the church to hear the divine ſervice, *&c.* Thus far father *Tellez*, and his brethren (15), concerning the coronation of the *Abiſſinian* monarchs.

(14) *See before*, p. 33. (15) *Tellez. l.* iii. *c.* 53. *Ludolph, l.* ii. *c.* 11.

They have plurality of wives of different religions.

THE next grand ceremony relating to the *Abiſſinian* monarchs, is their nuptials, and the manner of marrying, and declaring their empreſſes. We have already obſerved, that they allow themſelves the liberty of having a plurality of them, like their ancient progenitor *Solomon* king of the *Jews**; and they not only imitate him in that, but likewiſe in taking thoſe of different religions, whether Gentiles or *Mohammedans*; and ſome of them have carried this licence ſo far, as, like that *Jewiſh* monarch, to allow their heathen wives to have their own temples and idols; ſo that one might ſee on one ſide, the church of God, and on the other, a *Pagan* temple, as it was the caſe in Sultan *Segued*'s reign; tho' others indeed had ſo much regard to religion, as to cauſe thoſe *Pagan*, or *Mohammedan* princeſſes, to be inſtructed and baptized in it before they married them. The generality of them, however, chuſe to marry the daughters of noble families, of which there are abundance in ſome of their chief provinces and kingdoms, eſpecially in that of *Tigre*; whilſt ſome

Chuſe them from among their ſubjects.

* See before, p. 107.

In that at which farther *Pays* was preſent, of the emperor *Segued*, on *Sunday*, *March* 23, 1609, the imperial army that accompanied him to that ſolemnity, conſiſted of 25,000 men and 1500 horſe, all dreſſed in their beſt accoutrements. The emperor, together with the grandees of his court, appeared richly clad and mounted, and their horſes in moſt ſumptuous furniture. The monarch had on him a coſtly veſt of crimſon damaſk, and over it a *Turkiſh* robe of rich brocade; which, like the ancient *Roman* gowns, had narrow, but long ſleeves, hanging down to the ground: the veſt, as well as robe, would have done the ſame, had it been let looſe; but the former was girt with a broad girdle, all of pieces of gold, curiouſly wrought: a thick golden chain went ſeveral times round his neck, whence hanging down on his breaſt, and the ends falling very low behind, gave him a grand majeſtic air, as he was himſelf a handſome man (16).

Father *Uretta*, in his uſual way, adds many other pompous circumſtances attending this coronation ceremony; which, if true, would greatly add to the grandeur and magnificence of it (17): but being rejected by *Tellez*, and the reſt of his ſociety, as fictions and fables, or at beſt, as deviſed by a fertile brain, to ſhew how ſuch a grand ceremony might be performed with a more ſuitable ſplendor (18), we ſhall not trouble our readers with them (19).

(16) *Jeſuits Travels*, *l.* iii. *c.* 13. (17) *Hiſtor. de Ethiop.* (18) *Tellez*, *ub. ſup. Jeſ. Travels*, *l.* i. *c.* 9. (19) *Tellez*, *ub. ſup. Jeſ. Travels*, *l.* i. *c. ult. vid. & La Grand Diſſertat. 7th.*

of them, paying a greater regard to the natural endowments of the mind, or the beauty of the perſon, than to the nobleneſs of their extract, which they thought added nothing to their own grandeur, chiefly choſe them for the former; they being thought ſufficiently ennobled, by being preferred to the imperial bed [t].

As ſoon, therefore, as the monarch has pitched upon any young lady for his wife, ſhe is brought away from her parents, and lodged in the houſe of ſome of his relations, in order to come to a better knowlege of her good qualities. If he is ſatisfied with her in that point, he takes her with him to church on a *Sunday*, where having aſſiſted at the divine ſervice, and received the Holy Communion, they are led back to the imperial pavilion, attended by the whole court, in their richeſt attire; there the abuna, or chief prelate, commonly performs the matrimonial ceremony; which ended, the emperor, as is uſual at all other times, dines by himſelf in his own apartment, and ſhe in hers, in company with a number of other ladies. The nobles, clergymen, and depteras (H), are likewiſe ſumptuouſly treated at other tables and tents, with variety of meats and liquors; and the feaſt generally does not conclude among the male gueſts, till all the plenty of liquors, which had been prepared for them, be quite drank out: after which, every one lays himſelf down in the next convenient place that comes in his way, and ſleeps out till the next morning; a cuſtom obſerved, not only at theſe royal weddings, but in moſt others of their feaſtings; but in ſuch royal ones as theſe, care is taken, that there be a plentiful ſupply of thoſe liquors lodged before-hand in ſome convenient part of the pavilion, where the gueſts may come as oft as they pleaſe to repleniſh their cups [u].

Ceremony of their nuptials.

Feaſting and carouſing.

[t] Tellez, Almeyda, Alvarez, Lobo, & al. See Ludolph, lib. ii. c. 6. §. 99, & ſeq.

[u] Tellez, & al. ſup. citat.

(H) Theſe deptaras, or depteras, we are told, are a peculiar ſort of eccleſiaſtic chanters, or fingers, they have among them upon theſe occaſions; and who boaſt themſelves not only of *Jewiſh* extract, but to be deſcended from the ancient *Jewiſh* ſcribes. Their office here, as well as at church, is to ſing, and beat a kind of a drum, and to dance and ſkip with ſuch violent geſtures and dreadful noiſes, that one would imagine the church, or place where they play their antics, was coming down about one's ears; and yet theſe men are in great vogue and eſteem among the great, as we ſhall ſee elſewhere.

The queen how proclaimed.

THE concluſion of the nuptial feſtivity ended, the bride is not immediately declared empreſs (K), but is kept ſome days, weeks, or months, according to the emperor's pleaſure; nor is ſhe admitted to dwell with him in the royal pavilion, but hath one aſſigned near, but ſeparated from it by a different incloſure, and comes from thence to it when ſent for. On the day ſhe is to be inſtalled Itigue, or empreſs, ſhe appears in his tent, ſeated on a couch near the imperial throne, on which his majeſty ſits likewiſe, but higher by one ſtep; and both are clad in the richeſt apparel, as well as the nobles and officers of his court, who aſſiſt at the ſolemnity. Upon a ſignal made, one of his dignified chaplains, who is commonly a prelate, goes out into the court, and ſtanding on a chair, or deſk, proclaims her empreſs in theſe words, *Anagaſna danguecera ſhem*, that is, We have ordained our ſlave to reign (L); or, as *Ludolph* words it, *the king hath created his ſervant*

(K) This title of Itegue, which is the moſt honourable that is given to the emperor's conſort, is variouſly rendered queen, empreſs, and highneſs. When joined with their proper name, it is then ſhortened into Ite, or, as ſome pronounce it, Ethie, as Ite *Miriam*, Ite *Hamelmal*, queen *Mary*, or queen *Hamelmal* (20).

It is, however, to be obſerved, that though ſhe be declared queen in the manner we are deſcribing, yet is ſhe not permitted to take the high title of Ite, or Itigue, as long as the late emperor's mother is living, to whom alone that title is given; inſomuch, that not only the wife of the reigning emperor, but he himſelf, calls her mother, though he be not her ſon, and pays her the ſame honour as if ſhe had been really ſuch (21).

(L) As harſh as the word ſlave may ſound in our ears, it is in ſuch common uſe amongſt them, that even the king's own kindred and brethren have it given to them; ſo that when he raiſes any of them to any dignity, ſuch as that of viceroy, which is the higheſt under him, their commiſſion always runs, We have conſtituted —— our ſlave, viceroy, or governor, *&c.* without giving them the title of brother or kinſman: and well may he ſtile them ſlaves, ſeeing they are all ſuch to him, from the higheſt to the loweſt; and their lands, lives, *&c.* are wholly at his diſpoſal (22).

To ſoften, however, the harſhneſs of that word, the *Abiſſinians* ſet a higher value upon a ſlave of their own country, and will give much more money for him, *cæteris paribus*,

(20) *See Ludolph, l.* ii. *c.* 1. §. 66. iii. 10, 66. *See alſo his index under Itegue.* (21) *Tellez, ub. ſup. Ludolph, ub. ſup.* (22) *Tellez & al. ub. ſup.*

than

ſervant —— queen [w]. This is immediately anſwered by the loud echoes and acclamations of the by-ſtanders; after which ſhe is dignified with the title of Itigue, or Ethie, which is equivalent to that of highneſs with us. As to the ceremony of crowning, we do not find that it was ever uſed to any of them, unleſs when the imperial dignity was ſolely inveſted in them, elſe the emperors alone are honoured with it. *When allowed to be called Itigue, or highneſs.*

We have lately hinted, that the *Abiſſinian* emperors are in holy orders; and, we are told, that many of them heretofore have been conſecrated prieſts, and uſed to officiate as ſuch, and to conſecrate the ſacred elements, and to adminiſter them to the people; but with this reſtriction, however, that if they ever chanced to ſhed human blood, whether it amounted to murder, or only man-ſlaughter, they were, *ipſo facto*, deprived of their prieſtly office, and could never more officiate in it [x]. Some of theſe authors ſtill carry this point much higher, as the reader may ſee by one or two quotations we have ſubjoined in the margin (M), but which to *Emperors take holy orders.*

[w] Ludolph, l. ii. c. 1. §. 68. Tellez, l. i. c. 10. [x] See Le Grand, and the authors quoted by him, Diſſert. 4. p. 240, & ſeq.

than for a ſtranger; for which, ſome of their literati have found out this learned reaſon; that their emperor is called *Preſter Jan*, or, according to the *Perſic* etymon, *Chan*; which laſt ſignifies with them, a prince, or ſovereign; ſo that that title implies his being chan, or prince, of the *Preſtar*, or beſt, ſlaves (23).

But as little undervaluing as they think the title of ſlave is among them, it was not ſo accounted by the *Portugueſe* when they were there; one of whom, they tell us, having obtained ſome great poſt from the emperor, and, as a ſubject of the king of *Portugal*, who calls them all his children, diſdaining to be ſtiled a ſlave to that of *Ethiopia*, offered a good ſum of money to the herald, or crier, who was to proclaim his promotion, to leave out that odious title, and call him only by his name: but that was more than the officer dared to do (24).

(M) The words, as quoted by *Le Grand*, run thus. *Ethiopiæ reges omnes ſunt ſacerdotes, liturgiam celebrant ſuper altaria; et quamdiu regnum obtinent, nihil quidquam manu propria occidere ſolent. Si quis contra fecerit, amittit jus liturgiæ* (25). Another author adds ſome other particularities, ſuch as, that the kings pulled off their crown when they went to officiate, and ſat bare-headed all the time of divine ſervice; that if they adminiſtered the Holy

(23) *Ludolph, l.* i. *c.* 14. §. 11, *& ſeq.* (24) *Tellez, l.* i. *c.* 10.
(25) *Simon Epiſcop. Aſſem. ap. Le Grand Diſſert.* 4, *de Preſtre Jean, p.* 240.

Communion,

to us appear of no credit. It is plain, that since the coming of the *Portuguese* among them, there have been none of those monarchs in higher orders than deacon's; a privilege, which it seems is granted likewise to the nobles and great officers of the court, and which, for aught we can find, is coveted by them for no other end, than that they may not be obliged to remain with the common laity in the body of the church, but be admitted within the curtains, (as they stile that part of the chapel which answers, as we conjecture, to our chancel) among the clergy, and receive the communion with them. In consequence of this ordination, they are likewise allowed to carry little crosses in their hands when they go abroad, and to give them to the laity to kiss, as the rest of the clergy do [y]; which, by the way, plainly shews, that that which the emperors carry in their hands, hath no analogy to the royal sceptre used among other nations. This order of the diaconate is bestowed upon the children, and even sucking infants of great men, in order to intitle them to the same privileges; by all which one may judge, what regard the *Abissinians* pay to the clergy, and their sacred functions; seeing the emperor himself, absolute as his power is in all other respects, would not be admitted into the sanctuary, or chancel, if he was not first ordained deacon, but must submit to receive the communion at the gates of it, with the rest of the laity: and

Mostly that of deacon.

Their motive for it.

Bestowed upon infants.

[y] Alvarez, c. 97. Tellez, l. i. c. 10. Ludolph, l. iii. c. 7. §. 30, & seq.

Communion, they received it themselves after all the rest. One thing more he adds, that if any of them had killed any thing, he lost all right and title to the obedience, or allegiance, of his subjects (26). The *Abissinians* likewise mention several of their kings who exercised the priestly function, particularly their famed *Caleb*, who did so during forty years. He lived, according to them, in the sixth century, and waged a long bloody war against *Dunawas*, a *Jew*, then king of the *Homerites*, and totally ruined his kingdom; by which one would conclude, that the law against their shedding of blood was not yet in force.

What credit may be given to those authors, we will not take upon us to say; but if there was such a law as absolved the subjects from their allegiance to a king in priestly orders, who had shed any blood since his admission into it, we need not wonder, if they have since contented themselves with the lower one of deacon (27).

(26) *Abuselech ap. eund ibid.* c. i. §. 40. *ibid.* 24. §. 21, & *seq.*

(27) *Id. ibid.* & *seq.* *Ludolph, l.* iii.

thei

theſe are, as far as we can ſee, all the orders ſo much talked about, of this pretended *Preſter John* [a].

The emperor's vaſt power.

But in all other reſpects, except what relates to church diſcipline, (to which they uſually conform) one may affirm, that his authority is boundleſs over his ſubjects. He is the only ſovereign over all the kingdoms and provinces of the empire, nor hath any other king under him (N). He diſpoſes of all the lands throughout his dominions, excepting in the kingdoms of *Tigre* and *Dembea*, where there are ſome noble and privileged families, whoſe properties and dignities he never alienates from the ancient poſſeſſors. Such are, in the former, the *Bahrnagaes* and *Xumos*, or governors of *Sirave*, *Syre*, *Dembea*, &c; and in the latter, the power of the *Cautiba*, which never departs from the family: though even in theſe, the emperor, in one or two years, more or leſs, as he ſees fit, takes theſe commands from the poſſeſſors, and gives them to ſome other of the ſame family [a].

Allows no kings under him.

It was their cuſtom heretofore, never to appear in public; and it was ſeldom known that they troubled themſelves with the affairs of the government, the care of which they chiefly committed to their two prime miniſters, whom they called the Bahluded, or favourites. That cuſtom hath long ago been aboliſhed, and they have ſince thought it more convenient to ſhew themſelves to their ſubjects, at leaſt three or four times a year; though none, even to this day, is allowed to ſee them eat, except the pages that feed them [b]. Even the empreſs herſelf is denied that privilege, though ſhe herſelf eats in company with her ladies; and when they give audience to foreign ambaſſadors, they always ſit behind a curtain out of ſight.

His chief officers of the empire.

Inſtead of a favourite miniſter, they have created a chief officer, whom they call Raſh, or principal, and who is generaliſſimo. He hath under him two head overſeers over all the reſt; the one ſtiled *Bellatinoche Goyta*, or *Gouta*, that is, the lord of the ſervants, who is a kind of

[a] Id. ibid. [a] Id ibid. [b] See before, p. 82.

(N) Some have indeed affirmed, that thoſe of *Dancale* and *Gingiro*, the former of whom is a *Mohammedan*, and the other a Heathen, were ſubject, or tributary, to him. But they neither are dependent, nor pay any tribute to him, but only acknowlege him as a powerful neighbour, who is every way ſuperior to them, and with whom they think it their intereſt to live in peace and friendſhip (28).

(28) *Tellez, ub. ſup. l.* i. *c.* 10. *Ludolph. ub. ſup. l.* i. *c.* 2. §. 11. iii. *c.* 11. §. 9. *& ſeq. Lobo, ub. ſup. voy.* 2. *p.* 48, *& ſeq.*

high-

high-ſteward. This officer's power extends itſelf, not only over all the viceroys, governors, Xumos, and generals of the army, but likewiſe over the Azagues and Umbares, who are the civil judges of the empire. The other is ſtiled *Tzakak*, or *Zekaſe Bellatinoche Goyta*, or lord of the leſſer ſervants, and is only a kind of under-ſteward to the king's houſhold, which is commonly compoſed of men of a leſſer rank (O).

Places all bought and corrupted.

THE misfortune is, that not only theſe, but all places that are under them, are rather ſold to the higheſt bidder, than given to the fitteſt or worthieſt; and conſequently more is given for them than they are honeſtly worth: ſo that to be gainers by them, or even to ſave themſelves, the owners are obliged to oppreſs all that are under them; and thoſe governors and officers, from the higheſt to the loweſt, become rather the plunderers than the protectors of the people. What is ſtill worſt by far, theſe laſt can obtain no redreſs againſt their oppreſſors; for though there be appeals from the inferior to the ſupreme courts, and even from them to the emperor, yet the remedy proves ſo often worſe than the diſeaſe, that few, if any, dare venture upon it. But as this is the caſe of all arbitrary governments, where places, and juſtice itſelf, is venable, we ſhall not dwell longer upon this ſubject; only one inconvenience ariſing from that general corruption of offices and officers, we cannot forbear taking notice of, becauſe, perhaps, more ſeverely felt in this empire than in any other, *viz.* that the univerſal poverty and miſery which it ſpreads every-where, fills the whole country with ſwarms, not only of idle vagrants, ſuch as we have already

Appeals dangerous and few.

Which fills the country with robbers.

(O) We have been indeed told, by the fabulous father *Uretta*, that the emperors were ſerved by none but kings ſons, and princes of the royal blood; but if we may depend upon the reſt of our *Portugueſe* writers, and the *Abiſſinian Gregory*, theſe monarchs are ſo far from it, that they will have none but ſlaves of their own breeding up, to be about their perſon, or to wait at their court; and theſe, not of their own ſubjects, but the *Agaus*, *Gallas*, *Gongas*, and *Caffres*, who are brought up there from their youth, and whom they often afterwards prefer to be Xumos, and raiſe them to ſuch other employments, as their merit and abilities intitle them to: and they give this reaſon for their preference, that they find none ſo faithful, as thoſe whom they breed up, and raiſe from nothing; and that if they do not all prove ſo, yet they are in general more truſty than any of their own *Abiſſinians* (29).

(29) *Tellez, ub. ſup. Ludolph, & al.*

ſpoken

ſpoken of on another occaſion [c], but of deſperate banditti, and murdering robbers, who range through all the provinces that are at a diſtance from the imperial camp, and, for want of a ſufficient body of troops, or through their being too often employed in ſome war with the adjacent kingdoms, or through the remiſſneſs of the government, cannot be ſuppreſſed, or deterred from committing the greateſt outrages on the poor natives, and the vileſt cruelties and robberies on the travelling ſtrangers, who come thither to traffic [d]. But what can be ſaid of theſe enormities, if they are not only winked at, but even countenanced, by the government: and if that be really fact, which is affirmed by a late author, that thoſe banditti are incorporated under one chief, or captain, who pays a certain yearly tribute to the emperor, and even buys that poſt from him [e]? But to return.

Whoſe chief buys his poſt from the emperor.

, We obſerved a little higher, that the viceroys and governors of the kingdoms and provinces of the empire were under the Bellatinoche, as well as the military commanders and civil magiſtrates, or judges. All theſe hold their ſeveral courts of judicature, where all cauſes, either civil or criminal, are brought and decided; only thoſe of the martial kind, have martial officers to preſide in them; the others are tried before the civil judges above-mentioned: theſe laſt are called *Umbares*, or chairs, becauſe they alone are allowed to ſit, whilſt the plaintiff, defendant, and the reſt, ſtand; and, upon proper occaſions, will even ſit down upon the ground in the highway, or open field, to try a cauſe; and every body that will, may be preſent at it. They make uſe of no writeing, nor keep any records, much leſs allow lawyers, attornies, *&c.* to argue for or againſt either; both plaintiff and defendant (or, in criminal cauſes, the accuſer and accuſed) plead their own cauſe; the former ſpeaks firſt, and the latter after him; each may anſwer and reply to the other three or four times, by turns; after which, the judge, commanding ſilence, aſks the opinion of the by-ſtanders; and, according as the evidence turns the ſcale, for the one or the other, pronounces ſentence upon the ſpot, which in ſome caſes is without appeal, but in others may be removed to a ſuperior court; as firſt, to the vicery, or governor; thence to the Bellatinoche, or lord high ſteward; and laſtly, from him to the emperor. In criminal caſes, if the accuſed is caſt, he is either kept priſoner by the judge till he has made ſatisfaction to the accuſer; or if the crime be capital, as murder, he

Juſtice, how adminiſtered.

Altogether venal.

[c] See before, p. 90. [d] Vid. auct. ſup. citat. [e] Le Grand Diſſertat. des Rois d'Abiſſin. p. 255.

is

Capital punishments.

is delivered up to the plaintiff, to be punished with death, at his discretion, and that of the relations of the deceased; which custom they seem to have borrowed, among many others, from the *Jews*; and these relations either sell the murderer's life for a certain value, or put him to death in what manner they please. But when a murder cannot be sufficiently proved against any man, all the inhabitants of the place are severely fined, or put to some corporal punishment; which at once prevents all concealments of that kind, and by that means, a great deal of blood-shed. The greatest inconvenience of these courts of justice, is, that they allow of no witnesses to be heard, but those of the plaintiff; which it is not always in the power of the defendant to discredit or invalidate, though he is permitted to use all proper means to do it [f].

May be redeemed.

How inflicted.

THEY have here three kinds of capital punishments; the first is, that of burying the criminal in the earth, quite up to his mouth, and then to cover his head with thorns and briars, and lay a heavy stone upon them; the second is, that of beating them to death with thick clubs, about two feet long, with a heavy head at one end, of the bigness of a man's two fists; but the third and most usual is, that of piercing them through with with their zagays, or lances; in which case, the nearest relation of the deceased makes the first thrust, the rest following him in due order; even those that come last, or after the criminal is expired, commonly dip their weapons in his blood, to shew that they are likewise concerned to revenge the murder of their relation. What is still more dreadful, and in some measure barbarous, is, the feasting and loud rejoicings which these relations make over the criminal, from the time that he is delivered up into their hands, to the time of his execution, but more particularly on the night preceding it; to all which the prisoner is witness, as well as to the preparations which are made for it; all which, frequently exasperates his own relations to such a degree, that it scarcely fails of ending in the death of some of his most zealous prosecutors [g].

Prosecutors cruel in inflicting them.

THE emperor's army is nothing answerable to the extent of his dominions, nor indeed to the exigencies of them, considering how surrounded they are on all sides by enemies, and how frequently his frontier provinces are invaded and plundered

[f] TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, CODIGN, &c. l. i. c. 16, & seq. also N°. xxxv. pass. Deuter. xix. 6, 12. & alib. pass. Jos. Ant. l. iv. c. 7. Philo Legis Legat. & seq. [g] Id. ibid. Lobo Relat. p. 98.

by them. They ſeldom exceed 40,000 men, when he brings them all into the field, but often fall very ſhort of that number. Of them, between 4 and 5000 are horſe, and the reſt foot; and of the former, about 1500 are well ſized, mounted, and accoutered; and about one-half of them wear coats of mail and head-pieces, but all the reſt are as indifferently armed and accoutred, having no other arms, offenſive or defenſive, than a ſpear and buckler (P). They are very little acquainted with fire-arms, and as poorly furniſhed with powder and ball. There is in the whole about 1500 fire-arms, and not above 3 or 400 muſqueteers in any action, and they, for the greateſt part, ſo ill trained to the uſe of them, that they never make above one firing, for want of a

The emperor's army.

Their weapons.

(P) To give our reader a more exact idea of each of theſe weapons, we muſt inform him, that the ſpears are of two ſorts; the one like our half, or ſhort pikes, the other more like a halberd, or partiſan. The ſtaves of the former are ſlender, and the iron narrow, like our pike; the iron of the other is broad and thin: the firſt is to be darted by dint of ſtrength, and the laſt to be uſed in cloſe fight with one hand, whilſt the other holds the buckler, which is uſually made of buffalo's hide, very thick and ſtrong.

Each common ſoldier carries two of theſe ſpears; the one they dart with ſuch ſtrength and fury, that they will even pierce a coat of mail, or buckler; and the other is kept to continue the fight, as we do here with ſword and buckler. Thoſe of a higher rank have likewiſe their ſwords, but ſeldom make uſe of them in a battle, but rather wear them as a mark of diſtinction, and chiefly in time of peace, and then they commonly hold them in their hands when they converſe with any one; but if they walk, they make their ſervants carry them under their arms. They likewiſe wear a kind of dagger under their girdle, with the hilt towards the right, and the point towards the left-hand. Some likewiſe carry a club of ſome hard wood, very heavy, with a dagger in it: this weapon they call bolota, and commonly uſe it when they come to cloſe engagement with the enemy, and ſometimes dart it againſt them.

But the ſword being chiefly worn as an ornament, they are moſt curious about, and chuſe to have the hilt of gold or ſilver gilt, and the ſcabbard of velvet, or rich damaſk, commonly of a red colour.

The horſe are pretty much accoutred and armed like the foot; but thoſe who are allowed to wear the coat of mail, do, for the moſt part, throw aſide the buckler as an incumbrance. They are ſaid to be all very good horſemen, mount and ſit their horſes to admiration, but in other reſpects, are not better diſciplined than the foot (30).

(30) *De bis, vid. Tellez, l. i. c. 11. Ludolph, l. ii. c. 14. paſſ. Codign, Lobo, Le Grand, Pruet, & al.*

greater

Want of fire-arms and martial discipline.

greater supply of powder and ball. They seldom have any to use at their exercises, except some few of that higher rank, and these commonly use a rest with their muskets; and those are rather an incumbrance, especially in their wars with the *Gallas*, and other such wild enemies, so that they are little the better for their exercises. The rest being still worse disciplined, their armies, battalions, and squadrons, are commonly drawn up with as little regularity; so that the very first shock frequently begins and ends the battle; one side turning their back, and the other pursuing, without ever endeavouring to rally, or knowing how to go about it; neither is it looked upon as a disgrace to run away from the enemy, because it is become a common practice [h].

The soldiers stout and hardy.

It may be justly said, nevertheless, of the *Abissinian* soldiery, that if they perform no better, it is intirely owing to want of discipline; for they commonly are very stout and hardy, inured to hunger, thirst, and fatigue, beyond expression, being trained to it from their youth, and continuing in the field the greatest part of the year, equally capable of bearing the most excessive heat, the sharpest cold, and the most violent rains, and all this with a surprisingly small sustenance. Even this they get out of the few lands which the emperor allows them, whilst they continue in his service, to live upon, and no longer; for as soon as they begin to fail, they are taken from them and given to new ones. What is still harder, is, that they take their wives and children along with them; and these are commonly so numerous, that a camp of 30,000 men, may be justly said to consist of above 100,000 persons, and all obliged to live on the product of the lands, which are assigned to them for their maintenance: and hence it is that the *Abissinian* monarchs are able to raise such great armies upon any occasion with so little charge, all their subjects being either farmers or soldiers [i].

Poor allowance.

Carry their families with them.

We have already had occasion to describe the form and magnificence of the imperial camp, in speaking of his metropolis; as likewise of the manner of its marching, both in time of war and peace; in both which he is always placed in the centre of his army. He observes the same method in all engagements, where he is always surrounded, not only by his household and guards, but likewise by all his nobles and chief ministers, and composes a small kind of separate army. In this, as well as in the rest of the great body, they have the use of drums and kettle drums, (these last much larger and louder than ours) besides trumpets, hautbois, flutes, and

Drums and other martial instruments.

[h] Id. ub. sup. [i] Id ibid.

other

other inſtruments, whoſe muſic, however, is more remarkable for its confuſed noiſe and din, than for any either courtly or martial harmony. We omit a great variety of other inſtances of gaity and grandeur which attends the imperial army, eſpecially when the emperor is there in perſon, which ſome authors have laviſhly heaped together [k], in order to raiſe its magnificence above even that of the eaſtern monarchs, but which we think their bare word is not a ſufficient warrant for inſerting here; the only thing we find worth adding to what hath been already ſaid of the imperial army, is, that it is always attended with a vaſt number of prieſts, and even prelates, who not only perform the divine ſervice in pavilions, and thoſe not a few, aſſigned for that purpoſe, but likewiſe eſcort and attend the ſacred utenſils that are made uſe of in it, with great pomp and ceremony, and with vocal and inſtrumental muſic: among which, thoſe belonging to the imperial court, are carried about with the greateſt form and grandeur [l]. *Solemn attendance of the clergy.*

FROM what we have already obſerved, of the vaſt dominions, and very extenſive power of the *Abiſſinian* monarchs, one might be naturally led to conclude them to be immenſely rich, and their revenue to be anſwerable to ſo potent an empire: and yet we much queſtion, whether, comparing one with the other, he may not be more rightly deemed poor than opulent; at leaſt nothing like what he is repreſented by the two authors above quoted, and ſome others of no better authority. *The emperor not ſo opulent as reported.*

THE imperial revenue chiefly ariſes from the four following branches, *viz.* from the tribute paid to him by the governors of ſuch provinces and kingdoms as are ſaid to have golden mines, particularly thoſe of *Enarea* and *Gojam*, from which he receives a certain weight yearly of that metal; but whether ariſing from any mines in thoſe parts, or from their commerce with the *Caffres*, and other neighbouring nations, we cannot be certain [m]. This is reckoned one of the moſt conſiderable branches; and yet, according to father *Almeyda*'s account, which he aſſures us he had from the emperor *Sarſed*'s own mouth, amounts but to about 5 or 6000 oukeas, or ounces, *per an.* one with another, as the reader may ſee by the computation which that author has given us; and which *His revenue whence.* *Firſt branch of it.*

[k] URETTA, VINCENT, LE BLANC, part ii. c. 11. [l] TELLEZ, ALVAR. & al. ſup. citat. [m] See before. p. 38.

may be seen in the following note (Q). The next
2d branch. branch of the imperial revenue, arises from the sale of all the great

(Q) According to that author, the kingdom of *Enarea* brings in the greatest quantity of gold of any in the empire; and yet Sultan *Segued*, who reigned from the year 1563 till 1596, and is said to have received the greatest quantity from it of any of his predecessors, could seldom draw more from thence than to the amount of 1500 oukeas, or ounces, valued at about 15,000 pieces of eight, and in that father's time, only 1000, one year with another. A poor sum this from such a rich kingdom; especially, considering the emperor is obliged to send one of his generals, at the head of an army, to fetch it from thence to him; it being not only the farthest of all, but the road to it lying through the territories of the plundering *Gallas* and *Caffres*. But as we observed in a former section (31), this last is one of the reasons why he receives so little from thence, it being paid to him by that conquered kingdom, rather as a free-will-offering, than a tribute, seeing he cannot send a sufficient force thither through those territories, to extort a greater from them.

The kingdom of *Gojam*, according to the same author, brings in yearly about 1100 oukeas in gold; but this, we are told, is commonly either lavished among some favourite grandees, or distributed among his sons and brothers; so that he hath but a small share of it left to himself. He receives likewise from the same kingdom 3000 pieces of cotton cloth, worth a piece of eight each, besides 200 bezetas, another sort of cotton cloth, thick, and with a shag on one side, valued at about an oukea each. He also received formerly a tribute of 3000 horses from it, which Sultan *Segued* hath been obliged to remit, ever since the *Gallas* have made such inroads and cruel wars into that kingdom, in order to enable the people to defend themselves against them.

For the same reason, the tribute paid by several governors of provinces, equally infested with those wild ravagers, have been either vastly diminished, or even quite set aside.

The several duties which the monarchs received on the commodities imported or exported, and paid by the two great seaports on the *Red Sea*, are now ceased, or paid to the *Turks* who are since become masters of them. Some other duties were paid them by the merchants of certain passes, going from one part of the kingdom, which they have thought proper to bestow on the governors of the province where they are paid, as they have likewise a certain number of loads of corn, and other provisions, which they were obliged to pay to them. Those that came from *Dem-*

(31) *See before, p. 38, & seq.*

bea

great places in the empire, as lately hinted; ſuch as the vice-royſhips, governments of kingdoms and provinces, and other offices and poſts of truſt, the yearly tribute they pay to him for being continued in them, as likewiſe for the product of thoſe lands which are in their reſpective governments: for as all the lands in general appertain to him in chief, theſe governors do, in ſome ſenſe, farm them from him, and pay him a yearly proportion of their product; though in this reſpect, they are very far from either cultivating them to the beſt advantage, or from paying him a due proportion of their income: this plainly appears from thoſe of the two kingdoms of *Tigre* and *Dembea*; the former of which is by far the largeſt, and hath the greateſt number of governments; and the latter, the richeſt of all; and yet the former, according to father *Almeyda*, above-mentioned, brings him in no more than about 25,000, and the latter 50,000 *French* livres. The third branch conſiſts in a tenth, which he levies every third year, upon all the cattle in the empire. By this laſt, which it appears was unknown till about the middle of the laſt century, every man that hath cows, is obliged to pay him one out of ten every third year; and the country breeding vaſt quantities of them, makes it perhaps by far the moſt conſiderable branch of the three. It is, moreover, ſo well diſtributed between the various kingdoms and provinces of the empire, that there is pretty near an equal quantity of them brought in every year. This tax they call burning, or branding, becauſe the emperor's officers brand thoſe with a particular mark which they ſet aſide for him: but it might much more juſtly be branded with that name, on account of the inſolence and cruelty of the officers that are commiſſioned to levy it, who make no conſcience of ruining the poor people by their inhuman extortions [a]. *3d branch.*

To this we may add a fourth, though not ſo conſiderable, which is laid upon every loom of cotton cloth, and which, if it belongs to a Chriſtian, pays one piece of cloth, and if to a *Mohammedan*, a piece of eight, *per an.* By this duty are ga- *4th branch*

[a] Id. ub. ſup.

dea, and amounted commonly to 10 or 12,000, they have been obliged to beſtow upon ſuch of their ſoldiers, to whom they could not aſſign lands for their maintenance. Others of the ſame ſort, coming from other provinces, are reſerved for charitable uſes, either feeding the poor, or in maintaining decayed men and women of quality belonging to their court (32).

(32) *Almeyda ap. Tellez, l.* i. *c.* 11. *Ludolph, l.* iii. *c.* 10. *paſſ.*

thered, in the kingdom of *Dembea*, and parts adjacent, about 1000 of these pieces, and in that of *Gojam* 3000; besides about 200 bissetes, which are a thicker and stronger cotton cloth, all shagged on one side. The same is levied in other kingdoms and provinces of the empire, but is mostly bestowed on, or swallowed up by, their rapacious governors [o].

The whole inconsiderable;

THESE are pretty near the whole of all the so much boasted riches and great revenues of the *Abissinian* monarchs; of which, though there be no possibility of knowing the exact amount, because, for the most part, it rises and falls, according to the munificence or frugality of the prince, and many other obvious causes, yet plainly appears to come very short of what one may expect from so vast an empire, so great a number of kingdoms and provinces, and such an immense extent of pasture and arable ground, of which he is the sole proprietor and disposer. It will, however, be far from appearing so inconsiderable, if we take an estimate, not so much from the opulence of ours, and other kingdoms, as from the poverty of the country, and the extreme indigence of the people; a people inured to indolence and penury, and a country left, for the most part, uncultivated and barren, because the present possessor is not sure how soon its despotic landlord may transfer it to other hands, and is not sure whether what he sows or plants in the spring, will not fall to the lot of some favourite, who bestowed no labour upon it. In such an arbitrary government as this, a monarch hath cause to think himself rich enough, who hath the lives, lands, and fortunes of all his subjects, at his disposal, and powerful enough to bind them to their allegiance; whilst one part serves him for fear of losing the lands he hath given them, and another, in hopes of obtaining them from him. This likewise induces the possessors to be more generous in their presents and tribute to him, seeing he generally gets most, according to father *Almeyda*, who gives most, and those least, who present least [p].

yet sufficient to make the prince rich and powerful enough.

[o] ALMEYDA, ap. Tellez, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & seq. [p] ALMEYDA, ap. Tellez, ub. sup, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & seq.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

Of the Religion of the Abiſſinians, *both before and ſince their Converſion to the Chriſtian Faith, and the Hierarchy of their Church.*

The Jewiſh religion brought into Abiſſinia by the Queen of Sheba.

WE have already hinted, that the *Abiſſinians* boaſt themſelves to have received the *Jewiſh* religion, together with a continued ſeries of monarchs, from *Solomon*, the great king of *Iſrael*, who cauſed the ſon whom he had by their celebrated queen to be educated in the *Moſaic* religion; and ſent him back into *Abiſſinia*, accompanied by many eminent doctors of the law, and particularly by *Azariah*, the ſon of *Zadoc*, the then *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, by whoſe aſſiſtance the *Jewiſh* religion was propagated through the whole empire, and continued to be profeſſed in it, till their converſion to Chriſtianity [a].

THE misfortune is, that the only record they have of this remarkable tranſaction, (except a common tradition, which hath been firmly believed by them from time immemorial) is ſo clogged with difficulties, and mixed with fable, that we cannot much rely on its authority. Neither hath this nation taken any care to preſerve any records of the reigns that followed this memorable epocha. What books they have are moſtly ſuch as treat of religion, and theſe they are very ſhy of ſhewing to Chriſtians of any other denomination, leſt they ſhould furniſh them with arguments againſt their own favourite hereſy; ſo that the whole credit of the memorable event we are ſpeaking of, reſts ſolely on that of the book above-mentioned, and an immemorial tradition, which is no leſs clogged with difficulties than that.

WE have formerly endeavoured to reconcile ſome of them, with relation to the real country of the queen of *Sheba* [b]; and to that we ſhall only add, that it is far from improbable that ſo great a princeſs ſhould have a ſon from the *Iſraelitiſh* monarch, who had not only married the daughter of the king of *Egypt*, but had likewiſe a multitude of other wives of ſeveral nations and religions [c]; much leſs that that ſon, and all his ſucceſſors, ſhould be ſo ambitious of owning ſo mighty and opulent a monarch for their progenitor, whom all the world ſo juſtly eſteemed and revered: their retaining to this day the

[a] See before, p. 107, et ſeq. See alſo Anc. Hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 303. [b] Anc. Hiſt. ub. ſup. p. 304, & ſeq. [c] 1 Kings xi. 1, & ſeq.

Arms of the kings of Abissinia.

arms of the tribe of *Judah* [d], and still calling all the descendants, by the male line, by the name of *Israelites*, is a manifest proof of it, as well as of that famous queen introducing the *Jewish* religion, and worship of the true God, into her own dominions; especially if those, and other proofs, which the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez* hath brought in confirmation of this point, namely, the great conformity there is between not only the old religion, but likewise between the customs of the *Abissinians* and the *Jews*; various instances of which we have already had occasion to remark in the course of this chapter [e], and many more of which, the reader will still find in the sequel of it; insomuch, that that learned prelate, who appears to have been very well acquainted with both, makes no difficulty to own, that his becoming conversant with those of the former, did greatly help him to understand a great number of the latter, dispersed in the *Old Testament*, of which he was before wholly ignorant [f]; to all which proofs, if we add, their tenacious observation of the rite of circumcision, even after their conversion to Christianity, their keeping still the sabbath on the *Saturday*, as the *Jews* do, and more particularly the instance of the eunuch, or chief treasurer, of *Candace* queen of *Ethiopia* going so regularly to *Jerusalem*, and reading in his solitary return the prophet *Isaiah* *, we shall be forced to own, that all these circumstances cannot but reflect some considerable evidence to the book above-mentioned, so far as relates to these few principal points we are upon, though intermixed with some others which are manifestly fabulous; as the reader will see by the short sketch we shall here subjoin of that so much boasted record, which they give as great credit to as they do to their sacred books. [g]: the account it gives of this singular event is as follows.

Conformity with the Jews.

An ancient record of their queen visiting of king Solomon.

Obtains a son from him.

"THAT a great and potent queen, named *Azeb*, or "*Maqueda*, reigning in *Ethiopia*, being informed of the "great power and wisdom of *Solomon*, by a merchant named "*Tamerin*, and being desirous to be an ear and eye-witness of "it, took a journey to *Jerusalem*, attended with a vast retinue of the greatest princes and nobles of *Ethiopia*, and with "an immense treasure. There *Solomon* instructed her in the "knowlege of the true God; and upon her return home, at "the end of nine months, she was delivered of a son, begotten by *Solomon*, who was called *Menilehech*, and by "another name, *David*. This son went afterwards to *Je-*

[d] See before, p. 83, & seq. 107, & seq. & alib. pass. [e] See before, p. 116. [f] Viagio d'Ethiop. TELLEZ, l. i. c. 13. * Acts viii. 27, & seq. [g] TELLEZ, ub. sup.

"*rusalem*,

"*ruſalem*, to ſee his father *Solomon*, and was magnificently "entertained by him, and anointed, and ſworn king of "*Ethiopia* by *Zadoc* and *Joaſh*, the then high-prieſts; and "when he was thoroughly inſtructed in the law of God, "which he was to cauſe to be obſerved in his dominions, he "aſſigned him ſeveral of the firſt-born of *Iſrael* to attend and "ſerve him in *Ethiopia*, and furniſhed him with officers and "ſervants belonging to the houſe of *Judah*, together with a "high-prieſt, levites, and doctors in the law of *Moſes*."

HITHERTO there is nothing in the whole relation, but what we have ſhewn is extremely probable; but the ſame book goes on and tells us, "That theſe *firſt-born of Iſrael*, at "the inſtigation of *Azariah*, the ſon of *Zadoc*, bound themſelves by a mutual oath, to fetch away the ark of the covenant, which they ſtile *the heavenly Sion*; and that going by night into the temple, the gates of which, by ſome ſingular Providence, they found open, they put the ark upon a cart; and being attended by abundance of people, and much wealth, and with loud acclamations, they marched off with ſuch haſte, that *Solomon*, who purſued them with no leſs ſpeed, could not overtake them. With the ſame ſurpriſing expedition they went over the *Red Sea*, as the children of *Iſrael* had formerly done, but with this difference, that whereas the *Iſraelites* croſſed it on foot, and without being wet, they fled over it in their chariots, ſo that the waters aſſiſted the one, and the air the other, in their flight.

Some fabulous additions made to it.

Menilebech and his Jews carry off the ark.

"WHEN the queen *Makeda* was informed that her ſon had been anointed king, and was not only returning with ſuch a grand retinue, but had brought with him the ark of the God of *Sion*, ſhe went forth with great pomp and ſolemnity to meet them, and placed the ſacred ark in the temple of the land of *Makeda*, and cauſed all the people of *Ethiopia* to receive the knowlege of the true God; ſo that there were not in the whole world, at that time, any monarchs comparable to king *Solomon* in *Paleſtine*, and to queen *Makeda* in *Ethiopia*." The book farther adds, "That the queen did afterwards reſign her kingdom to her ſon *David*, and obliged him, and all the grandees of the empire, to ſwear by *the heavenly Sion*, that they would not from that time forward ever admit any woman to the throne of *Ethiopia*, nor any but the male deſcendants from him [h]."

He ſucceeds his mother.

Women excluded from the ſucceſſion.

THIS is the ſubſtance of that famous record, and contains many other circumſtances, which, though equally uncertain,

[h] TELLEZ, l. i. c. . LUDOLPH, l. i. c. 2. §. 3, & ſeq.

The record interspersed with fable.

and some of them too fabulous to deserve farther notice, is in the whole looked upon as of great authority by all the *Abissinians*. Nor is it any great wonder, that a people no less fond of such surprising and miraculous peculiarities, than the rest of the eastern and southern nations, should in process of time, interpolate that ancient record with such fabulous stuff, in order to raise a greater veneration for the tabot, or altar-chest, upon which they celebrate the Communion Service, or, as it is vulgarly stiled by the *Portuguese* missionaries, the mass, and to their great church of *Axuma*, where that pretended stolen sacred utensil was kept. What other motives might induce them to trump up that absurd story, and how easily they might get it to pass for current, and to be greedily swallowed by their *Abissinian* converts, may be seen by what we shall subjoin in the margin (A), and yet none of it be sufficient

(A) If we suppose the first part of this record to be true, that the king of *Israel* had actually such a son by the *Abissinian* queen, and that he bred him up to the *Jewish* religion, in order to convert that whole empire to it, it will be no difficult matter to conceive, how this fabulous story of his carrying away the sacred ark, came afterwards to be foisted in. *Solomon* might send him away with a positive order, that in case his subjects should become proselytes to the true God, he should not presume to erect a temple to him, seeing that of *Jerusalem* was the only one where he had established his public worship; much less would he permit them to embellish it with any of its sacred ornaments, such as the sacred ark, altars, candlestick, &c. which could have no place any-where but in that in which he had ordained all the sacrifices, and other parts of the divine worship, to be performed according to his direction.

Such a prohibition, we say, could not but be necessary and proper, in order to prevent such a schism in the *Jewish* church, as was afterwards introduced in *Egypt*, by *Onias*, a dissatisfied *Jewish* high-priest (1), and to keep the *Abissinian* proselytes in a due dependence on that metropolis and centre of religion. On the other hand, as those injunctions must in all likelihood appear somewhat harsh to the young prince, whose heart could not but be greatly affected at the majestic solemnity with which he saw the divine worship performed in that sacred edifice, and had in all probability set his heart upon introducing it in his dominions, and assisting at it in the same splendor and magnificence that his father did: and if this was the case, how natural was it for some of those priests and levites, who were to accompany him, to pro-

(1) *See Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 298, & seq.* 315 (M).

cure,

ficient to undermine the credit of the ancient tradition and *Accounted* record, whilſt we have ſo many corroborating arguments to *for-*
prove

cure, at leaſt, a model, or reſemblance, of the ſacred ark, the moſt ſignificant, and moſt eſteemed of all the ſacred utenſils, to be made privately, and carried with them into *Abiſſinia*, in imitation of that of the temple. How natural was it for him, and the queen his mother, to order that holy ſymbol to be depoſited in ſome of their moſt ſumptuous edifices, ſuch as was then the great temple of the territory of *Makeda*. And in order to procure it a deeper, and more general veneration, how eaſy was it for them, either then to cauſe it to be whiſpered, or in proceſs of time to have it publickly affirmed, to be the very ſame which the *Jewiſh* lawgiver had been directed by God to erect and ſet up in the tabernacle, and that it was privately ſtolen, and brought away in that (pretended) miraculous manner: and how eaſy and natural to have this whole forgery to be tacked together, as of a piece, and of the ſame authority with the ancient record, and to be as readily believed, and paſs for current, conſidering the vaſt diſtance, and ſmall commerce, there was between the kingdom of *Iſrael* and this; for this render'd the cheat more difficult to be known, and more ſtill to be confuted, by either any of the *Jewiſh* kings or prieſts, whilſt even thoſe very ones that accompanied the young prince into his country, might eaſily be induced, by that very conſideration, to join in it, as a ſure way of ſecuring to themſelves, not only the favour of the king, and reverence of the people, but likewiſe ſome conſiderable income and perquiſites, as the ſole guardians of that ſacred *depoſitum*.

Accordingly we find, that they gave it the title of tabot, or ark of the covenant; the ſame which they give to *Noah*'s ark, and by way of excellence ſtiled it *Sion*; from whence the temple in which it was kept, being after their converſion to Chriſtianity dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, was called St. *Mary* of *Sion*, or *Seon*, according to their way of pronouncing that name.

It was, moreover, preſerved with ſuch veneration, and kept ſo cloſely concealed from the vulgar eyes, that even their monarchs were not admitted to the ſight of it. Since the *Abiſſinian* emperors have taken up the cuſtom of living in tents, this precious relique, no longer confined to a temple, doth always accompany the royal camp, and is carried about with the greateſt pomp and ceremony, attended by four prelates in their pontifical habits, and about forty or fifty other prieſts, who go chanting before and after it, whilſt one of them marches backwards before it with a cenſer in his hands, and incenſes it all the way, till it be depoſited in the grand pavilion, which ſerves inſtead of a church to the imperial court; no prieſt whatever being permitted to officiate, or ſay maſs before it, but he

that

prove the main part of it, that the queen of *Sheba* was the person who was first instructed in the *Jewish* religion, and introduced it into her dominions. But we have still one proof more to add, to shew, that if that princess brought it not into *Abissinia*, at least that the *Abissinians* received it from the *Jews*; and we are the more willing to mention it here, because it hath not, that we know of, been taken notice of by any of the writers upon this subject.

Many of their peculiarities probably derived from the Jewish Rechabites.

THE reader may recollect, from what we have already observed of some peculiarities in their way of living; such as their letting their ancient famous cities, palaces, and other structures, go to ruin, in order to live more at large in their camps and tents; their abstaining from the juice of the grape, even in their celebration of the Lord's Supper; and either wholly neglecting all sort of agriculture, or turning that care over to the nations that live among them, such as *Jews*, *Turks*, and Gentiles, to apply themselves more closely to pasturage, and the breeding of numberless flocks, to live chiefly on their milk or their flesh [1]: none of these customs are injoined, or so much as hinted at, in the *Mosaic* law; nor are any of them agreeable to the practice of the *Jewish* nation, but rather quite opposite to them, till we come to the times of *Zedekiah* king of *Judah*, who reigned about two hundred and forty years after the death of *Solomon*: about which time, we read of a sect of *Jews* who called themselves *Rechabites*, from their progenitor or founder; and were chiefly famed and distinguished from the rest of their nation, for their observation of all those customs, as having been strictly enjoined them by him [k].

[1] See before, p. 81, & seq. [k] Vid. Jerem. xxxv. 6, & seq. See also Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 136, & seq.

that doth it before the emperor (2).

Their veneration for it was still so great when the jesuits came thither, that as soon as they perceived that they were likely to succeed, and bring their church under the authority of that of *Rome*, one of their first cares was, to secure this sacred chest from falling into their hands; and some of the most zealous among their monks, conveyed it with the greatest privacy, to the territory of *Bur*, near the *Red Sea*, where they hid it in some close thickets, among vast high mountains, and where, in all probability, it continued concealed till the total expulsion of those missionaries, when it was again restored to its pristine use and veneration (3).

(2) *Tell* sub. sup. *Vincent Le Blanc Survey of the World, part* 2d. c. 11. *Poncet, & al.* (3) *Tellez, Ludolph, & al.*

FROM

FROM a compariſon, therefore, of theſe and the *Abiſſinians*, we may juſtly infer, that the latter not only derived their *Judaic* rites from the obſervers of the *Moſaic* law, but that they borrowed their other cuſtoms of abſtaining from wine, living in tents, *&c.* from ſome of the deſcendants of *Rechab*. Theſe, we find, lived at large in tents, till the numerous hoſt of the *Babyloniſh* king obliged ſome of them to take ſhelter in the city of *Jeruſalem*, contrary to their founder's injunction, and either periſhed in that ſiege, with many myriads of other *Jews*, or were carried away captive by the *Babylonians*; for at their return from that captivity, we find a branch of the *Rechabites* that came back with them, and ſettled in the canton of *Jabeſh*[l]. But it is very probable, that much greater numbers of them, foreſeeing the ſtorm coming, wiſely withdrew themſelves with their herds, into other countries, before the enemy's approach; and where ſhould they ſeek for a ſafer aſylum out of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, than in this of *Abiſſinia*, where the monarchs that reigned in it were the deſcendants of the great *Solomon*; and where the whole, or the greateſt part of the nation, had ſo long profeſſed the *Jewiſh* religion? Accordingly, a *Jewiſh* traveller of the twelfth century acquaints us, that he found them very numerous about theſe parts, and ſtill ſtrict obſervers of their old inſtitution. He farther gives us a fine deſcription of their country, princes, government, and other particulars, which, though interſperſed after his uſual manner with ſome fabulous circumſtances, ſeem plainly to intimate, either that thoſe *Jews* we have elſewhere ſpoken of, who formerly were maſters of ſeveral parts of the empire, out of which they have been ſince driven by ſome of the emperors, and ſent to live upon barren and inacceſſible mountains *, were of the deſcendants of the old *Rechabites* of *Judea*, or elſe that he hath, either wilfully or ignorantly, miſtaken the *Abiſſinians* for *Rechabites*, from the affinity of their religion, cuſtoms, and manner of living †.

Some pregnant inſtances of it.

How they firſt came into Abiſſinia.

FROM all theſe obſervations we would infer, that as it is by no means likely that ſo opulent and polite a prince as *Solomon*, ſhould have inſtructed his royal viſiter, the queen of *Sheba*, and her ſon, in the inſtitutions and cuſtoms of ſuch a wandering and uncourtly ſect, had it been then in being, which we have formerly ſhewn to be ſcarce probable [m], or

[l] 1 Chron. iv. ult. * See before, p. 67, & ſeq. † BENJ. TUDELA, itinerar, p. 75, & ſeq. edit. l'Empereur 81, & ſeq. [m] Anc. Hiſt. vol. iv. ub. ſup. (S).

that

that he would have ſent any of them with her into *Abiſſinia*: we think it much more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſome of theſe laſt-mentioned, who fled from the conquering ſword of *Nabuchadnezzar* hither for ſhelter, might introduce their cuſtoms among them, and recommend their wandering, active, and abſtemious way of life, not ſo much from religious motives, as becauſe it was the moſt effectual way to promote health, peace, and long life; by which means, all the large cities, ſpacious palaces, and other ſtructures, that flouriſhed in that queen's and her ſon's reign, became by degrees neglected, and fell to decay; and even the celebrated imperial ſeat of *Axum*, or *Axuma*, became a heap of ruins, by being exchanged for an imperial camp [n].

When firſt converted to Chriſtianity.

Firſt by the queen's prime-miniſter;

THE next article relating to the *Abiſſinian* religion, is their converſion to Chriſtianity; and this great change they firmly believe to have been the work of the famed eunuch, or prime-miniſter, of their queen *Candace*, or, as they call her, *Handake*. The account which the ancient record, or book above-mentioned, gives, is, according to father *Almeyda*, much the ſame with that which St. *Luke* gives us of his converſion by *Philip* [o], with this addition only, that upon his return into *Ethiopia*, he gave the queen his miſtreſs a full account of all that had happened unto him, and what had paſſed between *Philip* the deacon and him, in his way homewards; upon which that princeſs believed in the goſpel of the grace of Jeſus Chriſt [p]. But, beſides that the learned are not agreed whether this princeſs was really queen of this *Ethiopia*, or *Abiſſinia* (B), or of the iſland of *Meroe* [q]: we can ſcarcely date

[n] See before, p. 31. [o] Acts viii. 27, & ſeq. [p] ALMEYDA, ap. Tellez, l. i. c. 17. [q] Vid. GODIGN, JARRICK, LUDOLPH, & al. ſup. citat.

(B) What hath occaſioned this difference of opinions, is, what *Pliny* ſays of the queens of that name (4); that they reigned in the iſland of *Meroe*, and that there had been a good number of that name who had already reigned there; whence ſome have imagined it to be the common name of all the queens of that iſland. Hence alſo Mr. *Ludolph*, and many other authors whom he quotes (5), ſtrongly oppoſes the opinion of this queen *Candace* being queen of *Abiſſinia*. But if, as we have formerly ſhewn, the kingdom of *Gojam*, and not any iſland formed by the *Nile* in *Egypt*, be the *Meroe* of *Strabo* and *Pliny* *, then that objection falls to the ground, and *Candace* will ſtill

(4) *Plin. Hiſt. l.* vi. *c.* 29. *Strabo, l.* xvii. (5) *Lib.* ii. *c.* 4, 8, 3, 2, 5. * *See Anc. Hiſt. vol.* xviii. *p.* 273, *& ſeq.*

have

date the converſion of that empire from this one inſtance; that book mentioning only that princeſs as believing in Chriſt, without mentioning ſo much as any of her court. Beſides, *Philip* being neither biſhop nor prieſt, but only a deacon, could have no power to qualify the eunuch for a preacher of the goſpel; neither had he time ſufficient to inſtruct him thoroughly in it, or perhaps to give him more than a general idea, that Jeſus was the Chriſt, the Redeemer of mankind, and had by his miracles, death, and reſurrection, fully proved himſelf to be the promiſed Meſſiah, and Saviour of the world. We may even queſtion whether he did mention any-thing to him about the abrogation of the law of *Moſes*, by the croſs; ſo that both he and his proſelytes, if he made any other beſides that princeſs, did, in all probability, continue in the obſervance of it, as they ſtill do, ſince their fuller converſion; particularly with regard to the rite of circumciſion, and the keeping of the ſeventh day as the Chriſtian ſabbath. *but very imperfectly.*

IT is more probable, therefore, that whatever foundation might be laid by that great proſelyte, yet the general con-

have been queen, at leaſt of this part of *Abiſſinia*.

Mr. *Ludolph* farther urges, that this is contrary to what is affirmed in the old record of *Axuma*, lately ſpoken of, that the queen of *Sheba* cauſed her ſon and nobles to ſwear, that they would never ſuffer a woman to aſcend the *Ethiopian* throne. But beſides that, he quotes here an authority which he elſewhere ſlights; how is he ſure that that oath was never broke? Sure it is that we meet with a freſh queen of *Abiſſinia* of that name, who being converted herſelf by *Frumentius*, about three hundred years after, ſent him to *Alexandria* to be ordained biſhop, by the then patriarch of it, St. *Athanaſius*, in order to have the reſt of her dominions inſtructed in the ſame faith (6). To all this we would add, that the *Abiſſinian* hiſtories are full of the great and good deeds of that pious queen, her eunuch, and all her nobility; of the great ſpirit of piety, charity, and generoſity, which reigned through her dominions, during hers, and ſome of the ſucceeding reigns; and of the many noble churches, monaſteries, and other pious ſtructures, that were erected about that time, both by her and the grandees of her empire (7): all which being ſo very agreeable to that ſpirit of religion, piety, and charitable diſpoſition, for which that nation is ſo juſtly extolled, cannot be ſuppoſed to be all fiction, but muſt have ſome foundation in truth, though we ſhall allow them to be exaggerated beyond the limits of it.

(6) *See Anc. Hiſt. vol.* xviii. *p.* 325. *ap. Le Grand, p.* 65.

(7) *Almeyda, Tellez, Lob. Relat.*

verſion

When fully converted.

version of that great empire was not perfected till after the year of Christ 335, when the great *Athanasius*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, being informed by *Frumentius* of the good disposition which the queen and her subjects were in to receive the gospel, ordained him bishop of *Axuma*, and sent him to propagate it thro' *Ethiopia*; an account of which remarkable event we have formerly given out of *Rufinus*, and to which we shall now refer our readers [r], to avoid needless repetitions.

Frumentius ordained bishop of Axuma.

Who converts the Abissinians.

From this time Christianity began to flourish through the empire, and the true faith was so firmly founded by that zealous and excellent prelate, that when *Constantius* the emperor came to be informed of it, he tried all the arts and stratagems he could invent to introduce Arianism among them to no effect [s]; though they afterwards fell so unhappily into the errors of *Eutyches* and *Dioscorus*, as we shall soon see.

Alexandria their mother church.

AT the same time the discipline of the church was settled, conformably to that of *Alexandria*; priests and deacons were every-where ordained, liturgies, articles, and canons settled and confirmed by the same *Alexandrian* patriarch; and among the latter, one by which the *Abissinian* church acknowleges that of *Alexandria* as her mother, and herself as wholly subject and dependent upon her, insomuch, that it deprives her of the power of chusing her own bishop, or to receive him from any but the patriarchs of *Alexandria*, in whom alone the power is vested, both to nominate and consecrate them. What is still more remarkable, is, that it excludes the *Abissinians* from having one of their nation for their abuna, or patriarch, which those of *Alexandria* have been so strict in the observation of, that they have never suffered an *Abissinian* over that see: a monstrous subjection this, seeing those men that are nominated to it, being quite strangers to the language of the country, must be altogether unfit, not only to instruct their flock, but even to be proper judges of the fitness and capacity of those whom they ordain priests and preachers over them. Neither indeed can he be fit to perform the divine service, which is always in the old *Ethiopic*, seeing he is as unacquainted with it, as he is with the modern [t]. Notwithstanding all which inconveniencies and hardships, the clergy and people pay such religious regard to the canon above-mentioned, which they deem to be as ancient as their conversion, that they would look upon it as a kind of heresy to question its authority, and of apostacy, to act contrary to

Abunas very ignorant.

Subject to the patriarch of Alexandria.

[r] Anc. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 324, & seq. [s] Ibid. p. 326.
[t] Tellez, ub. sup. c. 19. Ludolph, l. iii, c. 6 & 7. Lobo, Le Grand, &c.

it.

it. As our reader may be deſirous to know the tenor of that ancient inſtrument of their ſubjection, we ſhall oblige him with a copy of it in the margin, according to the verſion of *Abraham Ecchellenſis*, as the cleareſt of the two; that of *Turenius* being in ſome places ſcarcely intelligible: for which reaſon we ſhall add a remark or two upon that piece, that the reader may know what dependence may be laid upon it (C).

But

(C) This ſingular piece, which is the 42d in *Ecchellenſis*, and the 36th in *Turenius*'s collection, runs thus, with reſpect to the points above-mentioned:

Ne patriarcham ſibi conſtituant Æthiopes, ex ſuis doctoribus, neque propriâ electione, quia patriarcha ipſorum eſt conſtitutus ſub Alexandrini *poteſtate, cujus eſt ipſis ordinare et præficere catholicum qui inferior patriarchæ eſt, cui prefato in patriarcham conſtituto, nomine catholici, non licebit metropolitanos conſtituere, ſicut conſtituunt patriarchæ; etenim honor nominis patriarchatus illi defertur tantummodo, non vera poteſtas. Porro ſi acciderit ut congregetur ſynodus in terra Romanorum, et adfuerit iſte, ſedeat loco octavo poſt dominum* Seleuciæ, *in qua eſt* Alma-dajoint, *nempe* Babylonia Harrac, *quoniam iſti facta eſt poteſtas conſtituendi epiſcopos ſuæ provinciæ, prohibitumque fuit ne ullus eorum ipſum conſtituat.*

This verſion differs in ſome things, from that of *Turenius*; as where he ſays, if the ſynod ſhall meet *in Grecia*, inſtead of *in terra Romanorum*: 2dly, it doth not fix the meaning of the *Seleucian* ſee as the other doth: and 3dly, in ſpeaking of the *Abiſſinian* patriarch appointing of prelates, concludes with theſe words: *Non licebit illi conſtituere aliquem ex illis*: which words are ſcarcely intelligible, unleſs they mean, that he ſhall not chuſe any of the *Abiſſinians* to that dignity, as *Ecchellenſis* hath rendered it.

We muſt further obſerve to our readers, that this collection is neither to be found in the *Greek*, nor mentioned by any *Greek* author: we are neither told when, by whom, nor on what occaſion, it was made; neither is any *Abiſſinian* prelate recorded to have aſſiſted at any ſynod or council, by which one might know what rank they held in it. And as it is not probable that any rank ſhould have been aſſigned to them after they fell into the *Jacobitiſh* errors, ſo it is more reaſonable to conclude, that this collection was made at *Alexandria*, before the *Arabs* made themſelves maſters of that place; and that the church of *Antioch*, and afterwards that of *Abiſſinia*, received it as they found it (8). This laſt in particular paying almoſt the ſame veneration to it as they do to the ſacred writings; tho', as we obſerved a little higher, it be ſo ill calculated for their advantage or edification.

(8) *De hac vid. Le Grand, diſſert.* 9, *de converſ. Abiſſin. p.* 285, *& ſeq. Vid. & Codign. l. i. c.* 22, *alib. paſſ. Farric, & al. ſup. citat. Ludolph, l.* iii. *c.* 7. *& alib. paſſ.*

BUT how ſmall ſoever it may appear to him, it doth not ſo with the *Abiſſinian* clergy; who, notwithſtanding all the inconveniencies we have been mentioning above, have been moſt religious obſervers of it, never once, that we know, complaining againſt it, or ever appearing uneaſy under ſuch a foreign ſubjection, or at their being ſo unjuſtly and unnaturally, we may add, excluded from the ſucceſſion to that dignity, tho' they have ſo much greater a right, and are naturally ſo much better qualified for it, than any ſtranger that could ever be ſet over them, unleſs they had been thoroughly acquainted with their language, which, for aught we can find to the contrary, was ever the leaſt of their care[u].

Abiſſinians ſtrenuous in their ſubjection to them.

What will appear ſtill more ſurpriſing, is, that they have ſhewed themſelves ſtill more ſtrenuous in it, when their emperors had the greateſt reaſon to reſent the arbitrary proceedings of thoſe prelates, and their frequent preſuming to oppoſe them in civil affairs, which were entirely out of their province to intermeddle with, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this chapter; till being juſtly tired with the tyranny of the *Alexandrian* patriarchs, and their *Abiſſinian* ſubſtitutes, who grew ſtill more intolerable, after theſe became ſubject to, and the mere creatures of, the *Ottoman Porte*, their profeſſed enemy, they were reduced at length to that ſtrange and dangerous expedient, of exchanging an *Egyptian* for a *Romiſh* ſervitude. This was a very proper time, if they had been as uneaſy under the former, as they were apprehenſive and averſe to the latter, to have propoſed a middle way, more reaſonable in itſelf, as well as more advantageous to themſelves, and which, in all probability, would not have failed of being readily agreed to by their monarchs, *viz.* that of chuſing a patriarch of their own, and making themſelves equally independent on that of *Rome*, and that of *Alexandria*. Of how much greater and more univerſal benefit, both to the clergy and people, as well as eaſe and ſafety to their monarchs, ſuch revolution would have proved, than the applying to the Pope, and the *Portugueſe*, upon ſuch an emergency, could not but be viſible to every eye; and the clergy, who would have been the greateſt gainers by it, muſt, one would imagine, have proved the moſt zealous promoters of it; yet, to one's great ſurprize, we find them no leſs ſtrenuous and indefatigable in aſcertaining their ſubjection to the ſee of *Alexandria*, than they were in oppoſing the authority of that of *Rome*, which was going to be introduced amongſt them. Neither did they, after they had ſo wonderfully ſucceeded in the

Continue ſtill under the ſame.

[u] Id. ibid. vid. & CODIGN, GOES, & al. pl.

latter,

latter, ever take one ſtep towards obtaining better terms from the former, but have conſtantly adhered to the ſtrict tenor of the canon above-mentioned, and tamely ſubmitted to ſuch abunas, or patriarchs, as their *Alexandrian* metropolitan, if not rather the *Ottoman Porte*, whoſe vaſſal he is, hath thought proper to ſet over them: ſo that, upon the whole, the government of the *Abiſſinian* church hath continued in the very ſame form in which their firſt biſhop *Frumentius*, or, as their books call him, *Fremonatos* [w], ſent thither by St. *Athanaſius*, did at firſt ſettle it; and it is owing to the great veneration they have for that prelate, to whom they give the title of Saint, and of Abba Salama, or peaceable father, as well as the ſingular regard they pay to the authority of the canon above-mentioned, which they believe to have been framed either by him, or the patriarch *Athanaſius*, that they have never ſince ventured to make any alteration in it to this very day.

THIS patriarchate, therefore, which is the higheſt eccleſiaſtical dignity in the *Abiſſinian* empire, and wholly ſubject to that of *Alexandria*, plainly appears from the tenor of the above-ſaid canon, as well as from the conſtant practice of that church, to be no more than a mere title without the power. He is by his clergy called *abuna*, or *our father*: he may in his letters take the title of patriarch, or catholic; but hath no power to create any metropolitans under him, as other patriarchs and catholics have; neither hath the *Abiſſinian* church ever had any more than one at a time, ſince their proto-patriarch *Frumentius*; nor any of them ever had any biſhop under them: and as none have ever preſided in that church, but ſuch as were conſecrated and appointed by the *Alexandrian* patriarchs, except a few that were ſent thither by the Pope, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel; ſo hath it ever followed the faith and doctrine of its mother church unto this day [x]. *The abuna, or patriarch, the only biſhop.*

THESE abunas, however, if we may believe the account which the miſſionary writers give us of them, have, for the moſt part, been very ignorant, as well as negligent, in their office, whether of inſtructing the people, or conferring of holy orders. As to the firſt, it is no wonder, ſeeing they are ſtrangers to the language of the country; but as to the latter, we are told, they will refuſe to ordain thoſe that have been twice married, and at the ſame time will admit the blind, lame, halt, *&c.* which they do only by the impoſition of *Vaſtly ignorant and remiſs.*

[w] Id. ibid. See LE GRAND, diſſert. 15, de Hierarch. Abiſſin.
[x] ALVAREZ, PAYS, TELLEZ, & al. ſup. citat.

hands, and repetition of a few words, without administring the holy communion to them: so that those good fathers much question the validity of their ordination, as well as of the baptism, and other sacraments, administred by them.

Strange manner of giving absolution.

THE manner of absolving penitents in public, from their episcopal chair, is still more strange: these stand before the bishop, and confess two or three of their most heinous sins; upon hearing of which, he stands up, and in a great passion asks them, *how they could do so? whether they did not fear God?* and the like. The rest of the absolution is performed by giving them three or four heavy strokes with his pastoral staff; after which he consigns them over to some of his mazares, or officers, that attend him on such occasions, and orders them thirty or forty lashes more with a thong, which those officers carry in their hands to keep off the people. This punishment is the more severe, as they go so thinly clad; but by that time they have received seven or eight strokes, the by-standers commonly interceding for the penitent, he is permitted to go off with his partial absolution, which they think, however, more full and effectual, than that which is obtained by private confession [r]. The reader will find an instance of it in the margin, out of the same author (D), which, if not exaggerated,

[r] Id. ibid.

(D) One day, we are told, on which the abuna was busy in hearing these public confessions, a fellow, who had stolen a certain number of cows, came to be absolved by him; but fearing to declare his crime publicly, and so expose himself to condign punishment from the hand of justice, begged of him that he might be permitted to whisper it in his ear: why so, said the prelate? will it not be made public to all the world at the day of judgment? declare it therefore here immediately. The poor man, not daring to disobey, was forced, though against his will, to make public confession of the fact. Unfortunately for him, the owner of the cows was present, and went immediately to accuse him before a judge, who both ordered him to make full restitution, and laid a farther penalty upon him, which proved more grievous to him than the lashes of the abuna's mazares; whereas, had the abuna been contented with a private confession of his crime, he would have come off with a few lashes from them, and been absolved without any restitution. For the private confessors, it seems, never oblige them to any such thing, as those of the church of *Rome* do; it being a duty, we are told, altogether unknown, and unpractised, all over *Ethiopia* (9).

(9) *Tellez*, l. 1. c. 19, 38. *Ludolph*, l. 3. c. 6. §. 52, & *seq.*

We

aggerated, on purpoſe to expoſe both prelate and people, give us but a melancholy idea of that church's diſcipline and government; eſpecially, if to the ignorance and remiſſneſs of thoſe patriarchs, we add their wicked lives and bad examples; many of them being branded with the worſt of crimes, and accuſed of having lived publicly in the moſt ſcandalous manner; and inſtead of duly viſiting their churches, and reforming ſuch abuſes as they found in them, ſuffered ſtill much more grievous ones to be committed by thoſe viſitors whom they appointed to perform that office for them, to fleece and oppreſs the people, inſtead of inſtructing and benefiting them. *The ſad ſtate of the* Abiſſinian *church.*

WHAT is ſtill more deplorable, is, that ſome of theſe abunas, that have been ſent thither from *Alexandria*, were ſo far from being ordained biſhops, that they were not ſo much as in prieſtly orders, but were mere lay monks. Such was that *Alexandrian* monk, of whom the patriarch *Alphonſo Mendez* ſpeaks, who was ſent thither in his time to ſucceed abuna *Simeon*, and had been immediately acknowleged and complimented as ſuch; but who being afterwards depoſed by the emperor *Segued*, and ſoon after perſuaded by the miſſionaries to turn to their church, did frankly own that he was no biſhop, but a bare lay monk. This man, we are told, married afterwards, and got his living by making of mills, for which he proved much better qualified than for the office of abuna. One can hardly read ſuch things, without ſuſpecting ſome latent artifice or fraud; and yet, when we obſerve, that neither Mr. *Ludolph*, nor his *Abiſſinian* abbot, have offered any thing to confute, but rather, in ſome meaſure, confirmed them, that very conſideration will hardly give us leave to doubt of the truth of them [n]. *Some abunas not ſo much as in prieſtly orders.*

THERE remains now only, that we ſhould give a ſhort account of the revenue of theſe worthleſs prelates, before we ſpeak of the inferior clergy. One branch of their income, *Their revenue and perquiſites.*

[n] Id. ibid.

We are farther told, that the people only confeſs their greater ſins, which are murder, adultery, and theft; but as to thoſe of a ſmaller ſize, they only confeſs them in the lump, in ſuch words as theſe: "we have ſinned; we are ſinners;" without any farther detail of the particular ſins, much leſs of the manner and circumſtances that accompany them; and it was with very great difficulty that the *Romiſh* miſſionaries obliged their new proſelytes to deſcend to ſuch particulars (10).

(10) *Id. ibid.*

and that no inconsiderable one, when they happen to be worldly men, arises from the grant, or, as we may then more properly term it, the prostitution of dispensations, of which they are the sole disposers, as having no bishops under them to share that privilege, nor any comptroller over them to oblige them to keep close to the tenor of their canons; so that in many instances they extend their power to a shameful degree beyond it [a]. They likewise have the sole privilege of ordaining; and this brings them likewise a considerable income; few or none being received into holy orders, unless they send some equivalent offering before-hand to gain them admittance.

Lands very considerable.

BUT besides these, which we may stile simoniacal perquisites, they have certain lands assigned to them in the kingdoms of *Tigre*, *Gojam*, and *Dembea*, of which they are the sole farmers. The first of these are computed to bring them in about forty or fifty oakus, or ounces, of gold, *per ann.* or about four or five hundred pieces of eight (E): those of *Dembea* and *Gojam* afford them a more than sufficient quantity of provisions for their own table, the remainder of which he disposes of to his own profit: to this we may add a kind of public gathering of salt and cloth, which is yearly made for him through the empire, and amounts to a considerable value [b]; all which put together, makes up a very considerable revenue; and the more so, as their lands are free from all taxes to the emperor, and their other perquisites so extensive and arbitrary. Add to this, that they have no particular cathedral, nor sumptuous palaces to keep in repair, nor hardly any officers and underlings to pay salaries to; these commonly arising from the nature of their places, which they know full well how to make the most of [c].

The Debtaras, *or chanters.*

THE next order of ecclesiastics, if not in rank and dignity, yet in vogue and esteem, is that of the *Debtaras*, of whom we have already given some account upon another occasion [d]. These are neither priests nor deacons, but a mongrel kind of *Jewish* levites, or chanters, who assist at all

[a] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, et al. sup. citat. [b] Id. ibid.
[c] Id. ibid. [d] See before, p. 119 (H), 143, et seq.

(E) This branch was once more considerable, but was (on what occasion we are not told) charged with a yearly kind of fine, by the emperor *Theadore*, of 500 crowns *per ann.* which is thence called *eda abuna*, or the abuna's fine, and is sunk into the emperor's coffers (11).

(11) *De hoc, vid. Le Grand dissertat.* 15, *de Hierarch. Abissin. p.* 355.

public

public offices of the church, and whose head, or superior, called *Barca Guyta*, hath the care and direction of the sacred pavilions in the imperial camp. As these boast themselves of *Jewish* extraction, they pretend, by the songs, dances, and beating of their drums and tabors, to imitate the service of the *Jewish* tabernacle and temple of *Jerusalem*, and the dancing of king *David* before the ark. Though their noise, and horrid din and gestures, are the very antipodes of what we have formerly observed was performed by the *Jewish* musicians and chanters [e], and fitter for a masquerade than a church; yet in such esteem are they here, that even some of the princes and grandees have taken singular pride to beat time to them, or beat upon their tabors [f]. These *Debtaras* always attend at their high masses; for low ones they allow not of in *Abissinia*, nor of above one a day in every church. On their grand festivals they begin their music and dancing long before day, and are able to continue that hard exercise till noon, without appearing in the least tired or hoarse [g]. *Strange attendance at the divine service.*

The priests are the next order to the bishops; but as they have none of these but the abuna, they have instead of them those they stile *komos*, who, preside over them. Of this order was *Petrus Ethiops*, whom *Paul Jovius* conversed with. Every parochial church hath one of these, who is a kind of hegumenus, or archi-presbyter, and hath all the inferior priests and deacons, as well as the secular affairs of the parish, under his care and government; and as they have no bishops over them, they preside in chief at the divine service, and distribute the several offices of the inferior clergy, and compound their disputes; so that they may be reckoned the highest order next to the abuna (F). The office of the inferior priests *The priests, and their office, the* Komos.

[e] See Asc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 202, & seq. Telles, l. i. c. 19. Ludolph, l. iii. c. 7. §. 26. Le Grand dissert. 19, de Hierarch. [f] Id. ibid.

(F) According to the canons of the *Alexandrian* church, on which this of *Abissinia* depends, their office and dignity are thus defined: *Hequinemus ejusdem ordinis est, atque archipapas sanctissimum, seu archipresbyter, atque adeo jus habet pronunciandi orationem absolutionis super sacerdotem celebrantem, ut etiam adhibendi incensum post eum & communionem accipiendi post eum ante omnes alios. Quando simul adest episcopus accipit ab eo thuribulum* (12). And as that church hath a great number of bishops under its patriarch, there are few, if any, priests raised to the episcopal dignity, that have not been previously hegumens, or archipriests:

(12) *Hist. patriarch. Alex. p.* 585.

priests is to supply that of the komos in their absence, and, when present, to assist him in the divine service, to baptise, marry, visit the sick, inter, and the like [h].

Deacons. THE Deacons are the lowest rank of the priesthood, and likewise assist at the divine service, though in a lower sphere than the priests; and both have their proper offices and vestments when they officiate. We have already taken notice, that this order is conferred by the abunas on the emperor, princes, grandees, and even on their children; not that they may have the privilege of officiating as such, but only to assist at the divine service, and receive the communion in the chancel with the clergy, and be separate from the laity, who stand in the body of the church [i].

Priests and deacons marry, and are numerous and poor. ALL these orders are allowed to marry, and may even do so after they have been ordained priests. Their sons also are allowed to succeed them in their church benefices; but as they have for the most part, very large families, they are commonly very poor, and forced to supply their wants by labour and industry, but chiefly by farming and pasturage, as the lay farmers do; all which renders them less respected than they are in other countries, especially as they wear no particular dress, tonsure, or other mark of the priestly office, except a little cross, which they carry in their hand, and bless the people with, and a small round cap, of any colour, which they wear on their heads. Neither have they those immunities which those of other churches enjoy, but are liable to be punished by the lay magistracy, in the same manner as secular persons, for any crime they commit [k].

Pay a great respect to their churches. THEY pay a great respect to their churches, and never enter them but bare-foot; which made them take great offence at the *Portuguese* missionaries, when they saw them celebrate the mass with their shoes, or sandals, on their feet. The vestments they use in that divine service, are suited to

[h] TELLEZ, et al. ub. sup. [i] See before, p. 121.
[k] Id ibid. vid. & CODIGN, JARRIC, & al.

archpriests: but in this of *Abissinia*, where there are no bishops, a priest, when raised to the comodal, is got to the highest preferment, he can arrive at; there being no other above him but the abunate, from which they are excluded by the canon lately mentioned: and on this account, these komos look upon themselves as an order superior to all the rest of the priesthood, and claim a precedency over them (13).

(13) *Le Grand Dissert. de Hierarch. p. 356. Ludolph. lib. ii. c. 7, pass. Tellez, l. i. c. 19, &c.*

the

the dignity of the person that officiates, but the best of them are vastly short of those which the meanest *Romish* priest wears on such occasions. Instead of the alba, or white linen garment, which is used by the latter, they use a tunic, bought of the *Turks*, which is commonly old and thread-bare. They use neither girdle, stole, maniple, *&c.* as these of the *Romish* church do; and as to their chasable, or upper ornament, it is much narrower than theirs, and trails behind about half a yard. The divine service consists of a set of prayers, psalms, hymns, *&c.* suitable to the seasons, and judiciously enough composed; and, for the most part, performed with great decency and devotion, and without any thing of that pomp and ceremony which is used in the church of *Rome*. This divine service, which is performed but once a day, begins on *Sundays*, and great festivals, in the morning, and ends about noon: on *Wednesdays*, *Fridays*, and other fasting days, it begins about three in the afternoon, their usual time of eating; and at sun-set in Lent; which, as hath been elsewhere observed, they keep with uncommon strictness and severity [1]. *Priestly vestments.* *Divine service how performed.*

They have no bells through all *Abissinia*, but call the people to church by the sound of some wooden hammers, which they strike upon a hollow board or stone; at the hearing of which, both priests and people repair thither, with a decent gravity and devotion, saying some sort of prayers all the way they go; and, when there, behave with the greatest reverence, neither suffering themselves to stare about, or on one another, much less to whisper or talk, cough or spit. The priest and laity are separated from each other; the former, in a kind of choir, like that of our cathedrals, and the latter in the body of the church, by a certain drawn between, which hinders them from seeing, though not from hearing, the divine service, which is performed within it. They have neither pews, benches, nor hassocks in their churches, but continue standing all the time of divine service; which posture they think the most proper to raise their devotion, and keep up their attention to it; but yet allow the aged, lame, and infirm, to use a kind of folding chairs, which, when the service is done, are left at the church-porch; but many of them offer to sit down upon the ground through weakness or weariness, he is sure to be soon called upon to rise up, by some one of the deacons, who often cry out, *stand up, ye that sit*: and though the greatest part of their churches are now so poor and mean, that they are only covered with *The people how called to church.* *Their pious behaviour in it.* *They all stand up.*

[1] See before, p. 75. Tellez, & al. sup. citat.

a little straw or reeds, they pay such a regard to them, that those who come thither on horseback will alight at a considerable distance from the gates, and enter them, as they all do, with their feet bare. Nor are any men or women, under any natural pollution, or even after the matrimonial intercourse, permitted to set their feet in them, till after due ablution (G).

Polluted men and women excluded.

No carved images.

IN none of these sacred edifices, whether sumptuous or mean, are any statues, or carved images, of any kind, to be seen, or any other figures, except painted ones; any other, tho' but in bass-relief, would be looked upon by them as rank idolatry: much less would they suffer any crucifixes, whether carved, or cast in metal, to be seen in them, or to be worn about their necks, representing a naked Saviour hanging on the cross. We are told indeed of a curious small one of that kind, which was presented by *Poncet* to the emperor *Segued, an.* 1700, which that monarch viewed with some admiration, kissed it with great respect, and laid it up among his curiosities [m]. But if we consider, that he professed himself more than half a convert to the *Roman* church, and was then courting the friendship and assistance of the *Portuguese*, he could hardly avoid doing so before him; yet he did not dare to wear it about him, for fear of alarming both clergy and people by it. Several of these religious customs may, and have indeed been supposed to have been received from the *Jews*; but whether so or not, they must be owned to be, *toto cœlo*, opposite to those of the church of *Rome*, which not

Most of their religious cu-

[m] PONCET's Voyage into Ethiopia, p. 7.

(G) They appear to be such strict observers of those *Mosaic* injunctions, that they not only exclude women in their monthly purgations, and in child-bed; but, with respect to the latter, they extend this interdiction to the same number of days that the law-giver did, *viz.* forty after the birth of a male, and eighty after that of a female (14). Much the same they observe with regard to those pollutions incident to either sex, such as running sores, boyls, scabs; and other cuticular excretions and defilements; all which we thus particularly mention, to shew whence these observances had their origin; and if they could still continue such strict observers of those legal rites, which were to end as soon as the gospel appeared, can we wonder they should continue so with respect to the observance of the sabbath and circumcision, which were not of *Moses*, but of the fathers (15)?

(14) *Levit.* xii. 2, *& seq. See Tellez, l.* i. *Ludolph, & al.*
(15) *John.* xxiii.

only

only admits all kind of religious imagery in their churches, but likewise an inferior kind of worship to be paid to it; and yet pretends, that the *Abissinian* doctrines and worship bear a greater affinity to theirs than to any other churches, whether *Greek* or Protestant. But these few we have gone through, are far from being the only ones in which they differ, as we shall soon see. Every church here hath a small room behind the east end, in which are reposited the materials for making the communion bread, which is allowed to be a leavened cake, and is consequently contrary to the unleavened wafer used by the *Romish* church. This cake is not kept till the next day, much preserved whole weeks and months, as they do their consecrated wafers, which they give to the laity, more particularly that which is vulgarly called the host, and is kept in a particular repository over the altar, in order to be taken out and exposed to the people, and to receive their prayers, incense, and adoration; some of which have been kept so long in the pix, that they have bred worms, or have been otherwise damaged, and made unfit for use. Well might the *Abissinians* be offended at it, and wonder that they did not consecrate every day as they do, and order it so among the communicants, that none of it might remain, and be exposed to such indecent and offensive accidents [n].

Some opposite to those of Rome.

Manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper.

Use a leavened cake,

THEY differ no less from them in their ordering and administering of the other part of that sacred rite; and instead of wine, from which they abstain altogether, as hath been already observed *, they keep in this same little room a small quantity of dried raisins, of which they take four or five, more or less, and squeeze and macerate with their fingers, in a quantity of water, greater or less, according to the number of communicants; for they administer the cup also to the laity, and are no less surprised at its being with-held from them by that church, whilst they think themselves obliged to administer it to all the laity. They likewise differ in their form of consecration; and instead of *this is my body*, and *this is my blood*, they say, *this bread is my body*, and *this cup is my blood*. Father *Tellez* much questions, with many learned casuists of his church, whether this last form be proper and efficacious to transubstantiate the elements into the body and blood of Christ. We shall not enter into the merit of that question, because if their argument against that form be good, it is a sign the *Abissinians* have no notion of any such transubstantiation of the elements, but believe and receive

and raisins squeezed in water, instead of wine.

Give the cup to the laity.

Do not believe transubstantiation.

[n] TELLEZ, ub. sup. l. i. c. 19. ALVAREZ, c. 54, & seq. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 6, pass.

* See before, p. 83.

them,

them, as symbols representing, and chanels conveying unto us, the benefits of Christ's meritorious death. This is the explanation which abbot *Gregory* gave of his church's belief of that sacred mystery; of which their practice is a standing evidence, seeing they do not pay any adoration to the consecrated elements [o].

Receive standing.

AGAIN, they do not admit laymen and women to come up to the altar to receive, but administer it to them at the door of the chapel, or choir. Neither do they oblige them to receive it kneeling, but standing. The priest, in giving the bread, uses these words: *The holy flesh of* IMMANUEL, *our God of truth, which he took of the Lady of us all:* to which the communicant answers, *Amen, Amen.* The deacon comes next, and gives the wine, with a little spoon, and says, *this is the blood of* JESUS CHRIST, *for the life of the flesh and soul, and for everlasting life.* After which, a subdeacon pours a small quantity of water into the palm of the communicant's hand, with which he rinses his mouth, and swallows it. To conclude this article of their church worship and communion, which the missionary writers affect to stile their *mass*; though, as we have seen, it bears so little analogy to that of the church of *Rome*, either with regard to their notion of, or the ceremonies that accompany it; we shall only observe farther, that whereas in the latter, or *Roman* mass, the laity stand in full view of every thing that is performed in it from the beginning to the end, in the former they are excluded from seeing every part of the divine service, excepting only the giving them the communion at the chapel door, and the hearing of the gospel read by the officiating priest, without the chancel, and not at the altar: neither doth what they call the gospel, consist of select portions out of the evangelists; but here they divide the four gospels into so many portions, that one of them serves them a whole year, and after that, the next; so that they are four years in going through the whole: they likewise constantly close the lecture of it with an ALLELUJAH, even when the service is performed for the dead [p]; whereas the *Roman* church never uses that doxology but on their three grand festivals [q].

The laity not admitted into the chancel.

The gospel read out of it to them.

Their monasteries and orders of monks.

HAVING now gone through the different orders and offices of the *Abissinian* clergy, it is time we should say something of their religious orders, which are here so numerous, and their monasteries stand so thick, that, when they are at their divine

[o] LUDOLPH, ub. sup. l. v. §. 54, & seq. TELLEZ, ibid. JARRIC, CODING. & al. plur. [p] Id. ibid. [q] See the Rom. missal. & ritual.

service,

ſervice, one cannot hear them chanting their prayers and pſalms at one place, without hearing one, or more, doing the ſame at another; inſomuch, that one may ſee ſometimes two, three, or more, ſtanding within the hearing of each other [r]. Their muſic, indeed, muſt of courſe be very loud, not only from the number and loud voices of the ſingers, but from the number of inſtruments that are heard with them: theſe are commonly drums and tabors, of ſeveral forms and ſizes; to which they add, the ſtamping with their feet, ſtriking the ground with their long ſtaffs, *&c.* all which increaſes the noiſe, and helps to convey the voice ſtill farther. Beſides all this, we are told, that almoſt every one of theſe monaſteries hath two churches, or chapels, the one for the men, the other for the women; but when, or whence, this cuſtom was introduced amongſt them, is not eaſy to gueſs from any of their records, any more than the preciſe time when the monaſtic life began, and how, or by whom, it was introduced, and of what orders the firſt founders of theſe monaſteries were. Such a tedious enquiry, could we ſtrike any probability out of the monkiſh ſtories we have left, would be foreign to our purpoſe [s]. The ancient chronicle of *Axuma*, often quoted in this chapter, tells us, that *in the days of* Niamid, *many monks came from* Rum, *who filled all the empire: nine of whom ſtaid in the kingdom of* Tigre, *and each of them erected a church of his own name*: and the author of the life of Tekla Haymanout, adds, *that he came to the monaſtery of* Damo, *built by* Abba Agaravi, *one of the nine worthies above-mentioned, who came alſo from* Rum *and* Egypt *in the days of* Almida, *the ſon of* Salodeba, *the predeceſſor of* Tacena; *and that theſe nine, like ſo many bright ſtars, filled the world with their brightneſs.* The people afterwards found names, it ſeems, for the other eight; for which we ſhall refer the reader to the margin (H), and only obſerve,

When firſt introduced.

Their record concerning it.

[r] Lobo, voy. 3. p. 77, & ſeq. [s] De his, vid. Alphons. Mendez, differt. ap. Tellez, l. i. c. 16. Ludolph, l. ii. c. 4. iii. 3, paſſ.

(H) Theſe were *Abba Pantaleon, Abba Guarima, Abba Aleffi, Abba Sabami, Abba Affe, Abba Licanos, Abba Adimata, Abba Hoſ*, called alſo *Guba*, or *Iwoken*; all which we have choſen to ſet down here, according as they are ſpelt by father *Tellez*, out of the above account of the patriarch *Mendez*, in order to ſhew our readers, that even abating the almoſt unavoidable incorrectneſs of the orthography in tranſcribing them out of the *Ethiopic* into *Latin* or *Portugueſe*, there is not one,

observe, that one of them, and one only, appears of *Greek* extract, *viz.* that of *Pantaleon*, who became a founder of another monastery. It is therefore very difficult, from these two accounts, to fix, not only the precise time of their arrival, but the true import of the word *Rum*, whether it means *Rome* or *Greece*; and yet the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez* hath not scrupled to fix it between the former and the year 470 or 480; and the meaning of the latter to *Greece*, rather than *Rome*, on the bare evidence of the name of *Pantaleon*; and to infer from thence, that *Rum* means no other than *New Rome*, the name which *Constantine* the Great gave to the metropolis of his new eastern empire [t].

Tellez's account strained, and imperfect.

Paul and Anthony not the first founders.

THUS short sketch may serve at once to shew the uncertainty of those two records, if they were rightly understood by the interpreter; and the poor shifts here used to fix the time when, and country whence, the monastic life was first propagated through this empire; and all this, for aught appears to the contrary, merely to give the honour of it to some of those enthusiastic founders, of whom we read such incredible wonders in their ascetic legends, such in particular as were their two famed heroes, *Paul* and *Anthony* [u]. Neither *Mendez*, nor any of the *Portuguese* writers, could be ignorant, that this ascetic life had been several centuries in great vogue and esteem among the *Jews*, both in *Palestine* and in *Egypt*; witness the *Essenians* in the former, so much celebrated by *Josephus* [w]; and the *Therapeutes* in *Egypt*, amply described by *Philo* [x]; of both which sects we have given a full account in our Ancient History [y]; both whose lives, rules, retirement, piety, and austerities, were the most perfect patterns and quintessence of the ascetic life; insomuch that many learned men have been induced to believe these latter to have been a Christian order of ascetics, instituted by St. *Mark*, first patriarch of *Alexandria*; and that *Philo* had represented them as a set of *Jewish* monastics, in com-

The Essenians *and* Therapeutes *more probably the first introducers of the monastic life here.*

[t] Ub. sup. [u] Vid. int. al. STURMY's Ascetics, pass.
[w] Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7. [x] De vita Contemplat. [y] See vol. ii. p. 439. x. 478, & seq. 480, & seq.

one, except the first, that doth not plainly appear to be of *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, or *Chaldee* extract, to any man that hath but a moderate knowlege of those tongues; for by this they will be able to judge, how warped that author must be to his own opinion, that will have those nine ascetics to have come from *Greece* or *Thrace*, merely because one of them happens to be called by a *Greek* name, whilst those of the other eight plainly appear to be of a quite opposite extract.

pliment

pliment to his own nation [z]; though he, being a native of *Alexandria*, and cotemporary with St. *Mark*, would hardly have dared to have not only challenged them, but represented them as a fraternity of a much longer ſtanding, if, before that, they had not been in being long before that evangeliſt. Hence others have ſuppoſed, with greater probability, that many of thoſe *Therapeutes*, being afterwards converted by him to Chriſtianity, ſeparated themſelves from their *Jewiſh* brethren, and formed themſelves into Chriſtian ſocieties under the protection and direction of that patriarch [a].

HOWEVER that be, we need not go now ſo far as *Thrace* or *Conſtantinople* for the meaning of the word *Rum*, ſince *Rum Miſraim* means no more than Higher or Upper *Egypt*, in which theſe aſcetics ſwarmed. Neither need we deſcend ſo low as the fifth century, for the firſt introduction of them into *Abiſſinia*, ſince their neighbourhood to it, the conformity of religion, cuſtoms, *&c.* which we have obſerved thro' this, and ſome other chapters, not to mention the boaſted pedigree of the *Abiſſinian* princes from *Solomon*, could hardly fail of inviting even the *Jewiſh Therapeutes* thither; eſpecially as the country every-where abounds with rocky ſolitudes, the moſt adapted to a recluſe and aſcetic life, and the inhabitants are ſo naturally inclined to it. And how much more eaſily may we ſuppoſe them to have ſpread themſelves over this empire, ſoon after its converſion to Chriſtianity, if we admit, as we may with great probability, that many of them became proſelytes to the goſpel ſo early as St. *Mark*'s patriarchate, and formed themſelves into ſocieties under his rule and government [b].

Much earlier than the fifth century.

Since which converted to Chriſtianity, yet retain their old rules of life.

ONE thing we are very ſure of, that thoſe monaſteries of *Abiſſinia* bear no reſemblance at all to thoſe of the *Roman*, *Greek*, *Armenian*, and other Chriſtian churches, either with regard to their ſtructure, form, church-ſervice, government, diſcipline, and way of life; but appear, in all theſe points, the very tranſcripts of thoſe of the *Eſſenians* and *Therapeutes*, as deſcribed by *Joſephus* and *Philo*. Inſtead of being incloſed within ſtout high walls, they appear only like ſo many large villages, or pariſhes, in which every monk hath his hut, or cell, at a diſtance from each other. Inſtead of being confined within their walls, and not being permitted to ſtir out without the ſuperior's leave, theſe, except at the times

Quite oppoſite to all other monks.

[z] Vid. EUSEB. Anc. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 17. BELLARMIN, BARONIUS, MONTFAUCON, BASNAGE, & al. [a] Vid. DRUS. TRIGLAND, BASNAGE, PRIDEAUX, & al. [b] De his, vid. EUSEB. & auct. ſup. citat.

and that no inconsiderable one, when they happen to be worldly men, arises from the grant, or, as we may then more properly term it, the prostitution of dispensations, of which they are the sole disposers, as having no bishops under them to share that privilege, nor any comptroller over them to oblige them to keep close to the tenor of their canons; so that in many instances they extend their power to a shameful degree beyond it [a]. They likewise have the sole privilege of ordaining; and this brings them likewise a considerable income; few or none being received into holy orders, unless they send some equivalent offering before-hand to gain them admittance.

Lands very considerable.

BUT besides these, which we may stile simoniacal perquisites, they have certain lands assigned to them in the kingdoms of *Tigre*, *Gojam*, and *Dembea*, of which they are the sole farmers. The first of these are computed to bring them in about forty or fifty oakus, or ounces, of gold, *per ann.* or about four or five hundred pieces of eight (E): those of *Dembea* and *Gojam* afford them a more than sufficient quantity of provisions for their own table, the remainder of which he disposes of to his own profit: to this we may add a kind of public gathering of salt and cloth, which is yearly made for him through the empire, and amounts to a considerable value [b]; all which put together, makes up a very considerable revenue; and the more so, as their lands are free from all taxes to the emperor, and their other perquisites so extensive and arbitrary. Add to this, that they have no particular cathedral, nor sumptuous palaces to keep in repair, nor hardly any officers and underlings to pay salaries to; these commonly arising from the nature of their places, which they know full well how to make the most of [c].

The Debtaras, *or chanters.*

THE next order of ecclesiastics, if not in rank and dignity, yet in vogue and esteem, is that of the *Debtaras*, of whom we have already given some account upon another occasion [d]. These are neither priests nor deacons, but a mongrel kind of *Jewish* levites, or chanters, who assist at all

[a] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, et al. sup. citat. [b] Id. ibid.
[c] Id. ibid. [d] See before, p. 119 (H), 143, et seq.

(E) This branch was once more considerable, but was (on what occasion we are not told) charged with a yearly kind of fine, by the emperor *Theodore*, of 500 crowns *per ann.* which is thence called *eda abuna*, or the abuna's fine, and is sunk into the emperor's coffers (11).

(11) *De hoc, vid. Le Grand dissertat.* 15, *de Hierarch. Abissin. p.* 355.

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esteemed and reverenced than the rest, by the bulk of the people.

But to return to those of the monastic kind; they likewise differ from those of the Christian churches in many other particulars, which we have no time to dwell upon; such as, in the form and structure of their churches, which we have elsewhere had occasion to describe; and by their roundness, gates, and choir, seem to answer much more to the synagogues of the *Essenians* and *Therapeutes*; the ablutions after *Frequent ablutions.*

stance eastward of *Axuma*, and within a small bow-shot of the church and monastery said to have been built by him, and called from him *Beth Pantaleon*) is still seen standing, *viz.* the little tower where he was shut up, and visited by the emperor. Between the church, and the city above-mentioned, is likewise seen the cave to which he frequently retired, which consists of three apartments, hewn by the hand into the rock. One of them, which is the entrance into the rest, and hath its door facing the west, is fifteen cubits long, and about four in breadth. At the end of it are two other little rooms, in the form of a cross at the entrance, each of which is ten cubits long, and that on the right-hand, towards the south, is four cubits wide, and the other, opposite to it, six cubits; and all the ground lying round those caves hath a square wall about it (16).

This place is honoured by the *Abissinians*, as being that to which the emperor *Caleb* retired, after he had gained a signal victory over a *Jewish* king of the *Homerites*, and betook himself to a recluse life; and his tomb, as well as that of *Abba Pantaleon*, are still shewn in the church above-mentioned; which, we are told, was laid open by an earthquake, *an.* 1630, but repaired soon after by the monks (17).

Of the other sort of hermits, was the *Abba Hes*, surnamed *Gubba*, or *Swollen*, who lived on a high barren rock, and built a church upon it. Hence the *Abissines* (if our author (18) understood them right) surnamed him *Swollen*, because those that passed by the foot of the mountain used to say, *What a high swollen monk is this!* But from the affinity of the *Ethiopic* to the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, &c. as the occasion of his nick-name, we should rather think; that the epithet *Guba* (or *Geboah*, as the *Hebrews* hath it) meant lofty, or stately, alluding to his situation. However that be, all those nine monks are reckoned very great saints and miracle-workers; and, among other wonders of that kind, are recorded to have caused a huge serpent, which used to devour men, children, and cattle, to burst asunder, by the bare virtue of their prayers. *Quere*, whether they did not give him such a sop, as *Daniel* is said to have done to the *Babylonish* dragon (19)?

(16) *Alphons. Mendez, ap. Tellez, l.* i. *c.* 17. (17) *Id. Ibid.*
(18) *Id. ub. sup.* (19) *Apocryph. of Dan. Hist. of Bel & Drag. vers.* 27.

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any accidental defilements, obſervation of the ſabbath, circumciſion, and other *Jewiſh* rites; and more particularly in the proper choice of their other works of mortification. They know not the uſe of the monkiſh diſcipline, and other puniſhments, which, perhaps, rather ſtimulate than damp the fleſhly appetites; inſtead of which, they will plunge themſelves into the coldeſt rivers, and continue in them, with the water up to their chin, for ſome hours together, and even whole days, in the coldeſt weather [e]; the very apprehenſion of which penance would be enough to throw ſome of the moſt mortified monks of *Rome* and *Greece* into a quartan ague. We omit ſome other penances of the like nature, which are ſtill more auſtere, and almoſt incredible, but which father *Almeyda* relates as things of his own knowlege; and which we here mention, not as worthy of a greater degree of praiſe, but as conformable to thoſe rigorous ones which were ſo common among theſe *Judaic* aſcetics, from whom they in all probability adopted them.

Mortifications.

Not unlike thoſe of the Eſſenians.

THIS is the true caſe of all thoſe ſo highly extolled monaſteries; all whoſe boaſted greatneſs chiefly conſiſts in the number of their religious, and the vaſt extent of the lands they poſſeſs; in every one of which we ſee nothing but meanneſs. their very churches and chapels are moſt of them thatched and void of all ornaments, except, perhaps, ſome few ordinary paintings: yet they are well lined with timber on the inſide, and have ſome accommodations for the old and weak to lean their elbows upon, becauſe they chaunt all their ſervice ſtanding. They have neither refectories nor halls, and their cells are of clay, ſmall, low, thatched, and as meanly furniſhed within as they are adorned without: every thing within them is anſwerable to their mortified life; their beds a poor mat, lying upon the floor; their chairs and tables of the ſame, only raiſed a little higher with earth [f].

Mean way of living.

Churches.

Choirs.

THERE are two different orders of them, who are called by the name of their founders, or rather reformers, *viz.* thoſe of *Tekla Haymanout*, and of *Abba Euſtatius*; the former a native of *Ethiopia*, and the latter of *Egypt*: the order of the former have a kind of general amongſt them, whom they call *Ikegue*, who is choſen by the abbas, or heads of every monaſtery under him: the other have only a ſuperior ſtiled abba, or father, over each monaſtery, choſen by the majority of votes of the monks belonging to it; but whe-

General.

[e] Iid. ibid. [f] Iid. ibid.

ther

ther annually or triennially, we are not told (K). The habit of both is almoſt the ſame; or, to ſpeak more properly, differs in each particular: for, except their aſhæma, among the abbas or priors, who are the only order that wear it; and which is only a little braid of three thongs of red leather, which they put about their necks, and faſten with an iron or copper hook, every one cloathes himſelf as he thinks fit, or as he can beſt afford, but all of them meanly; and the cloth or ſkin, which covers their body, is girt about them with a leathern ſtrop. Some of them go bare-headed, like all the laity; others wear a kind of hat; others ſome ſort of caps; and ſome cover their heads with a piece of cloth. Thoſe who affect a more aſcetic life, now-and-then, as their fancy or religion leads them, retire into the deſarts, and come out again, diſtinguiſh themſelves at pleaſure; ſome by a yellow ſkin, hollowed and worn about their neck; others, by a piece of cloth of the ſame colour and ſhape; a third ſort, by a black kind of mantle, which they throw over their ſhirt or caſſock; which laſt is commonly white, and girt with a leathern thong

Abbas how diſtinguiſhed.

Monkiſh habit various, but mean.

(K) The *Abiſſines* celebrate all their feſtivals with unuſual ſolemnity, eſpecially that of the former, which is kept on the 24th of *Auguſt* and the 24th of *December*; beſides which, they have another, in memory of the tranſlation of his relicks, in the month of *May*. That of the other is only once a year, in the month of *July*. They relate ſeveral wonders of them both.

Tekla Haymanout, they ſay, had led the aſcetic life ſome conſiderable time in the deſart of *Thebais*, with ſuch abſtinence and mortifications as are almoſt incredible, till at length coming into *Abiſſinia*, with many others of his fellow-hermits, he was choſen to ſucceed *Abba Johanni* in the abbaſhip, who was the third in ſucceſſion to *Abba Aregavi*, the firſt abbot in *Ethiopia*; and, among other inſtitutions which he left among them, one was, that they ſhould have an *Ikegue*, or general, over the whole order, who ſhould keep his circular viſitation through all their monaſteries at proper ſeaſons; which dignity became the higheſt eccleſiaſtical one next to the *Abuna*. We omit the miracles, apparitions, writings, and other feats, which are recorded of him in his life, and other of their legends.

The ſame are related of *Euſtatius*, not worth mentioning; only, among the rules which he gave them, he did not oblige them to chuſe a ſuperior, or *Ikegue*, over them; which they attribute to his going from them into *Armenia*, and dying there, without naming a ſucceſſor. For which reaſon, they are contented with an abba to preſide in each monaſtery, who is one of their own chuſing (20).

(20) *Tellez*, *l.* i. *c.* 17, 23. *Ludolph*, *l.* iii. *c.* 3. *paſſ.*

and that no inconsiderable one, when they happen to be worldly men, arises from the grant, or, as we may then more properly term it, the prostitution of dispensations, of which they are the sole disposers, as having no bishops under them to share that privilege, nor any comptroller over them to oblige them to keep close to the tenor of their canons; so that in many instances they extend their power to a shameful degree beyond it [a]. They likewise have the sole privilege of ordaining; and this brings them likewise a considerable income; few or none being received into holy orders, unless they send some equivalent offering before-hand to gain them admittance.

Lands very considerable.

BUT besides these, which we may stile simoniacal perquisites, they have certain lands assigned to them in the kingdoms of *Tigre*, *Gojam*, and *Dembea*, of which they are the sole farmers. The first of these are computed to bring them in about forty or fifty oakus, or ounces, of gold, *per ann.* or about four or five hundred pieces of eight (E): those of *Dembea* and *Gojam* afford them a more than sufficient quantity of provisions for their own table, the remainder of which he disposes of to his own profit: to this we may add a kind of public gathering of salt and cloth, which is yearly made for him through the empire, and amounts to a considerable value [b]; all which put together, makes up a very considerable revenue; and the more so, as their lands are free from all taxes to the emperor, and their other perquisites so extensive and arbitrary. Add to this, that they have no particular cathedral, nor sumptuous palaces to keep in repair, nor hardly any officers and underlings to pay salaries to; these commonly arising from the nature of their places, which they know full well how to make the most of [c].

The Debtaras, *or chanters.*

THE next order of ecclesiastics, if not in rank and dignity, yet in vogue and esteem, is that of the *Debtaras*, of whom we have already given some account upon another occasion [d]. These are neither priests nor deacons, but a mongrel kind of *Jewish* levites, or chanters, who assist at all

[a] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, et al. sup. citat. [b] Id. ibid.
[c] Id. ibid. [d] See before, p. 119 (H), 143, et seq.

(E) This branch was once more considerable, but was (on what occasion we are not told) charged with a yearly kind of fine, by the emperor *Theodore*, of 500 crowns *per ann.* which is thence called *eda abuna*, or the abuna's fine, and is sunk into the emperor's coffers (11).

(11) *De hoc, vid. Le Grand dissertat.* 15, *de Hierarch. Abissin. p.* 355.

public

theſe; but, anſwerable to their name and deſign, were chiefly to be found among the moſt mountainous and ſolitary parts of the country; and are therefore called *Debras*, which, in the *Ethiopic* tongue, ſignifies both a mountain and a monaſtery, and, in the *Hebrew*, a deſart; and whether out of regard to their affinity to the *Jews*, or, as we ſuppoſed a little higher, becauſe they were firſt introduced hither by *Jewiſh* monks, were diſtinguiſhed either by ſome of the moſt remarkable territories in *Paleſtine*, ſuch as *Debra Libanos*, *Debra Bezan*, or *Baſhan*, *Debra Tabor*, *Debra Sinai*, *Debra Zayte*, &c. or by ſome religious *Hebrew* word, as *Debra Hallelu*, or *Hallelujah* [h]; names which we cannot ſuppoſe either *Tekla Haymanot*, the *Ethiopian*, nor *Euſtace*, the *Egyptian*, would ever have thought to have given to thoſe places, unleſs we ſuppoſe them to have been themſelves of *Jewiſh* extract, or that they had been long before called by them by ſome more antient founders, whether of the *Eſſenian* or *Therapeutic* order, and were ſuffered to retain them by thoſe two new-comers. *The monaſteries called by Jewiſh names.*

HITHERTO we have only given our readers a general deſcription of thoſe religious communities; they would not perhaps be diſpleaſed, if we here ſubjoin ſome farther account of two or three of their moſt celebrated ones, to enable them to form an idea of the reſt. But here it is that we are quite at a loſs how to reconcile the pompous account of the antient communities with the mean and poor condition in which they, even the moſt celebrated of them, appear now. *Some of the chief ones deſcribed; but gone to great decay.*

Such dreadful devaſtations have the frequent invaſions of the *Agaus*, *Gallas*, and other barbarous nations, made, by diſpoſſeſſing themſelves of their lands, deſtroying their churches and habitations, and forcing them to exchange the aſcetic for a vagabond life; neither have their inteſtine wars contributed little to their decay, and, with regard to a great number of them, to their total inanition: ſo that one can hardly gueſs at what they are recorded to have been, by the few ſorrowful ruins that are left of them. The chief of thoſe that ſtill make any tolerable figure, are thoſe that follow [i]:

DEBRA *LIBANOS*, in the kingdom of *Xaoa*, is ſtill famous on account of the bones of *Tekla Haymanot*, of whoſe monaſtery that is, being tranſlated into its church; on which account, the *Abiſſinian* monarchs beſtowed great abundance of lands. It was alſo the reſidence of the *Ikegue*, or general; yet the ſtructure of it much exceeds the general deſcription we have given of the reſt. It had a church like the Debra Libanos.

[h] Id. ibid. [i] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, &c. ubi ſup.

others, built on the top of a hill, and round about it were the thatched houſes, in which the monks lived; ſo that it looked more like a country town, or rather village, than a religious community; and till the *Gallas*, who made themſelves maſters of a great part of that province, had ſeized on their vaſt extenſive lands, its chief grandeur conſiſted more in the great multitude of its religious men than in the beauty or richneſs of its buildings, or any thing elſe that can deſerve that name. Since that time, there are only ſome few Chriſtians, who ſtill live among the rocky mountains, called *Ambas* [k], and in the monaſtery not quite forty monks. And yet this place was formerly ſo conſiderable, that it contained, including the churches and little monaſteries round about, that were ſubject to it, about 10,000 perſons, according to the unanimous reports of the *Abiſſines* [l]. Since the time of the invaſion of the *Gallas*, the *Ikegue*, or general of the order, hath removed his ſeat into the kingdom of *Bagamendra*, whither the greateſt part of his monks followed him, and where it hath continued ever ſince.

Reſemble towns more than convents.

All mean in and about it.

Debra Biſan.

DEBRA BISAN, or *Baſan*, was likewiſe built among very high mountains, about a day's journey from *Mazowa*. It belongs to the order of St. *Euſtace*, and was once very famous; but hath been ſince much reduced; yet it is ſtill famed for being the burying-place of one of their abbas, named *Philip*, whom they ſtill honour as a ſaint, and celebrate his feſtival in the month of *July*. One of whoſe moſt remarkable actions was, that he ſhewed ſo much zeal for the ſabbath, that he ventured to go and reprove one of their emperors for obliging his ſubjects to work on that day, and obtained a revocation of that impious edict.

Debra Hallelujah.

BUT none of their monaſteries has ſuffered ſuch a ſurpriſing decay as that called *Hallelo*, or *Hallelujah*, belonging to the ſame order with that of *Debra Biſan*. It is ſeated in the kingdom of *Tigre*, about a day's journey from the antient metropolis of *Auxuma*, on a very high mountain, and in the heart of a ſpacious wood. Its noble ruins, ſtill to be ſeen, ſhew it to have been one of the moſt conſiderable in the whole empire. The river *Mareb* runs along on the north-eaſt of it, and waters the vallies below it, a little before it loſes itſelf in the ground *. The church was 99 feet in length, and 78 in breadth, and round about it ſtood the round cells of the monks, very thick. The miſſionaries often inquired of ſome of the oldeſt monks belonging to it, what

Once very conſiderable;

[k] De his vid. ſup. 93, & ſeq. [l] TELLEZ, l. i. c. 17. LUDOL. l. i. c. 3. LE GRAND, diſſert. 15. p. 356. * See before, p. 102.

number

number of them it might formerly contain; and were answered by ſome of them, 12,000, and by others, 40,000. The firſt number is therefore ſuppoſed to have included only thoſe that belonged to, and lived near, the church; and the other, thoſe that were ſcattered at a greater diſtance, and compoſed little communities, ſubject to the great one; which they confidently affirm to have amounted to ninety; having each a ſuffragan church, or chapel, depending on the mother church above-mentioned. Here reſided the chief abbot of the order, who was ſo conſiderable a perſon, that when he went to court upon any urgent buſineſs, he was always attended by 150 of his monks riding upon mules, and diſtinguiſhed from the reſt only by a looſe gown, cloſe before, and without ſleeves, having only a hole in the top to put their heads through, and which covered the reſt of their habit. Of all this vaſt number of churches, chapels, and cells, all that remains now is ſo inconſiderable, that one cannot help being amazed how they could undergo ſuch a general ruin, in ſo rich and fertile a kingdom, that there ſhould hardly be any thing left ſtanding to give us an idea of its priſtine grandeur, if we except the ruins of the church, long ſince fallen. In the midſt of which ſtands now a little one; near which, and about thoſe of the ſuffragan ones, live about ten or twelve monks, only, as it were, to keep up the memory of that once famed a community, and its no leſs celebrated founder, a reputed ſaint, named *Samuel* [m]; of whoſe extraordinary penances and auſterities they relate ſuch wonders as exceed all belief. And thus much of the hierarchy of the *Abiſſinian* church.

now almoſt reduced to nothing.

Retinue of the abba of it.

Reduced from 12,000 to 10 or 12 monks.

SECT. IX.

Of the Faith and Practice of the Abiſſinian *Church, with reſpect to the other parts of their Religion, and the Errors into which it has fallen ſince its Converſion to Chriſtianity.*

THE *Abiſſinians* are juſtly charged with profeſſing a religion mixed with *Judaiſm* and Chriſtianity, the Law and the Goſpel. We have already had occaſion to give a great number of pregnant inſtances of the former, from which their two zealous defenders, the abbot *Gregory* and Mr. *Ludolph*, have in vain tried to diſculpate them. Yet we think we ſhould be very unjuſt to them, if we ſhould charge that church with *Judaiſm*, or paying an almoſt equal regard to

The Abiſſinians *charged with obſerving a mixture of the Law and the Goſpel.*

[m] TELLEZ, ibid. ad fin.

the Law of *Moſes*, as they do to the Goſpel of Chriſt, as ſeveral of the *Portugueſe* miſſionaries have done [a]. We hope, therefore, our readers will not be diſpleaſed, nor think it out of our province, if we endeavour to ſet that important point in a more impartial light, whereby they may be enabled to make a more candid judgment concerning their obſervance of ſuch a variety of *Judaic* rites, which hath given occaſion to that heavy charge.

Their circumciſion not in virtue of the Moſaic *law;*

WE, therefore, with regard to the two great articles alleged againſt them, *viz.* circumciſion and the keeping the ſabbath, or 7th day, think it plain, not only by their own confeſſion, but, what carries a much ſtronger evidence, their practice, that they do not look upon either as neceſſary to ſalvation by virtue of the *Moſaic* law, as the *Jews* do, but as ordained by God, the one from the creation, and the other to *Abraham*, the father of the faithful; and, conſequently, not to be put on the ſame foot with thoſe other precepts and ceremonies which were to be abrogated at the coming of the Meſſiah. Neither do they, 2*dly*, look upon circumciſion as a ſacrament of the ſame indiſpenſable obligation as baptiſm; becauſe though they all in general practiſe it, yet they only enjoin the latter as ſuch, and leave the other as a matter of choice. For which reaſon, any old woman may, and among the common people uſually do, circumciſe the children; whereas none are allowed to baptize them but the prieſts only; and what is ſtill more remarkable, if a child be firſt circumciſed, he muſt be afterwards baptized before he can be admitted a member of the Chriſtian church; but, if baptized before circumciſion, he is not ſuffered, much leſs required, to be circumciſed. And this was paſſed into a canon of the whole church about the cloſe of the 12th century, at a time when ſome of their patriarchs had ventured to enjoin it as a matter of obligation and neceſſity [c]. So that, in all this, they only followed St. *Paul*'s excellent rule, who, when he wrote to the *Galatians*, who had never been circumciſed, tells them, that if they become ſo, *Chriſt will profit them nothing* [d]. But, when to the *Gorinthians*, explains himſelf more clearly in theſe terms [e]: *Is any man called being circumciſed, let him not become uncircumciſed*, &c. (A). *Let every man abide in the ſame calling*

nor believed to be a ſacrament.

Countenanced by the apoſtle St. Paul.

[a] Vid. ALMEYDA's Letters to Alvarez, Tellez, & al.
[c] ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LUDOLF, LE GRAND's Diſſ. 8. p. 278.
[d] GALAT. v. 2. [e] Cor. vii. 18, & ſeq.

(A) It can hardly be ſuppoſed, that the Apoſtle could, by thoſe words, have a retroſpect to the ſcandalous method that had been formerly practiſed by apoſtate *Jews*, of eraſeing

calling wherein he was called. Can it therefore be wondered at, that a nation, which boaſted to have received, with the *Jewiſh* religion, this ſacred rite from *Solomon*, and their monarchs to be lineally deſcended from him, ſhould be eaſily perſuaded to give it up, after ſo plain a conceſſion from the great apoſtles to the Gentiles? or could thoſe who converted them to Chriſtianity reaſonably enjoin them more than that they ſhould no longer receive it as a ſacrament, but as a rite of mere indifference to their ſalvation? and hath not their practice ever ſince plainly ſhewn how readily they complied with that injunction? Can there be a greater proof of it than that noble oppoſition which their whole clergy made againſt thoſe of their *Abunas*, who would have forced them to believe it of indiſpenſable obligation, and the decree of their national council againſt it, lately mentioned, and their forbidding any child being circumciſed after he had received the baptiſm? If, therefore, they pay any religious regard to that rite, it can only be on account of its divine origin, and their having received it, together with the knowlege and worſhip of the true God, from the great king of *Iſrael*; now no longer as an obligatory ſeal of the old covenant, but as a voluntary and thankful memorial of it, and of their having been formerly admitted into it. *Believed to be of mere indifferency;*

But this regard to that antient rite is ſo far from being univerſally paid to it, that many of them look upon it as a political one, either to preſerve a diſtinction between them and thoſe nations who either do not, or practiſe it in a different manner: for the *Iſhmaelites*, *Edomites*, &c. differ from one another in their manner of performing the operation; and ſo do the *Abiſſines* from the *Jews*; theſe laſt not only circumciſing the prepuce, but tearing with their nails the *and a political cuſtom.*

ing the ſcar or mark of circumciſion, of which we have given ſome account in our Antient Hiſtory (1). The meaning, therefore, of that expreſſion can be no other than the neglect, ſetting aſide, or abrogating, of that rite. In this ſenſe, a man may be ſaid to become uncircumciſed, if, having been circumciſed, he neglects to have his children circumciſed. The ſame may be ſaid of a church, which having once received that rite, doth afterwards aboliſh the uſe of it; which is what the apoſtle ſeems here to diſapprove; and therefore enjoins every man to abide in the ſame calling wherein he was called, whether he be circumciſed or uncircumciſed; ſeeing neither the one nor the other is of any import towards a man's ſalvation (2).

(1) *See Ant. Hiſt. vol. x. p. 258.* (2) 1 *Cor.* vii. 18, 19.

tender skin which sticks round the glans, which the former do not. Or, secondly, in order to promote propagation, to which they think it contributes on several accounts. Or, thirdly, to preserve those parts from contracting any filth, which they say, if not prevented, in time will create inflammations, cancers, and other inconveniencies equally dangerous [h]. And it cannot doubtless be with any other view that the *Abissinians*, as well as the antient *Egyptians*, subjected their female infants to it; there being, as is alleged, a kind of excrescence, or superfluous skin, growing over the pudendum, or rather between the labia and the nymphæ, which must be rescinded, in order to preserve those so useful parts clean from the like natural defilements, which are no less dangerous in that sex in those hot climates. As, therefore, St. *Paul* could not but know that many nations had, from time immemorial, adopted this custom merely with the like indifference, without any other religious views, it was natural for him to censure the pharisaical condemning of its practice, upon any other foot than that of ascribing a sacramental efficacy, which it had not, in order to render it obligatory; and therefore affirms it to be a matter of absolute indifferency, in opposition to the whole pharisaic tribe, who insisted upon the necessity of it.

A preserver of cleanness.

Why they circumcise their females.

The same charitable and tender caution doth that great apostle observe towards his new converts, with respect to sundry other observances and abstinences; for which, nevertheless, the *Portuguese* writers scruple not to call the *Abissinian* a judaizing church. Like many other primitive Christians, whose example is still followed to this day by some of the moderns, they observe the sabbath day, by abstaining from all laborious works, though they admit those of necessity; such as lighting their fires, baking their bread, dressing their victuals, and such-like, which are reckoned unlawful by all the *Jews*. They abstain from blood, things strangled, swine's flesh, hares, rabbets, *&c.* use some purifications and washings after certain defilements, and other observations of the like nature, in common with the *Jews*; and, for these, their religion is represented as a mixture of the *Jewish* law and gospel. Whereas, in fact, they all in general allow, that the ceremonial law was absolutely abrogated by Christ; and that no one precept of it is binding, but what had previously received its sanction from God. Thus, the sabbath was ordained from the creation [k]; the abstaining from blood and

Other pretended Judaic *customs vindicated.*

Observance of the sabbath.

[h] See Ant. Hist. vol. iii. p. 259, & seq. & (R), xviii. 295.
[i] See Ant. Hist. vol. iii. p. 15. sub not. [k] Gen. ii. 3.

things

things ſtrangled was enjoined to *Noah*, and his poſterity [l]; and had been accordingly revived and ratified by the whole college of apoſtles, in their firſt ſynod at *Jeruſalem* *, and afterwards by ſeveral general and national councils †. It was therefore in virtue of this and the *Moſaic* law, that they abſtained from them. The ſame may be ſaid likewiſe of their obſerving what ſome authors ſtile the law of *Levirate*, which obliges a man, if his married brother die without iſſue male, to marry his widow, and raiſe up ſeed to keep his name: for though we find it enjoined to the *Iſraelites* in the *Levitical* law, it plainly appears to have been in force long before among the *Canaanites*, from the inſtance of the patriarch *Judah* and his *Canaanitiſh* daughter-in-law *Tamar* ‡. The ſame cuſtom, therefore, might be obſerved by other nations, and might alſo be rightly preſerved by the *Abiſſinians* after their converſion, either on account of its antiquity, or of its fitneſs to keep up the memory of the dead, without looking upon it as obligatory, as being enjoined by the *Moſaic* law. But farther,

Abſtaining from blood.

Raiſing of ſeed to a dead brother.

As to the eating of ſwine's fleſh, and other unclean creatures, though we find no prohibition againſt them before the *Moſaic* law, yet there was certainly a diſtinction made between the clean and unclean ones, long enough before that [m]. But not to inſiſt further upon this, it is certain the *Abiſſinians* were not the only people out of *Paleſtine* that not only abſtained from the fleſh of, but who profeſſed the utmoſt abhorrence to, that creature, without any regard to the *Moſaic* prohibition. The *Phenicians* never eat any, if we may believe *Porphyry* [n], who gives this reaſon for it, that they, like the *Jews*, did not breed any among them. And *Herodotus* aſſures us [o], that the *Egyptians* had ſuch an averſion to them, that if they chanced but to touch them, they immediately went and plunged themſelves over head and ears in the next river; and adds, that they ſhewed the ſame abhorrence againſt all ſwine-herds. The ſame may be ſaid of the *Scenite Arabs*, and other nations; among whom that creature was accounted one of the moſt impure and unwholſome, and its fleſh the moſt apt to create leproſies and other loathſome diſeaſes. Why might not then the *Abiſſines* ſuppoſe that it was on that account that God had forbid the eating of it to the *Iſraelites*, and abhor it for that reaſon? And may not the ſame reaſon

Abſtinence from ſwine's fleſh, &c.

obſerved by other nations.

[l] Gen. ix. 4, & ſeq. * Acts xv. 20. † Vid. Ant. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 154 (D). ‡ Gen. xxxviii. 7, & ſeq.
[m] Gen. vii. 2, & ſeq. & alib. See Ant. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 225 (A).
[n] De abſtin. animal. [o] Lib. ii. c. 27.

incline,

incline, nay oblige, them to continue in all the other *Jewish* inſtitutions relating to cleanneſs and ablutions, without any regard to the *Moſaic* law? or was it poſſible, in this and all other ſuch hot climates, to neglect them, without endangering health and life [p]?

THUS then we hope, that thoſe miſſionaries lay their charge too home againſt the *Abiſſinian* church, when they repreſent it as paying an equal regard to the Law and the Goſpel: for all the obſervances above-mentioned plainly appear not only to be enjoined by it, without any regard to the *Moſaic* law, but, which is ſtill more, to be countenanced and juſtified by the ſame apoſtle to the Gentiles, in many of his Epiſtles, and more particularly in that to the *Coloſſians*, in theſe words [q]: *Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in reſpect of an holy day or ſabbath*; which are a ſhadow of the things to come, but the body is of Chriſt; or, as theſe laſt words might be more properly rendered, but the body (or ſubſtance of thoſe ſhadows) is Chriſt. They might, therefore, with more juſtice, have charged that church with aſcribing too great merit, and placing too great a confidence in thoſe obſervances, and a charge which they but too juſtly deſerve; but which would recoil with double force againſt their own; and is not therefore once mentioned, though by far the heavieſt of all that can be laid againſt it. However, the true cauſe of all this miſunderſtanding might be probably enough owing to the *Abiſſinian* clergy's refuſing, as we are told by all the miſſionary writers they did, ſtiffly declining all manner of conference with them, from a conſciouſneſs of their own ignorance and inability of holding an argument with them; otherwiſe it would have been eaſy for them to have cleared themſelves from the imputation of judaizing, as they have done ſince in writing. But, inſtead of it, we are farther told, they ſought only how to exaſperate the people againſt them, by calling them *Coſas*, that is, uncircumciſed; a term, it ſeems, of the greateſt reproach among them, and taxing them with eating the fleſh of ſwine, and other unclean creatures [r]. So that, from the odium which the people conceived againſt them on that account, they too haſtily pronounced them to be half *Jews* and half Chriſtians; if their prejudices and reſentment hath not cauſed them to be beheld in the firſt ſenſe with the large, and in the laſt with the ſmall, end of the ſpying-glaſs.

Countenanced by the apoſtle,

and miſrepreſented by the miſſionaries;

[p] See Ant. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 156 (E).
[q] Ch. ii. 16, 17.
[r] See LE GRAND, Diſſert. viii. p. 281.

AND

And indeed, unleſs we read thoſe church-zealots with ſome ſuch caveat, we ſhall hardly be able to reconcile them with other leſs partial writers of *Abiſſinian* affairs, nor, in many inſtances, even with themſelves. Let any one compare the following characters, extracted by Father *Tellez* out of all the writers of his fraternity, with what others have ſaid of them[s], and he will be eaſily ſatisfied that we have not inſerted it in vain. "Beſides the antiquity of their errors," ſays that author, "there is a profound ignorance in *Ethiopia*; for having "neither ſchools nor knowlege of philoſophy and divinity, "nor any other than ſome imperfect books, with ſcraps of "homilies and councils, very full of miſtakes, and their "Bible, which is no leſs depraved, they are ſo very unlearned, "though they have good capacities, that they can neither "argue in form, nor defend their wrong notions ſyllogiſti-"cally, but blindly adhere to what they have been taught "by their forefathers. And though they believe in Chriſt "our Lord, it is after their own manner, and with a thou-"ſand follies intermixed with the myſteries of his life[t]." We ſhall conclude this article of their pretended obſervance of the *Moſaic* law, with a tranſaction which one of their authors, on what authority we are not told, affirms to have happened ſoon after the total expulſion of the Jeſuit miſſionaries out of the *Abiſſinian* empire[u]; by which our readers will clearly ſee what a neceſſity there is to read thoſe authors with their eyes open. After having told his readers, that the *Abiſſinians* have ſuch an abhorrence for uncircumciſed perſons, that they break all the veſſels they have eat or drank out of in pieces, and have a form of prayer to purify and bleſs thoſe they have defiled by the bare touch, he adds, "But what is "the moſt remarkable of all is, that the Jeſuits, and with "them the catholic religion, were no ſooner baniſhed out of "*Abiſſinia*, than an order was publiſhed, that all the youth, "who had not been circumciſed, ſhould forthwith be ſo; and "that if the ſoldiers met in their way with any that had not "the circumciſion-mark, they ſtruck the point of their hal-"bards into their privities, to give it them." We ſhall not here inquire how this dreadful piece of news was conveyed thence into *Europe*, after the whole fraternity was expelled out of the country; nor how we can reconcile the above-mentioned abhorrence of the *Abiſſinians* to all uncircumciſed perſons with the profeſſion which they make in ſeveral of their

as well as the character of their clergy.

counts not to be implicitely believed.

An inſtance of it.

Their inconſiſtency.

[s] De his vid. Rogers, Poncet, Jarric, Codign, Maillet, Davity, Dapper, & al. plur. [t] Tellez, lib. i. c. 17.
[u] Le Grand, ubi ſup. p. 280.

letters

letters to the pope, king of *Portugal*, and other great perſons, that they looked upon circumciſion as a mere antient cuſtom, and a piece of the ſame decency and cleanneſs as paring of their nails, or any other excreſcence. How is it conſiſtent with the kind and hoſpitable reception which all thoſe miſſionaries tell us they met with from their monarchs, princes of the blood, grandees, and even from ſeveral of their clergy of the firſt rank, who yet did not, it is very probable, dream any thing of their carrying the ſcar of circumciſion about them [u]? If it be ſaid, that they were already above half-converts to the church of *Rome*, before they came thither, then may we not juſtly aſk how ſuch ſtiff, ignorant, irrational, unphiloſophical, bookleſs, people jumped at once, with theſe ſmall helps they had, into ſo right a way of thinking and judging in favour of the *Roman* church? or was it their ignorance that induced them to prefer it to their own? But, laſtly, how doth the edict above-mentioned, or the inſolence of the ſoldiers, prove that they paid a religious regard to the rite of circumciſion, or any thing but a natural reſentment againſt thoſe who had neglected it, in obedience to the *Romiſh* patriarchs and miſſionaries? But it is time now to give ſome account of their faith, and their unhappy defection from it.

The faith of the Abiſſinian *church pure till the time of* Dioſcorus.

WE have already hinted, that the *Abiſſinian* church received the goſpel, and their diſcipline, from that of *Alexandria*, and hath continued in ſubjection to that patriarchate ever ſince. So that ſo long as the mother continued orthodox, the daughter followed her example, and perſevered in the faith, which the firſt biſhop *Frumentius* had eſtabliſhed among them. But no ſooner was the former infected with monotheliſm, or monophyſiſm, by her unworthy patriarch *Dioſcorus*, and his no leſs worthleſs abbot *Eutyches*, the two firſt broachers of that hereſy, about the year of Chriſt 444, than the poiſon was communicated to the latter by the *Abunas* ſent thither from *Egypt*, and quickly ſpread itſelf through the greateſt part of the empire; ſo that both clergy and laity have been ſtrongly tainted with it ever ſince [w].

Infected with that hereſy.

THIS ſtupid and unaccountable error (which conſiſted chiefly in allowing in Chriſt our Redeemer but one nature and one will, though they acknowleged him to be very God, as well as very man, and to be the ſecond perſon in the adorable Trinity, and had ſpread itſelf not only thro' the churches of

[u] See ALVAREZ, BERMUDEZ, ALMEYDA, MENDEZ, LOBO, & al. plur. [w] ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, CODIGN, & al. ſup. citat.

Egypt

Egypt and *Abiſſinia*, but over *Greece*, *Armenia*, and other parts) was no leſs warmly oppoſed by others, eſpecially thoſe of *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*; and was at length condemned by a council of no leſs than 630 biſhops, convened at *Chalcedon*, as a damnable hereſy. Soon after which, their deciſion was confirmed by pope *Leo* I. in his letter to *Flavianus*. This, however, inſtead of making a due impreſſion upon the *Abiſſinian* clergy, ſerved only to excite their hatred and contempt againſt both. They called that council an aſſembly of factious and ſervile madmen, who ſcrupled not to betray the truth, in order to pleaſe the emperor *Marcian*; and, in deriſion, give them the name of *Melchites*, or *Imperialiſts*. The letter of that worthy pontif they brand with no leſs odious epithets (B); and have had his very name and memory in the greateſt

Condemned by the Chalcedonic council; which is for that reaſon rejected by them.

(B) The reader may ſee a ſketch of the bitterneſs of thoſe heretics, not only againſt pope *Leo*, but againſt the emperor *Marcian*, the empreſs *Pulcheria*, and the whole *Chalcedonic* council, and, finally, againſt all that own its authority, or, like thoſe that convened it, believe that there were two natures in Chriſt after his incarnation, in the hiſtory of the patriarchate of *Alexandria*; where he will ſee the following anathemas fulminated againſt them by ſpirits pretended to have pronounced them from the ſepulchres of the dead.

Maledictus Leo, impius animarum prædator cum impuro tomo ſuo! Maledictus Marcianus cum Pulcheria improba, & Chalcedonienſi concilio 630 epiſcoporum hæreticorum, & quicunque eos ſuſcipit, aut qui in Chriſto Dei filio duas poſt unionem naturas agnoſcit (3)!

On the other hand, if he would know what exaſperated the *Alexandrian* clergy to that height of reſentment, Mr. *Ludolph* will tell him, that not only that church, but all *Egypt*, was miſerably divided and torn in pieces by the two factions of *Melchites* and *Jacobites*; each of which had a patriarch of their own, who perſecuted the oppoſite ſide without the leaſt mercy, till at length the latter were obliged to have recourſe to the *Saracens*, who were then invading the country, for protection againſt the cruelties of the former, who were always too hard for them whilſt they were upheld by the *Conſtantinopolitan* monarchs. An inſtance whereof the ſame author gives us out of an *Ethiopic* MS. intituled, *The Life of the Abbot* Samuel; which is as follows:

The emperor had ſent 200 men to ſeize on all the biſhops; upon which abbot *Paul*, who had fled into a deſart, was taken by ſome peaſants, and brought back bound. *Maxirianus*, the officer who was to put the emperor's orders in execution, having cauſed all the monks to be brought before him by his

(3) *Hiſt. patriarch. Alexand. p.* 120.

ſoldiers,

Great veneration for Dioscorus.

greatest abhorrence ever since; whilst they still retain the highest veneration for the arch-heretic *Dioscorus*, whom they reverence as a very great saint. What is still more surprising is, that they as absolutely disclaim *Eutyches*, and disown his doctrine as erroneous, though the main difference between them be merely about words; they confessing that the nature of Christ consisted *ex duabus, sed non in duabus naturis*; that is, composed of two natures, the divine and human; but which being united, became one single nature; whereas *Eutyches* affirmed the human to be wholly absorbed in the divine [x]. If we may conjecture at the meaning of this unintelligible distinction from some of their writings [y], they seem to insist that this compound nature of the divine and human, by this miraculous union, becomes so intirely one, as to partake of all the frailties as well as perfections of both; so that the divine part should become equally pas-

Disclaim the doctrine of Eutyches.

[x] Alfons. Mendes, l. i. c. 6. Hist. patriarch. Le Grand, Differt. x. Ludolf. Comment. Tellez, Codign, & al.

[y] Vid. Sanut. Epist. & Mina's Confess. Fid. in hist. patriarch. Alexand. p. 360, & seq. Vide Le Grand, ubi sup.

soldiers, and producing the formulary of faith which he had received from him, laid his commands on them that they should accept it: *Credite*, says he to them, *id quod scriptum est in hoc codice*. The Formulary, continues the *Ethiopic* writer, being full of blasphemy, the whole assembly kept such a profound silence, as gave the officer cause to think that they would never accept it; upon which, he repeated the same orders a second and a third time, and grew so exasperated at their refusal, that he ordered them to be stripped, and very severely whipped, adding to the rebellious monks, "Do you think that I will "spare you, or that I am "afraid of shedding your "blood? What is the reason "that you do not answer me?" At these words, the abba *Samuel* arose, and, with a noble resolution, becoming a true martyr, spake to him in these terms: "We will neither re-"ceive that impure formulary, "nor acknowlege the council "of *Chalcedon*; neither do we "own any other patriarch than "the abba *Benjamin* for our "master." After this, he added, "The *Roman* emperor is an "heretic; and I do here pro-"nounce anathema both a-"gainst the book you offer to "us and the council of *Chalce-*"*don*, and against all that ac-"knowlege the authority of "it." After this, he tore the formulary in pieces, and flung it down at the church door (4).

(4) *Ludolph. Comment. hist. Ethiop. p. 462, & seq.*

ſible and ſenſible of pain and death as the human; which it could not have done, according to their conceit, if the latter had been wholly abſorbed in the former; for they do not think that the atonement of Chriſt, or the Word incarnate, would have been perfect and ſufficient, unleſs both parts, thus inſeparably united, had borne their ſhare in his ſuffering and death: and, for this reaſon, they anathematize both *Eutyches*, and all that diſſent from the doctrine of *Dioſcorus*, whom they extol and reverence above all the ſaints and martyrs of the church.

Receive the three firſt councils.

THIS is the only fundamental error in which they deviate from the catholic faith; in all other caſes they join with it, admit of the *Nicene*, *Conſtantinopolitan*, *Epheſian*, and ſome other provincial councils; beſides which, they have eighty-four other canons in the *Arabic* language, which had been ſent to *Jeruſalem* by the emperor *Conſtantine*, about the year 440, and were brought thence to *Rome*, and tranſlated by *Baptiſta Romanus*, a Jeſuit, about 1646. This book contains the acts of the ſynod of the apoſtles, vulgarly called the *apoſtolical conſtitutions*, ſaid to be written by St. *Clement*, thoſe of the councils of *Ancyra*, *Cæſarea*, *Nice*, *Gangra*, and *Antioch*, *Laodicea* and *Sardis*, with the acts of 318 fathers, a treatiſe on the ſabbath, with a canon or decree relating to penance; to it is annexed their general liturgy, offices for the communion, holidays, *&c.* the lives of ſeveral ſaints and martyrs, and hymns in honour of the bleſſed virgin *Mary* [z].

Uſe the Nicene creed.

They uſe not the apoſtles creed, but only the *Nicene*, which they ſtile *the profeſſion of faith*; but, like the *Greek* church, ſtrike the word *filioque* out of the clauſe which declares the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, as interpolated. But that which contains the ſummary of all their religion, is that which they call *Haymanota Abbaw*, or *the faith of the fathers*, and eſteem it as of the greateſt authority next to the ſacred books, as being compiled from the homilies of St. *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, *John Chryſoſtom*, *Cyril*, *Ephremius*, the four great *Gregories*, *Taumaturgus*, *Nazianzen*, *Nyſſen*, and *Armenius*. *Tellez* adds St. *Auſtin*; but Mr. *Ludolph* much doubts whether they know any thing of him or his writings, or of the *Latin* fathers [a].

Summary of their faith.

Receive the Old and New Teſtament.

THEY receive the ſame canonical books, both of the Old and New Teſtament, that we do; the former of them is tranſlated into *Ethiopic* from the *Greek* verſion called the *Septuagint* [b]; but by whom, or at what time, is hard to determine,

[z] LUDOLPH. lib. iii. c. 47. §. 30, & ſeq. [a] Ubi ſup. §. 3, & ſeq. [b] De hoc vid. Ant. Hiſt. vol. x. p. 239 (N). LUDOLPH. ubi ſup.

termine, but most probably soon after their conversion by *Frumentius* (C). The latter, or New Testament, is likewise translated from the *Greek* text, but very corruptly, for want of able hands, which they themselves acknowlege; and allege that as an apology for it (D), and for their faulty editions thereof. They dispose the order of those of the Old Testament somewhat differently from us, as the reader may see in Mr. *Ludolph*; neither do they make any difference between the canonical and apocryphal, but receive them both alike; only the apocalypse, or, as they awkwardly stile it, the vision of *John Abukalamse*, they looked upon as superadded to the canon. In lieu of which, they have the book of apostolical constitutions, lately mentioned, but sadly mutilated, and, in many respects, differing from that we have under that name. Nevertheless, they believe it to be of divine authority, and to have been written by St. *Clement*, whose name they bear.

and the apostolical constitutions.

(C) Mr. *Ludolph* tells us, that he found it asserted in one of their martyrologies, that *Frumentius* himself was the translator of those sacred books; which yet he much questions: however, he assures us that it was done from the *Alexandrian* copy*, which is by far the most correct; most other copies being very corrupt and faulty. Those of our readers who have not perused our antient history, will be glad to be told that this valuable MS. is now in the king's library; and that the *London Polyglot* copied it (6).

(D) Thus, at the end of the *Acts of the Apostles*, they add these words, *Ista acta apostolorum maximâ sui parte versa sunt Romæ è linguâ Romanâ & Græcâ in Ethiopicam, propter defectum archetypi, id quod addidimus aut emisimus, condonate nobis; vos autem emendate illud* (7); that is, These Acts of the Apostles were, for the greatest part, translated out of the *Latin* and *Greek* into the *Ethiopic* tongue, for want of the original. Whatever, therefore, we have added or omitted, forgive, and correct with your own hands.

And, under the very title-page of the book itself, he makes this apology for the incorrectness of his *Ethiopic* impression: "Fathers and brethren, do not pass too harsh "a judgment on the faults of "this impression; for those who "printed it were as incapable of "reading as we were of printing it: so that we tried to "help one another, as one blind "man doth another; and there"fore forgive both them and "us." This edition, faulty as it is in almost every page, the compilers of the *Polyglot* abovementioned were obliged to print theirs after, for want of a better (7).

* *Hist. Ethiop. l.* iii. *c.* 4. §. 2, *et seq.* (6) *Vid. Anc. Hist. vol.* 2. *p.* 245, *in fin.* (O). (7) *Ludolph. ub. sup.* §. 11, *et seq.*

THE

THE clergy are very little verſed in the Sacred writings, having neither commentators, expoſitors, concordances, nor any other of thoſe helps which are in uſe amongſt us, if we except a few homilies upon ſome ſelect parts of the Goſpel, or upon ſome few theological points; and as they never preach nor expound them to the laity, we need not wonder there ſhould reign ſuch a thorough ignorance of them, and ſuch a variety of the groſſeſt ſuperſtition amongſt them both. In theſe they may be juſtly ſaid to come near, if not equal, both the *Greek* and *Roman* churches, excepting, as was lately hinted, that they do not admit of any carved images of Chriſt and his Saints, much leſs of the Deity, in their churches and oratories; adminiſter the communion in both kinds, uſe leavened inſtead of unleavened bread, and believe the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, without admitting of any tranſubſtantiation of them. In other reſpects, they, like them, offer their devotions and prayers to the ſaints, and have proper offices, faſts and feſtivals, in honour, or, as Mr. *Ludolph* would intimate, in memory, of them [d]. But as he owns, that they not only commemorate their virtues, miracles, and other holy actions, particularly their great faſtings and penances, on thoſe days, but offer up fervent prayers to them, pay a religious regard not only to their bones, and other relicks, but even their pictures, proſtrate themſelves before, kiſs and rub their foreheads with them, adding ſtill moſt devout ejaculations and other reſpectful geſtures; that nice diſtinction might have been ſpared, and they cannot in any-wiſe be ſaid to come behind either of thoſe churches in their *dulia*, or veneration for the ſaints; and as for that of the virgin *Mary*, they carry it to ſuch an exceſs as comes little ſhort of a *latreia*, either in the ſolemn honours they pay to her, the extraordinary attributes they give her, the miracles and unlimited power they aſcribe, the prayers they addreſs to her, or the bloody zeal and fury they diſplay againſt thoſe who condemn or diſlike them for it, calling them *the enemies of* Mary, and ſtirring up the people to overwhelm them with ſtones [e]. If they do not believe a purgatory in the ſame ſenſe and extent as the *Greek* and *Roman* churches do, they nevertheleſs believe a middle ſtate, in which the departed ſouls muſt be purged from their ſins, and may be greatly aſſiſted and relieved by the prayers, alms, and penances, of their ſurviving friends, who ſeldom fail of performing ſo charitable, and, as they deem it, meritorious, a duty to them frequently, and with great fervency. And

Hold many ſuperſtitious rites and doctrines.

Pray to the ſaints relicks.

Highly honour the Virgin.

Pray for the dead; yet hold no purgatory.

[d] Lib. iii. c. 5. §. 81. [e] TELLEZ, lib. vi. c. 26, & 27.

though their priests have no particular office, or, as the *Portugueſe* affect to call it, mass, for the dead, yet they are obliged to make mention of them in their common service, to pray to God to absolve them from their sins, and to make them fit for the joys of heaven. They keep likewise a kind of anniversary of their departure, in which they give plentiful alms, according to their ability, to the priesthood, monks, and poor, to pray for their souls; and the two former will read over them the whole book of *Psalms*, from beginning to end, without either doxology or other break, except that they frequently pronounce the word *Hallelujah* (E). They then recommend those, for whom these alms are given, to the divine mercy; but always take care to join them with all those who have lived and died in the true orthodox faith; without which, they would think it in vain, if not a sin, to pray for them. Thus, though they are much divided in their notions about the true state of the dead, yet they all agree that such prayers, penances, and other charitable duties, will turn greatly to their advantage, if they have not rendered themselves unworthy of it by apostacy or impenitence [f].

Their alms and prayers for the dead.

[f] Alvarez, Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, & al.

(E) Thus we are told, the whole procession of priests and monks were heard to say at the interment of prince *Mark*, the emperor *Segued*'s eldest son, not only in the reading of the *Psalms*, but in other parts of the service: as for instance, Mark *is dead*, *Hallelujah*; *Dead is* Mark, *Hallelujah*: insomuch that a stranger would be at a loss to guess whether they rejoice or mourn (8), the same words being so often repeated.

In some of their prayers for the dead, one might be induced to think that they had imbibed some of the notions from the *Koran* concerning the state of the blessed; as when they pray that God would lead or gather them into his most delicious gardens, where rivers of sweet and living water flow, that he would introduce them into the delights of the garden of *Eden*, that they may be ever refreshed with the living waters of paradise; and such-like. But what plainly shews that they borrowed those figurative expressions from the *Jews*, who not only make use of them at their interments, but cause them to be ingraven upon their tomb-stones (9), is that they seldom fail to add, like them, *Let their rest on the bosom of* Abraham, Isaac, *and* Jacob, *&c.* (10).

(8) *Tellez, l.* ii. *c.* 17. *Ludolph, l.* iii. *c.* 6. §. 105, *& seq.* (9) *Vide Buxtorf. Synagog. c.* 35. *Leo de Modena, par.* v. *c.* 8. *Munster, & al.* (10) *Id. ibid. Le Grand, Dissert.* xiv. *p.* 345, *et seq. Tellez, et Ludolph. ubi sup.*

OTHER ſuperſtitious ceremonies uſed at funerals, beſides the decent waſhing of the dead, conſiſt in perfuming the body with incenſe, and ſprinkling it well with holy water: after which, they dreſs it in a ſheet; and, if a perſon of diſtinction, they cover it with a kind of buff-leather, and clap it on the bier. The bearers then take it, and hurry it away with ſuch ſurpriſing ſwiftneſs, ſays abbot *Gregory*, that the monks and prieſts, who attend it with their croſſes in their hands, and the reſt of the retinue, can hardly keep pace with them. When come to the church, or church-yard (for they bury them in either), they again incenſe it, and throw plenty of holy water upon it. The body is ſuffered to lie no longer by the ſide of the grave, than whilſt the prieſt reads the fourteen firſt verſes of the goſpel of St. *John*; which done, they do not gently let it down, but ſhoot it into the ground; the prieſts all the while repeating ſome pſalms till the body is covered with earth. They go to bewail their dead many days together: their lamentations begin early in the morning, and continue till the evening; the parents, relations, and friends, meeting there every day on the mournful occaſion, together with a great number of women-mourners, hired to accompany the ſolemnity with their outcries and lamentations, clapping their hands, ſmiting their breaſts and faces, and uttering the moſt affecting expreſſions in a very doleful tone; to all which they add the beat of drums, and ſuch other geſtures as they think ſuitable to the occaſion. If the deceaſed is a perſon of diſtinction, his horſe, ſhield, lance, and other accoutrements, are alſo brought to the place; offerings are made to the church and the clergy, and alms given liberally to the poor, conſiſting of bread, fleſh, and hydromel. This ceremony continues, according to the quality of the perſon, three, five, ſeven, twenty, thirty, or even forty days, and is repeated afreſh on the anniverſary day. During the mournful ſolemnity, they all pray to God to be merciful to the ſoul of the perſon, for whoſe ſake all thoſe alms, offerings, and ſupplications, are made; which plainly ſhews that they indeed look upon them to be beneficial to the dead, and to procure ſome reſt to them, but by no means proves that they believe a purgatory in the ſenſe in which the church of *Rome* doth; which, in their doctrine, they abſolutely condemn. They expreſs their grief at the news of the death of a friend or relation, and of their lord, or any of his ſons, by ſuch lively tokens as caſting themſelves on their faces to the ground with ſuch violence, that ſome have beat the breath out of their bodies, others have broke or diſlocated ſome of their bones, or received a conſiderable

Funeral rites.

Long mournings and lamentations.

Hired mourners.

Strange actions at the news of the dead.

injury in some other parts of their bodies; the omission of which would otherwise be interpreted as a mark of disregard or disaffection to the deceased [s].

The funeral of an emperor.

THE funerals of their princes are still more magnificent and solemn, as the reader may judge by that of the emperor *Socinios*, or, as he is vulgarly called, *Segued*, and *Susneos*: a short description of which we shall here subjoin. The body was placed in a square bier, or bed, with steps to ascend to it, which had been made by an *Egyptian*. It was cloathed in his royal robes, and covered with a pall of rich taffety of several colours, and conveyed from *Dancanz*, where the imperial camp then was, to the great church called *Caneta Jesus*, in a town in the kingdom of *Gojam*. The corpse was preceded by all the imperial standards (F), not inverted as with us in *Europe*, but upright, and displaying their various colours in the air, but without any arms or devices. On each side of them marched the large kettle-drums, beating in a solemn manner. These were followed by some few of the finest horses which he used to ride upon, with their richest furniture, and attended by the imperial grooms. Next to these came the pages and other servants, carrying the imperial robes and other ornaments; one his vest, another his sword, and a third his crown; others his sash-beads, javelin, target, &c. These were frequently taken from them by turns by proper officers, who shewed them to the people, in order to excite their tears; among whom even the empress herself marched a considerable space, wearing his crown upon her head. Both she and her daughters, and other princesses of the blood, with their attendant ladies, rode on mules, with their heads shaved, and a ribband, or slip of white cloth, about two inches broad, tied about them, the ends hanging behind. The remainder of the retinue affected to appear in the most ragged and dirty tatters, as the most expressive marks of real

Solemn procession.

The empress and her daughters follow the corpse.

[s] ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, CODIGN, & al

(F) These, we are told, are of two sorts; the one, which they call *Sandecas*, are long poles or staves, beautifully coloured, with a gilt metal ball on the top, under which they wave their little banners, about a foot square; the other are like standards, of white cloth or silk, intermixed with red stripes in the middle, but, in all other respects, quite plain and unornamented either with coats of arms or any other emblems or devices (11).

(11) *Telkz, lib.* v. *c.* 37. *Ludolph. lib.* iv. *c.* 4. §. 29, *et seq.*

grief

grief and mourning, eſpecially black, and followed in the rear, with their hair likewiſe cut cloſe.

THERE were no candles carried in the proceſſion, nor lighted in the church, as is done in that of the *Romiſh*, but much weeping and howling heard in both: at the church-door the corpſe was met by ſix or ſeven monks, who ſung their pſalms and *hallelujahs* till the body was interred. On the next morning, the whole cavalcade returned to *Candaz*; and, as ſoon as they came within ſight of the imperial camp, began to marſhal themſelves in the ſame order they had gone in the day before, bringing the empty bier with them; by the ſide of which rode an officer on a mule, clad in the imperial robes, and wearing the imperial crown, an umbrella held over his head, and, in all other reſpects, repreſenting the deceaſed emperor. Before him marched another, with that monarch's helmet and javelin, mounted on his beſt horſe and in his richeſt accoutrements. Upon their approaching near *Candaz*, they were met by four or five bodies of armed troops, and other perſons of rank belonging to the court, who received them with the loudeſt acclamations of grief, and proceeded with them to the new emperor's pavilion. Here again they renewed their lamentations for the deceaſed, all the time they were alighting, when ſome of the firſt miniſters of ſtate, and other noblemen, attended by *Diego de Mattos*, and father *Emanuel de Almida*, who gives this relation of that ceremony, entered the large tent where *Facilutes*, the new emperor, was, continued the ſame mournful lamentations near the ſpace of two hours; which being ended, the whole ceremony was turned into loud acclamations and congratulatory prayers for the new monarch, who was crowned ſoon after with the uſual ceremony, formerly deſcribed [h].

Burial ceremony.

The proceſſion returns to the camp.

Renew their lamentations before the new emperor, and then congratulate him.

In other reſpects, the ſame prayers, offerings, alms, anniverſaries, and other fundamental rites, are performed to the deceaſed monarchs, which, we have obſerved, are done to the dead, only in a much higher degree: but, if we except the pomp and grandeur, the greateſt regard is paid to ſuch of their monks as die, as the common phraſe is, with the greateſt odour of ſanctity, either for their uncommon piety and zeal, or more eſpecially for their extraordinary penances and mortifications. To ſuch as theſe they pay ſo ſuperſtitious a veneration as comes little ſhort of what the *Romiſh* church do to their canonized ſaints, excepting only that they neither rear altars nor ſtatues in honour of them. They viſit

Veneration for dead ſaints.

[h] See before, p. 115, & ſeq. Vide & auct. ſup. citat.

their sepulchres, recommend themselves to their prayers, make long pilgrimages, give alms and offerings in honour of them, and translate their bones from one place to another, especially to preserve them from being insulted by any of the *Gallas*, *Agaus*, or other barbarous nations that surround them; and even institute festivals in memory of such translations [i].

Translate their bones.

Pray to angels.

THEY extend their veneration for the angelic hierarchies also to invocation, on account of their guardianship and ministry to the living. Those they divide into nine degrees or orders, *viz.* angels, archangels, lords, κυριοτητες, magistrates, αρχαι, thrones, princes, powers, cherubim, and seraphim; to which some add a tenth, *viz.* of those who, for their apostacy, were driven out of heaven, and became devils, and enemies to mankind. But to none of the former do they address any prayers, or pay any other than a great veneration, excepting the angelic, under whose immediate tuition they look upon themselves as more particularly consigned by the Divine Providence [k].

Hold only two sacraments.

THOUGH they hold but two sacraments, properly so called, as necessary to salvation (whatever some of their writings may intimate of their calling the Trinity, incarnation, &c. by that name), (G), *viz.* Baptism and the Holy Communion.

Father

[i] See LUDOLPH's Calendar of their Saints, lib. iii. c. 6. §. 96, & seq. [k] Id. ibid. c. 5. §. 85, & seq.

(G) When the physician *Poncet* was sent ambassador into *Abissinia* by the court of *France*, he was charged, we are told *, to make the strictest inquiry he could into the religion of that country; and how far, and in what essential points, the *Coptic* differed from the *Roman* church. And this he himself tells us, he had frequent opportunities to do, by often conversing with the emperor, the abbots, and others of the clergy (13). Soon after this, that monarch, who was then courting the *French* king's friendship, sent him a letter, in which, among other things, he gives him a long account of the *Abissinian* faith; and speaking of their five sacraments, or, as he stiles them, according to the true meaning of the *Greek* word, mysteries, he says, the first of them is the description of the most holy Trinity, the second that of the incarnation of the Son of God, the third baptism, the fourth the holy eucharist, and the fifth the resurrection of the dead.

This letter, which the reader will find published among the Dissertations of Mr. *Le Grand*, printed at *Paris*, 1728 (14), as a confession of that monarch's

(*) *Vide la Croxe Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, p. 85. (13) *Poncet*, *Engl. edit.* p. 74, & *seq.* (14) *Lettre missive*, p. 451, & *seq.*

faith,

Father *Tellez* adds three more to the number, *viz.* ordination, penance, and marriage; but owns, with the author laſt quoted, that they are very ignorant both of the matter and form of adminiſtering them; and that they know nothing of the other two, *viz.* confirmation and extreme unction. But, for this, both he and his *Portugueſe* brethren have been cenſured as dunces, of more zeal than knowlege, by ſome *French* authors of the ſame fraternity, with no leſs warmth, and with as little reaſon, as the reader may ſee by what hath been ſaid in the laſt note, and what has been ſaid in the foregoing chapter, in ſpeaking of the rites of the *Coptic* church [1].

THEY hold baptiſm to be neceſſary to ſalvation; that it ought to be adminiſtered by a prieſt, and performed by a threefold immerſion, if the infant is capable of bearing it. *Baptiſm how conferred.*

[1] See before, vol. xiv. p. 150, & ſeq.

…ith, whether genuine or counterfeited, as it is ſuppoſed by …any, from the ſtrangeneſs of …theology, the lame manner …which the myſteries of Chri…nity are handled and ex…ained, and the badneſs of the …nch tranſlation, doth how…er give us a moral aſſurance, …at the *Abiſſinians* do not hold …e ſame ſeven ſacraments that …e church of *Rome* doth, and …a late *French* Jeſuit hath en…avoured to maintain, in plain …oſition to all the *Portugueſe* …onaries (15); and, 2. that …have a quite different no… of that word, and a very …rfect one of what the …gs call the matter and … of a ſacrament, which is …t all the *Portugueſe* fathers …y charge them with. Should …e ſuppoſe that miſſive letter …ged, and falſely aſcribed to … monarch for ſome private …ds, yet it is natural to think …t the contrivers would take …re to be well informed of the …aith and practice of this church, ſeeing any miſtake or deviation, eſpecially ſo great a one as this, would ſoon deſtroy the credit of the letter, and lay the forgery open to the world.—— Whereas there is hardly any material article in that piece, but what we find confirmed by one or more of the *Portugueſe* writers, from their own knowlege.

The truth is, the *French* Jeſuit, above quoted, who, by his long abode in *Egypt*, might be thoroughly informed of the faith and practice of the *Coptic* church, oppoſes the relations of the *Abiſſinian* miſſionaries, only becauſe they are contrary to what he had obſerved to be practiſed among the *Copts* in *Egypt*, ſuppoſing that there was a perfect uniformity between them;—— whereas, in fact, there is, in many caſes, a manifeſt difference between them, as will be ſeen in the ſequel: ſo that nothing can be juſtly urged from the practice of the one againſt that of the other.

(15) *Du Bernat Lettre ad Fiaurian, ap. Le Grand, Diſſertat.* xi. *p.* 313, *&* *ſq.*

Sacred unction,

without danger of its life; if not, the threefold aſperſion of water over the whole naked body is reckoned ſufficient. The firſt immerſion is made only of one-third of the body, *in the name of the Father*, the ſecond of two-thirds of the body, or up to the breaſt, *in the name of the Son*, and the laſt is of the whole body, over head and ears, *in the name of the Holy Ghoſt*. If the child is only ſprinkled, it is done in the ſame form and order. Thus far they follow the antient rule; but they have ſince added ſome other ſuperſtitious ceremonies, unknown to the primitive church: as, firſt, the anointing the whole body, eſpecially every joint of it from head to foot, with the holy chryſma, or, as they call it, *Meyron* (H), which is a moſt coſtly mixture of ſweet oil, balm, and other odoriferous drugs and gums, made and bleſſed in a moſt ſolemn manner by the patriarch himſelf, and by him diſperſed among the biſhops and clergy, to be uſed immediately after the third immerſion; without which they do not think the baptiſm perfect or valid. The next thing they do is the adminiſtering the holy communion to the child, in both kinds;

(H) They uſe two ſorts of unctions, the one with this *Meyron*, Μυρον, which is ſo coſtly, and made with ſuch ſolemnity, that our author tells us that ceremony had not been performed for 20 years, when the *Alexandrian* patriarch renewed it, *anno* 1703, during his abode there; at which were preſent a great number of biſhops, abbots, prieſts, and deacons, who were all chanting the prayers, pſalms, and other portions of Scripture, whilſt the prelate was mixing the ſeveral ingredients, which took up almoſt the whole day. Their emperors, at their coronation, are anointed with it, and ſo is every one that is baptized according to the rite of the *Coptic* church. Our author adds, that it coſt the perſon who defrayed the charge of the laſt compoſition above 1,000 crowns.

The other unction is made only with holy oil, with which the veſſels which held the old *Meyron* have been rinſed, or into which a few drops are poured by the patriarch, and is therefore leſs coſtly; and, when ſpent, every prieſt hath power to conſecrate a new ſupply of it for his own uſe; whereas the former can only be conſecrated by the patriarch of the church. This inferior ſort, which they call *Galilæum*, is likewiſe uſed in baptiſm, and in much greater quantity, as they make but few unctions with the firſt, and 30 with the latter. Both are accompanied with proper prayers and other exorciſms (17), which we need not dwell upon, as we have good reaſon to queſtion whether the *Abiſſine* church is ſo exact and punctilious in theſe matters as that of *Egypt*; about which ſee the following note.

(17) *Vide Bernat, Letter to Father Fleurian. Vide et La Grand, Diſſert.* p. 315, *et ſeq.*

which

which is done by dipping a bit of the conſecrated bread into the wine, and applying it to the child's lips; though ſome prieſts content themſelves with dipping the tip of their finger into the cup, and putting it into its mouth. And as they keep no conſecrated elements by them, if the child chance to be baptized in the afternoon, the mother, or if ſhe is not able to be preſent, her deputy, muſt ſtay with it in the church till next morning, when new ones are conſecrated; for this they likewiſe believe to be of the ſame importance with the unction, to render the baptiſm effectual [m]. *and communion given at the ſame time.*

THEY admit of godfathers; but whether under the notion of ſponſors, or only to preſent them at the font and at the communion-table, which is one part of their office, we are not told. Some other ſuperſtitious rites they obſerve, ſuch as lighting of candles, exorciſms, bleſſing of the water, throwing ſalt, *meyron*, and holy oil, into it, and intermixing prayers ſuitable to each, reading of the goſpels, and ſome others not worth dwelling upon; eſpecially as we find ſuch various accounts of them among our authors, that unleſs we admit, that one part of the *Coptic*, or even of the *Abiſſinian*, church differs from another, and as probably perhaps one age from another, we ſhall hardly know which of them to believe before the other (I). *Other rites relating to it.*

How-

[m] ALVAREZ, TELLEZ, LOBO, CODIGN, LUDOLPH, & al.

(I) Thus, for inſtance, *Alvarez* tells us, that, in his time, there were hardly any fonts or baptiſteries, nor any immerſions, uſed in the baptiſm of infants; but that their godfathers held their naked bodies a little reclined, whilſt the prieſt poured the water over it three times, with the uſual form of, *I baptize thee*, &c. Whilſt others give us a long detail of the immerſion, and affirm it to be univerſally practiſed, as well as the unction, communion, and other ceremonies accompanying it (18).

Again, we are told, that many prieſts, either through ignorance, or in compliance to ſome old illicit cuſtom, made uſe of a a different form of baptiſm than that preſcribed by Chriſt and the primitive church; and, inſtead of, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father*, &c. ſaid, *I baptize thee in the waters of* Jordan (19).

But this diſſonance is not confined to the *Portugueſe* and *French* writers; we find it no leſs frequent among the *Abiſſinians* themſelves; againſt whom the judicious Jeſuit *Codignus*, among many other authors who have made the ſame complaints, adds this ſevere, though juſt, reflection:

Scio Teklum Mariam Abaſſinum monachum, de quo dicam in-

(18) *Itineror. apud Tellez, ubi ſupra. Epiſ. p.* 317.

(19) *Vide Le Grand, Diſſert.* xi. *de*

fra,

Reiterated at the perſuaſion of the Jeſuits.

HOWEVER that be, the fathers miſſionaries, after they had gained the emperor *Segued*'s favour, and brought him over to their church, found ſo many faults, whether real or not, in the manner and form of the *Abiſſinian* prieſts adminiſtering that ſacrament, that they eaſily perſuaded him to order it to be reiterated; and accordingly great numbers came, and were rebaptized by them, to the great ſcandal of the whole people, both clergy and laity, though the ceremony was performed conditionally, that is, with theſe words, *If thou art not baptized* (that is, *regularly and effectually ſo*) *I baptize thee*, &c.; for the very calling the validity of their baptiſm in queſtion ſo exaſperated the nation, that it haſtened their total expulſion; and the new emperor *Faciladas*, or *Baſilides*, made that bold affronting ſtep a matter of heavy complaint and reproach againſt the then *Roman* patriarch, *Alfonſo Mendez*, in his decree for their expulſion, accuſing them *to have rebaptized his ſubjects, as if they had been heathens and publicans, notwithſtanding the ſmall difference there was between*

Ill conſequences of that ſtep.

fra, in recenſendis ſuorum erroribus, ſic à Zagazabo, adeo diſcrepaſſe, adeoque in hac re male inter ſe convenire Abaſſinos, qui apud nos ſunt, ut Thomas à Jeſu, in theſauro ſuo, de Abaſſinis agens, eorumque ex variis autoribus ritus referens, merito dicat difficile eſſe de his rebus certum aliquid definire. Idem ego jure poſſem dicere niſi hæc quæ hic propono ex ipſis patrum noſtrorum qui in Abaſſia degunt, omniaque habent perſpecta cognoviſſem literis (20).

Another author tells us, with relation to baptiſm, that the *Abaſſins* have been unjuſtly charged with repeating their baptiſm, becauſe they all go and waſh themſelves in ponds and rivers on *Epiphany* day, in memory of our Saviour's baptiſm, repeating certain prayers; the prieſts alſo aſſiſting at the ceremony: and *Poncet*, who ſaw the ſame performed, adds, that the emperor had cauſed a ſpacious baſon to be made for that purpoſe, for his own and houſhold's uſe, and repreſents it only as an ablution in memory of our Saviour's baptiſm, and by which they hope to be waſhed from their ſins (21).—Notwithſtanding which, this innocent cuſtom hath been ſtrongly urged as a plain proof of their reiterating the ſacrament of baptiſm, becauſe they have done ſo upon ſome occaſions of a quite different nature (22). From all which inſtances, our readers may ſee how difficult it is to come at any certainty concerning theſe momentous points of their faith and practice, either from their own accounts, or from thoſe of foreign writers.

(20) *Codign*, l. i. c. 35. (21) *Uretta, ap. eund. Poncet, Engl.* p. 60. (22) *Alfonſ. Mendez. l.* iii. c. 33. n. 4. *Codign, ubi ſup. & al. Vid. Le Grand, ubi ſup.*

their

their two churches ". Which expreſſions, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, with Mr. *Ludolph*, that monarch would hardly have urged againſt them, if the *Abiſſinian* church had been guilty of that other error with which they brand it; *viz.* the reiterating of baptiſm; a charge founded merely on the ceremony mentioned in the laſt note, of a general waſhing on the feſtival of *Epiphany*, in honour of our Saviour's baptiſm. But here it will not be amiſs to repeat what the good father *Alvarez* ſays of it, and upon it; becauſe it will at once convince our readers of the great advantage they made of the emperor *Segued*'s weakneſs, and compliance to them. His words are theſe:

Waſhing on Epiphany *day, whether a reiteration of baptiſm.*

" On the 4th of *January* 1521, the *Preſbyter John*, that " is, the emperor, ordered us to tranſport our tents to a " place where he had cauſed a large pond or baſon of water " to be made, to be baptized in it, according to cuſtom, on " the enſuing *Epiphany*. As ſoon as we were come thither, we " were aſked whether we would not be baptized; to which " I anſwered, we have been ſo already, and cannot be ſo " again. The ambaſſador, however, and ſome of his re- " tinue, added, that they would do as the king pleaſed: up- " on which, I was again invited to do ſo; but anſwered as I " had done before. They then aſked, whether any water " ſhould be brought into our tents, ſince we cared not to go " into the pond; which the ambaſſador agreed to, expect- " ing to have ſeen ſome great ſight; but was diſappointed; " nothing that was done there being either pleaſing or de- " cent.

Alvarez's *account of it.*

" The *Abiſſinian* prieſts repaired thither in great numbers " on the eve, and ſang the whole night. To bleſs the pond, " they threw holy water into it; and the king, arriving about " midnight, was the firſt that was baptized, with his queen, " and the *Abuna Marck*. On the next morning, the *Portu- " gueſe* were invited to come nearer the water, that they " might have a fuller view of the whole ceremony. *Alvarez* " came, and placed himſelf over-againſt the king. The " pond was ſquare, ſurrounded with planks, and covered " with waxen cotton cloth, and one went into the water by " ſix ſteps. The water was conveyed into it by a pipe, and " ſtrained through a ſack, that was tied to the mouth of it. " The croud was very great; and an old man, who had been " his majeſty's preceptor, ſtood in the water up to his ſhoul- " ders, and plunged the heads of every one that came to him, " uſing theſe words, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father,*

The emperor and the court aſſiſt at it.

An old man baptizes thoſe that come.

* Iid. ibid. Le Grand, Diſſert. xi.

" *Son,*

" *Son, and Holy Ghoſt.* They were all ſtark-naked, without " any the leaſt covering; and thoſe of a middle ſize went " down but four or five ſteps. The king called the *Portu-* " *gueſe* to him, and aſked *Alvarez*, what he thought of that " ceremony; who readily anſwered, that it could neither be
Alvarez's opinion of it. " rectified nor juſtified by any thing but a good intention, " ſeeing the council of *Nice*, which was equally acknowleged " by the *Abiſſine* and *Roman* churches, allowed but of one " baptiſm. But what muſt be done with returning apoſtates, " replied the king, in order to reconcile them to the church? " *He that believes, and is baptized,* anſwered our *Portugueſe,* " *ſhall be ſaved; and he that believeth not, ſhall be damned.* " We ought to inſtruct, and pray for, theſe apoſtates; and, " if they will not return, burn them alive: but if any of " them comes full of grief and ſhame for his apoſtacy, and " begs for mercy and pardon, the *Abuna* ought to abſolve " him, and impoſe a ſuitable penance at the ſame time, un- " leſs he think it much better to turn him over to the pope, " in whom alone is lodged the whole power of the church. " He added, that, if they refuſed to be converted, they ought " to be committed to the flames, as is practiſed by the whole " *Roman* church [o]."

The emperor's reply to it. THIS whole diſcourſe, it ſeems highly pleaſed the king; who, in excuſe for that ceremony, told *Alvarez*, that his his grandfather had inſtituted it by the advice of ſome of his moſt able and learned divines, in order to prevent ſo many ſouls, who had fallen from God, from being utterly loſt.

This cuſtom no reiteration of baptiſm. From this account, allowing it to be as genuine, as it is lame and imperfect with regard to what it is brought in to prove, *viz.* a reiteration of baptiſm, we would beg leave to obſerve, that it was, at the moſt, but a modern inſtitution, and of no longer ſtanding than two or three generations, and not the practice of the antient *Abiſſine* church. 2. That the dipping of the penitents that offer themſelves, and the form of words, *I baptize thee*, &c. is no-where elſe, that we can find by other authors, practiſed in the whole empire but in this place; they every-where elſe going indifferently into the next river, pond, *&c.* men and women, without regard to decency, and only waſhing themſelves, and uttering a few prayers; and, if we will believe their own confeſſion, only in memory of our Saviour's baptiſm in the river *Jordan* [p]. 3. That, even from the king's own words, it was only inſtituted in the behalf of ſuch as had apoſtatized from the faith: for, among thoſe vaſt

[o] ALVAREZ, Itinerar. LE GRAND, Differt. xi. TELLEZ, LUDOLPH. [p] See PONCET, p. 89. LUDOLPH, & al.

crouds

crouds that went into the king's pond or baſon, we don't find that the good old man baptized any but ſuch as offered themſelves to him; and thoſe might be of the apoſtate kind; and who knows how many of them might not be of the number of thoſe who had gone over to the church of *Rome*, and, having repented of their defection, came to reap the benefits of this new-invented expedient? For it is not ſaid, neither can it be ſuppoſed, that the old man could perform the ceremony on thoſe vaſt multitudes that went into the water, in ſo ſhort a time as twelve hours; for it began at midnight, and ended at noon. 4. We have elſewhere obſerved, that the *Abiſſinians* obſerved a great number of *Jewiſh* rites [q], one of which, among the latter, was this of waſhing and immerſion, upon every kind of defilement, whether natural or accidental; all which might be properly called, in a large ſenſe, ſo many baptiſms, according to the true meaning of the word. It is, therefore, far from being improbable, that the *Abiſſinian* church might have inſtituted this general one with the ſame view at firſt, and deemed it the more efficacious towards the waſhing away all ſuch pollutions, by its being ordered to be performed on the day on which Chriſt's baptiſm was commemorated; and all this without once dreaming of its ever being miſinterpreted as a reiteration of the baptiſmal ſacrament. And if the repetition of the form was afterwards enjoined in favour of returning apoſtates, in *Segued*'s grandfather's reign, it can only be looked upon as an innovation introduced, perhaps, in imitation of ſome antient churches and fathers, who thought that ſuch apoſtates could not be reconciled to the church without being rebaptized; for we find accordingly, that, after the total expulſion of the miſſionaries out of the empire, an order was iſſued out for a general rebaptization, to waſh away all the ſins and defilements, which had been contracted by the late defection to the church of *Rome*, during the preceding reign *. But this, whether we ſtile it an ablution or a baptiſm, is no more the true antient practice of the *Abiſſinian* church, than thoſe marks which are branded with a red-hot iron on the foreheads and noſes of the *Abiſſinians* are of their being baptized with fire (K); with which practice,

but a Jewiſh *ablution.*

In favour of apoſtates, falſely ſuppoſed to be annual.

Baptiſm by fire.

[q] See before, p. 133, & ſeq. * Alf. Mendez, l. ii. c. 33. §. 4.

(K) *Reperi*, ſays *Codignus*, *apud antiquos hiſtoricos ex veterum imperatorum inſtituto apud hanc gentem poſitum in more baptiſati pueruli in fronte quædam inurere ſtigmata: id vero adeo ſtrictè obſervari, ut ſi quis abſque illo ſigno deprehendatur, libertatem amittat, fiatque imperatoris mancipium* (23).

(23) *Codign. de reb. Abaſſin. lib.* i. *c.* 35. *p.* 213.

never-

nevertheleſs that church hath been unjuſtly taxed, but fully cleared ſince by ſeveral learned authors [r]; that being only a cuſtom common to *Mohammedans* and heathens, as well as *Ethiopians*, and deſigned as a cauſtic, to prevent their children being troubled with cattarhs, and other defluxions on the eyes, and in no ſenſe an act of religion. Thus much may ſuffice with reſpect to this article of baptiſm; on which if we have dwelt ſomewhat longer, we hope the reader will not be diſpleaſed at, ſeeing there was no other way of ſetting it in a true light, from the different accounts which ſo many writers have given us of it, and much leſs from the miſrepreſentations and calumnies which have been raiſed againſt the *Abiſſine* church, on account of their pretended reiteration, and other abuſes, of that ſacred rite.

No confirmation joined with baptiſm.

WE have already ſhewn from Father *Tellez*, Mr. *Ludolph*, and others [s], that the *Abiſſinians* neither allow of confirmation nor extreme unction; yet ſuch is the partiality of ſome of the *Romiſh*, eſpecially the *French*, writers, that, in order to find out their ſeven ſacraments among them, they have, with much ſubtility, endeavoured to blind the world with the notion, that the unction which they uſe in their baptiſm, *viz.* that of the chryſma or *meyron*, is in lieu, or rather is that very ſacrament [t]; the fallacy of which muſt appear to all unbiaſſed perſons, on the following conſiderations. 1. That the church of *Rome* uſes the ſame unction by their chryſma in their baptiſm of infants, without looking upon it as any part of confirmation. 2. It enjoins the latter to be adminiſtered to adult perſons, who are able to give an account of their faith, and to take theſe baptiſmal engagements upon themſelves; whereas the *Abiſſinians* beſtow the unction on infants, who are incapable of either. 3. The form and prayers uſed in the unction, which the curious reader may ſee in the margin (L), plainly ſhew it to be the ſame, and performed with the

[r] Vide, int. al. CODIGN, l. i. c. 35. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 6. n. 41, 42. RENAUDOT, perpetuit. fid. tom. iv. c. 84. ALVAREZ, ubi ſup. & al. [s] Vide & CODIGN, ALZEVEDO, ALF. MENDEZ, & al. mult. [t] Vide BERNAT's Letter to Fleurian, LE GRAND, Diſſert. xi. & al.

(L) In this ceremony, the child being held naked before the prieſt who baptizes it, he takes, with the tip of his finger, a ſmall quantity of the *meyron* or holy chryſm, and begins with anointing the forehead croſswiſe, with theſe words, "The "chryſma of grace and of the "Holy Ghoſt;" the mouth and noſe

the same view as that which the *Roman* priests use it, and is by both churches enjoined as a constituent part of baptism.—To all these if we add, that neither the *Abissinian* rituals nor catechisms mention any thing of confirmation, much less have any set form for performing it, we shall easily perceive how vain it is to seek for any such thing as the *Romish* confirmation in *Abissinia*, or for what Father *Bernat* so peremptorily affirms, that confirmation immediately follows baptism in their church, any more than it doth in his own [u].

We have already mentioned their manner of confessing and receiving penance and absolution from their priests, or the *Abuna* [w]; but though they allow the necessity of both, than which nothing can be a more plain proof than the multitudes and frequency of penitents attending at the church-doors, and the bundles of olive rods that are constantly set there for that use, yet it doth not appear, that they have ever given that rite the title of a sacrament, or look upon it *Penance no sacrament.*

[u] Le Grand, ubi sup. p. 321. [w] See before, p. 140.

nose next, whilst he says, "The "chrysm, pledge of the king-"dom of heaven;" to that of the ears he says, "The chrysm "of fellowship and eternal and "immortal life." At the unction of the in and out-side of the hands, he says, "The holy "unction of Christ our God, "and indelible character." On the breast, he says, "The per-"fection of grace of the Holy "Ghost, and shield of the true "faith." To the knees and elbows, he says, "I anoint you "with holy chrysm, in the "name of the Father, Son, "and Holy Ghost;" and concludes every period with *Amen*.

Now, this being almost the very same form and manner in which this unction is performed in the baptism of infants in the *Romish* church, with this only difference, that, in this last, the priest anoints the child a second time with his spittle, and hath his clerk attending to say the *Amen* for him; how could it enter into any man's head to affirm it to be only a part of baptism in the one, and confirmation in the other? or what is there in the form of words of the ceremony, that hath the least resemblance to the *Romish* confirmation, as is pretended by those *French* authors (23)?

Add to this, that the long prayer, which he afterwards repeats by way of conclusion, the giving them the holy communion, setting the crown on their head, and the blessing he gives to them and the bystanders, are all alike parts of the baptismal office, and so set down in their rituals and liturgy, without any mention of confirmation (24).

(23) *Renaudot, perpetuit. fid. tom. v. p. 65, & seq. Bernat, Letter to Father Pierien, Le Grand, Dissert. xi. de baptism. & confirmat. Abissin. p. 273, & seq.* (24) *Vide Ritual. & Offic. Baptism. Ethiop. Latin. edit. Rom. Codign, p. 35, & alibi. Tellez, Ludolph, & al. sup. citat.*

any

Confessions begin very late.

any otherwise than as a preparatory qualification for that of the holy communion. Neither are they over-hasty in obliging young people to come to either, seeing they look upon all the sins they commit before they are arrrived at twenty years of age little more or less than slips of youth, for which they will not be called to an account [x]. And herein, again, it is plain, that they do not follow the canons of the *Coptic* church, which obliges them to come to confession and communion, at, or soon after, the age of ten, from which time they begin to observe the fasts of the church [y]; but are much more remiss in their discipline; which is no wonder, considering the ignorance and corruption of manners, which we have observed to reign through the whole empire, from the *Abuna* down to the very lowest of the clergy [z]. It is therefore impertinent in our late *French* Jesuits [a], to be ever objecting the canons and rituals of the *Coptic* church, and to infer from thence, that the faith and practice of that of *Abissinia* must must be, in every age, conformable to it, when almost every thing we read of them in the *Portuguese* Fathers, who were most of them eye-witnesses of what they wrote, and cannot be suspected of want of zeal for their church, convinces us of the contrary (M).

The Abissinian *church is not in all things conformable to the* Coptic.

W

[x] Tellez, Ludolph, l. iii. c. 6. §. 57. [y] Renaudot, Perpetuit. Fid. Bernat, ubi sup. Poncet, p. 85.
[z] See before, p. 142, & alib. pass. [a] De Bernat, ubi sup. Le Grand, Dissert. xii.

(M) We have such pregnant instance of this remissness, not only on the side of the *Abissinian*, but of the *Alexandrian* church, with regard to this article of penance and confession, as plainly shews that their practice was far enough from keeping pace with their canons; insomuch that, partly through the abuses that had crept into the latter, and partly through the unreasonable penances that were frequently imposed on the laity, three of their patriarchs used their most strenuous endeavours to abolish that rite, one after another. These were *John*, the son of *Abulseta*, *Mark*, the son of *Zabru*, and *John*, the son of *Abu'gateb*, who had so far gained their point, that it was brought into an almost total disuse; when *Mark*, the son of *Alkombari*, a prelate no less zealous for it than they were against it, set up for a strenuous advocate for it; and though, in other respects, a person far from being irreprehensible in his conduct, brought a good number of people back again to it (25).

(25) *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.*

By

Conſecration of the holy chryſm.

We have already taken notice of their belief concerning the other ſacrament, that of the Lord's Supper, and of their manner of celebrating and adminiſtering it to the people.—The two Jeſuits above-mentioned have furniſhed us with ſeveral clauſes of that office out of the *Coptic* liturgy, which plainly intimate not only a real preſence, but a real change of the ſacred elements into the body and blood of Chriſt; from which they would infer, that they believe their doctrine of tranſubſtantiation in fact, though not *in terminis* [b]: and tho' we have already ſhewn, that their profeſſion and practice are quite oppoſite to ſuch a belief [c], yet we think our *Engliſh* readers will not be diſpleaſed to ſee ſome of the principal prayers made uſe of in their form of conſecration, ſubjoined in the margin (N), as will enable them at once to judge of their belief

[b] Id. ibid. p. 326, & ſeq. [c] See before, p. 153, & ſeq.

By this time, they had fallen into a ſtrange expedient for ſupplying that defect: ſo that, inſtead of the uſual confeſſion, the prieſt went with his cenſer round the church, and fumigated the whole congregation, who, on their part, cried out with one conſent, "I have ſinned, I have ſinned," whilſt he, on his, went about uttering ſome prayers for their pardon; and this ſerved inſtead of confeſſion, penance, and abſolution.

This was not the worſt; for, in many countries, the people had even diſuſed this ceremony, and had ſubſtituted another in lieu of it, no leſs ridiculous, and confeſſed and abſolved themſelves at home, by fumigating themſelves with incenſe and other odoriferous gums, thrown into a pan of coals, and uttering their confeſſion over the ſmoke of it (26). We need not here obſerve to our readers, how oppoſite that practice is to the pretence of their looking upon that rite as a ſacrament; but this we cannot forbear obſerving upon the whole, that neither the patriarch above-mentioned, nor any of thoſe that ſtrove to revive it either in *Egypt* or *Abiſſinia*, ever did, that we can find, inſiſt upon its being one, in order to reduce the people to the practice of it; but, on the contrary, when the *Portugueſe* miſſionaries came firſt into theſe parts, they all unanimouſly complained of this abuſe ſtill exiſting among the clergy and laity, and of the great difficulty they found to bring their proſelytes into their opinion concerning it (27).

(N) According to the *Coptic* ritual, the prieſt in office hath no ſooner pronounced aloud the words of conſecration, "This "bread is my body, which is "broken for you," &c. when the whole congregation expreſs their aſſent with three loud *Amens*, and add, in the ſame high tone, "We believe it, we are "ſure of it, and praiſe thee for "it, and verily believe that this

(26) *Le Grand, Diſſert.* xii. *de Euchariſt. et Penit.* p. 329, *et ſeq.* (27) *Alvarez, Teller, Codign, Ludolph, et al.*

belief concerning this important point, and, at the same time, shew them the excellency of the *Coptic* liturgy, and manner of celebration of this divine office, above that of the church of *Rome*. In the former, he will hear the officiating prelate, or priest, exhorting the congregation with a loud voice, and in a language well understood by them, to join their prayers with his through the whole ceremony, and them, in the same loud tone, professing their readiness to do so; when he declares to them, that the bread he hath blessed is Christ's body, broken for the remission of sins, they immediately answer, *Amen, Amen, Amen,* and confessing their belief of its being really so, and blessing God for it; and so on through the rest of the office[d]. Whereas, at the *Roman* mass, whether high or low, sung or said, the whole office of consecration is celebrated by the priest alone, and with such a low voice as not to

The people join the priest with more devotion.

[d] Vid. Liturg. Copt. vers. Rom. Ludolph, l. iii. c. 5, et 6, pass. Le Grand, ubi sup. Dissert. xii. p. 326, et seq.

"is thy body."—In like manner, to the words of consecration of the wine, "This cup is "my blood," &c. they unanimously answer "*Amen*, it is verily thy blood, and we believe it to be so." The priest goes on, "Do this in remembrance of me," and they answer, "Lord, we shew forth thy "death, we believe thy resurrection and ascension, and "expect thy second coming." After he hath finished the prayer of consecration and breaking of the bread, the subdeacon and people answer, "The hosts of "angels stand up before the "Saviour of the world, and "round about the body and "blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; let us "draw near with faith before "the face of our Lord, and "worship him."

In giving the bread to the communicants, which he doth after he hath received it himself, he says, "This is the bread "of life which came down "from heaven, and is verily "the body of *Emanuel*, our "God, *Amen*." To which the receiver says *Amen*. "This is "the cup of salvation (or of life) "which came down from heaven, and is the precious blood "of Christ, *Amen*." To which the receiver answers *Amen, Amen*. The same they do at the end of the public prayer, thanksgiving, and blessing, which conclude the holy action. From this short sketch of the *Coptic* communion-office, compared with that of the *Roman* mass, our reader will easily perceive to which of the two the preference ought to be given, either with regard to public edification, or nearest approach to the practice of the primitive church. The reader may see the remainder of that holy office in the *Coptic* ritual, and in the authors quoted below (28).

(28) *Ludolph, l. iii. c. 5, et 6, pass. Le Grand, Diss. xii. de Eucharist. p. 326, et seq.*

be

be heard, much leſs joined in, or anſwered, by the people, who are perhaps running over their beads, or praying to ſome favourite ſaint, during the whole ſolemn ceremony: ſo that the main difference between the *Abiſſinians* and *Romaniſts*, with regard to the celebration of thoſe holy myſteries, chiefly conſiſts in this, that, among the former, none but prieſts and deacons are admitted into the choir or chancel, and conſequently do not ſee how the ſervice is performed, but hear and underſtand every prayer and thankſgiving that is ſung or chaunted in it, and anſwer to each in their turn: whereas, among the latter, the laity ſees every thing that is done at the altar, but neither hear what is ſaid, nor, for the moſt part, rightly underſtand what is meant by any part of that office. Both may have been deſigned to excite a deeper regard in the laity for that ſolemn rite; but it will require no depth of thought to judge which of the two is moſt likely to do ſo in the moſt rational way. All that we ſhall add, with reſpect to the holy communion, is, that it never is to be celebrated any-where but at church; not even the emperor himſelf having the privilege to have the conſecrated elements brought to him upon any emergency or pretence, much leſs to have them conſecrated at home, or any-where but in the choir or chancel of the church: neither have they any ſtated times for the adminiſtration of it to the clergy or people; they being left at liberty to receive it oftener or ſeldomer, as beſt ſuits with their devotion, provided the office be performed once a day in every church by a prieſt, aſſiſted by a ſubpreſbyter, deacon, ſubdeacon, and one or two inferior attendants or ſervants [e]. *The holy communion not given out of the church.*

THE *Coptic* church hath had, from time immemorial, a rite for anointing the ſick, with a particular oil, different from the *Meyron* and *Galilæum*, formerly mentioned, but bleſſed with great ſolemnity by the prieſt; which rite is obſerved alſo in *Abiſſinia*, in conformity to the precept in the Goſpel [f]; purſuant to which, they interpret the term *ſick*, as including all the diſeaſes of the body, mind, and ſoul, even down to madmen and demoniacs. It is, however adminiſtered, as in the church of *Rome*, at the laſt extremity, and when the patient is paſſed all hopes of recovery; upon which account it is called extreme unction: nor is it conveyed to them in their houſes, when they lie in the laſt agonies in their beds, but only in their churches; to which they muſt either repair or be carried, before it can be adminiſtered to them. They have added ſundry ſuperſtitious ceremonies to that antient *Ceremony of anointing the ſick.*

[e] Iid. ibid. [f] MARK vi. 7—13. JAMES v. 14.

Performed only at church.

rite: such as having seven priests to assist at it, lighting a lamp with seven wicks, whose oil being blessed by holy water, signs of the cross, prayers, incense, and processioning, is made fit for anointing the person with, who is to walk or be carried from the church-doors, where the ceremony begins, to the altar, where the unction and blessing conclude it. From all which circumstances, and many others less worth taking notice of, it plainly appears to be a quite different rite from the *Romish* extreme unction; and much more so, when we are told by the *Portuguese* missionaries [g], that they never saw any thing like this last performed in *Abissinia*. So that we shall give ourselves no further trouble in confuting those *French* Jesuits, who, with more sophistry than truth, have endeavoured to make it appear not only one and the same rite, but to be held both by the *Coptic* and *Abissinian* church as one of the pretended seven sacraments they have in common with the *Romish* church [h]. As to the other two, ordination and marriage, which the same authors have crouded amongst them, to make their number complete, we shall refer our readers to what hath been said already upon those two heads [i].

Different from the Romish *extreme unction.*

Ordination and marriage no sacraments.

We have now gone through the most material branches of the *Abissinian* religion, not only with regard to their faith and practice, but likewise to the most remarkable errors and superstitions. We might indeed have dwelt much longer on the last of these articles, had it been worth our readers while to be acquainted with all the various branches into which they are reported to have sunk, partly through the ignorance of their clergy, and partly from their own natural proneness to it, above all Christian churches, if we may credit all that hath been written and urged against them, particularly with regard to the great number of superstitious customs which they have imbibed from the *Jews*, and still retain to this day. Neither shall we need to wonder much at it, considering the ignorance in which both clergy and laity are brought up, and the little benefit they have from schools and books of divinity, when we compare them with the many heathenish ones that have, from less excusable motives, been introduced into other churches, which yet abounded with all those great helps, of which they are unhappily deprived. We cannot therefore close this section more fitly than by giving our reader some short account of the manner in which they educate and

[g] De hoc, vide Codign, l. i. c. 35. Tellez, l. i. c. 31. Alf. Mend. & al. Vide Ludolph Comment. p. 267, & alib.

[h] Bernat & Le Grand, ubi sup. Diss. xiii.

[i] See before, p. 182, & seq.

instruct

inſtruct their youth. It may well be wondered, that ſo vaſt an empire as that of *Abiſſinia*, in which Chriſtianity had been planted ſo many centuries, if not from the earlieſt times of the apoſtles [k], and which ſwarms with ſuch numbers of monks and prieſts, ſhould have been ſo negligent of the inſtruction of youth, as to have neither univerſities nor even public ſchools to breed them up, if not in other kinds of learning, at leaſt in the fundamentals of religion. And one would be rather inclined to credit the fabulous account of the *Dominican* friar, who gives us the moſt pompous detail of their noble academies, learned libraries, and public ſchools, founded in every city and town by the old *Abiſſinian* monarchs and nobles for that very intent (O), and ſtill flouriſhing in his

The great ignorance of the clergy and people.

[k] See before, p. 140, & ſeq.

(O) Among other romantic fables, which that monkiſh trifler ſo confidently reports, the deſcription of the imperial library, and treaſury of the Holy Croſs, may well paſs for one of the greateſt pieces of forgery that is to be met with among all his fellow-writers. His words are to this effect (29):

"The library and treaſury of the emperor are two rare pieces, whereon wonder may juſtly fix her eye; neither of which are to be matched in all the world. The library of *Conſtantinople*, which contained 120,000 volumes, nor that of *Pergamus* of 200,000, nor that of *Alexandria*, wherein *Aulus Gellius* reckoned 700,000, were they ſtill remaining, would come vaſtly ſhort of this we ſpeak of. The number of books contained in it is almoſt inconceivable, and their price inеſtimable. The queen of *Sheba*, they report, procured them hither from all parts, beſides thoſe many which *Solomon* preſented her with; and, from that time to this, the *Abiſſinian* monarchs have imitated her in the like care and diligence.—There are three ſpacious halls, each above 200 paces long, ſtored with books in all ſciences, written on fine parchment, embelliſhed with golden letters, and other coſtly work both of writing, binding, and covering; ſome even with the floor, and others on ſhelves one above another. Few of them are of paper, that being of late invention."

"There are the writings of *Enoch*, tranſcribed from the ſtones on which they were engraven, which treat of philoſophy, the heavens, and elements. Others, which go under the name of *Noah*, treat of coſmography, mathematics, religious ceremonies, and prayers. Some of thoſe compoſed by *Abraham*, when he dwelt in the valley of *Mamre*, where he read public lectures on philoſophy and mathematics. There are a great number ſaid to have been written by *Solomon*, others by *Job*, after he was reſtored to his former proſperity. Many others of *Ezra*, the prophets, and

(29) *Uretta, Hiſt. d'Ethiop. l.* i. *c.* 9.

No academies or schools for youth.

his time, did not the concurrent teſtimony of ſo many eye-witneſſes contradict, in every inſtance, all that he hath ſo confidently advanced on that ſubject [m]; inſomuch that there neither remains any footſteps or remembrance of ſuch academies, or places for public inſtruction, having ever exiſted among them, if their language hath any proper name for them.

THE

[m] Vide, inter al. CODIGN. l. i. c. 17.

Jewiſh high prieſts; and beſides the four canonical Goſpels, ſeveral others attributed to St. *Bartholomew*, *Thomas*, *Andrew*, and other apoſtles. Many others of the *Sibyls*, in proſe and verſe; the works of queen *Candace*, thoſe of all the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, &c. fathers, tranſlated; the *Talmud*, and all the old *Hebrew* writers, *Roman* and *Greek* hiſtorians, philoſophers, poets, and a vaſt variety of others, too tedious to mention. When *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed by *Titus*, and when the *Saracens* over-ran the Chriſtian world, many of their books were conveyed thence into *Ethiopia*; and when *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* expelled the *Jews* out of *Spain*, many of them entered *Ethiopia*, and enriched this library with their books; and when *Charles* V. reſtored the *Maleaſſes* to their country, *Preſter John*, hearing of the famed library of *Tunis*, ſent and bought above 3000 volumes more, in all arts and ſciences."

"There are above two hundred monks appointed to take care of this library, and each has the charge of ſuch books as are written in the languages he is maſter of; and the abbot, who is ſet over them, is ſtrictly charged with the care of the whole library by the emperor, who eſteems it much more than his treaſury."

And yet this treaſury, according to the ſame author's pompous account, is a ſea into which innumerable rivulets have been pouring their yearly tribute of gold, and all precious gems, in ſuch plenty, ever ſince the time of the queen of *Sheba*, and without ever taking one peny out of it, that it is affirmed to be rich enough to buy one half of the world (30).

The ſame deſcription he gives us, in another place, of their colleges or ſeminaries, of which, he ſays, every city hath two, one for the boys, the other for the girls; the one within the walls of the town, and the other at ſome ſmall diſtance without. Each ſeminary is divided into three cloiſters, the one for noblemen and gentlemen's children, the 2d for citizens, and the 3d for thoſe of the meaneſt rank. Each claſs of them hath its ſeveral proper teachers, and neither they nor the children converſe with thoſe of the other. The boys are taught religion, arts, and ſciences, according to their rank, and are allowed to go out on holidays, and viſit relations. The girls are taught every thing proper for their ſex

(30) *Id. ibid.* & *Purchas Pilgr.* l. vii. c. v. §. 2.

and

The construction and situation of their most noted monasteries [n], among the wildest rocks and deserts, and at a distance from places of resort, plainly shews they never were founded for any such design. Tho' their clergy are numerous and indigent enough to undertake so laudable a province, were there proper places and salaries appointed for them, especially as their priestly function takes up so little of their time; yet we do not find, from our *Portuguese* and other writers, that any of them are ever employed in that useful work any-where but at church: so that all that their own and the children of the laity learn of their religion must be from them there, or from their parents at home. In the former, from those short portions of Scripture that are read there [o], and a few homilies and expositions that follow the lectures, and perhaps from their catechists, who, in all probability, have some set seasons for instructing the young people in the fundamentals of their religion, particularly in their short catechism, of which we shall subjoin the substance, as the abba *Gregory* gave it to Mr. *Ludolph*. Whatever else they learn beside, must be at home from their own parents, and that cannot be considerable, seeing they can teach them no more than they know themselves; and that is found very little, not only in the laity, but even in the most learned of their clergy, from all the accounts we have of them. This universal ignorance in both, whether encouraged by the emperors upon any particular views, which we cannot find out,

They learn their religion at church or at home.

[n] See before, p. 154, & seq.

[o] See before, p. 149, & seq.

and rank; but are not allowed to go out. The boys are kept in theirs from 10 to 16, and the girls from 9 to 16. The emperor himself is obliged to send his children to receive their education in these academies. All which, and other particulars relating to them, as well as all the rest of that author's romantic fustian, hath been fully answered by the learned Jesuit *Codigus* (31); and is plainly confuted by the different accounts which all the *Portuguese* writers give us of that empire. But we shall take a proper occasion to give our readers a short abstract of this monstrous romance in the close of this history; and this more especially, as his fraternity have taken such care to destroy all the copies they could get into their hands, that it is become exceedingly scarce, and difficult to be met with in the original; much more in our *English* tongue, in which we have only a short epitome, or abstract, of it in the end of Dr. *Geddes*'s history of the *Ethiopian* church; which book is now no less scarce than curious and useful.

(31) *De Abassin. reb. l.* i. *c.* 17, & *al. pass.*

or by their *Abunas*, and *Alexandrian* patriarchs, in order to confirm them the more in their ſubjection to that ſee, is ſo much the more deplorable, as we are aſſured by ſo many hands, that the *Abiſſinian* youth are, for the generality, endowed with great vivacity of parts, quick underſtanding, and a natural diſpoſition for a much better education: and on this account it was, that the *Portugueſe* miſſionaries made it one of their firſt and chief cares to ſupply that defect, by ſetting up as many ſchools and ſeminaries as they could, where-ever they were ſettled. Such an one was that we read of, in which were educated ſixty boys, partly *Abiſſinians*, and partly *Portugueſe*; the latter deſigned to draw in the former. Theſe boys having been taught, among other things, to act ſome dramatic pieces after the *European* manner, their parents, and other natives, were admitted to ſee them. In one of which, we are told, they chanced, as the plot required it, to introduce ſome demons upon the ſtage; at ſight of which, the *Abiſſinians*, who took them for real ſpirits, were ſo affrighted, that they all ran out with the utmoſt ſpeed, crying out, *Away, away, they have brought devils hither with them* [p].

Schools ſet up by the miſſionaries.

Plays acted in them, which frighten the people.

Subſtance of the Abiſſinian *catechiſm.*

THE ſubſtance of the *Abiſſinian* catechiſm, according to abbot *Gregory* above-mentioned, runs thus.

Q. What God do you believe in?

A. *In the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, three perſons, and one God.*

Q. Of theſe three perſons, which is the firſt, and which is the laſt; which is the greateſt, and which is the leaſt?

A. *None is firſt, nor none is laſt, none greater, nor none leſs, but they are in all reſpects equal.*

Q. How many perſons are there?

A. *Three.*

Q. How many Gods?

A. *One.*

Q. How many Deities?

A. *One.*

Q. How many kingdoms?

A. *One.*

Q. How many Powers?

A. *One.*

Q. How many Creators?

A. *One.*

Q. How many Wills?

A. *One.*

Q. Is there any time in God?

[p] LUDOLPH, l. iii, c. 11. §. 38.

A. *None;*

A. *None; for he is from all eternity, and will be to all eternity.*

Q. Where is God?

A. *Every-where, and in every thing.*

Q. Is the Father God?

A. *He is moſt certainly.*

Q. Is the Son God?

A. *He is.*

Q. Is the Holy Ghoſt God?

A. *He is.*

Q. Then there are three Gods?

A. *I do not ſay there are three Gods, but three perſons, and one God only.*

Q. Who begat the Son?

A. *God the Father; and the Holy Ghoſt proceedeth from the Father, and receiveth of the Son.*

Q. Shew me ſome kind of ſimilitude to illuſtrate the three perſons in one Godhead?

A. *The Sun, although he be identically one, is nevertheleſs endowed with three properties,* viz. *rotundity, light, and heat: in like manner, we believe in one God, and that in him exiſt three perſons,* viz. *Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, who are in all reſpects equal.*

Q. Which of thoſe three perſons was born for our redemption?

A. *The Second, who is the Son of God, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

Q. How many nativities belong to him?

A. *Two; the firſt is from his Father, without mother, and without time; and the ſecond from our Lady the Virgin* Mary, *without father, and in time, ſhe continuing ſtill in her virginity.*

Q. Is our Lord Jeſus Chriſt man or God?

A. *He is both God and man in one perſon, without diſtinction or change, without confuſion or mixture.*

General belief.

In the like manner, the *Abiſſinians* believe and teach all the other articles of faith concerning him, *viz.* his baptiſm, faſting, temptations, ſufferings, death, reſurrection, aſcenſion into heaven, and his miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt on the apoſtles: that he ſhall come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead: that he is really preſent at the ſacrament of the Euchariſt: that the dead ſhall riſe again at the laſt day: that the juſt ſhall inherit the kingdom of heaven; and that ſinners ſhall be ſent into hell. They likewiſe believe a catholic church, as expreſſed in the *Nicene* creed, compiled by the ortho-

orthodox council of *Nice*, *anno* 318 [q]. This is all that can with any certainty be affirmed concerning the *Abissinian* faith, until the Divine Providence shall be pleased to furnish us with means of being better acquainted with their authentic writeings on that subject, or have their faith and practice transmitted to us by less partial hands than, it is to be feared, we have hitherto had them [r].

We have had no certain intelligence from thence since the expulsion of the missionaries.

WE may safely say, that, since the coming away of the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez* (and it is plain neither he nor any of the rest of the missionaries were curious, or troubled themselves much, in collecting or bringing what books they could from thence), we have received very little intelligence from that country. And it is no small matter of regret, that Mr. *Wansleb*, who was sent thither by the elector of *Saxony*, and had learned the *Ethiopic* tongue under Mr. *Ludolph*, met with such unsurmountable obstacles and dangers in his attempt to penetrate into that empire, in order to bring from thence all the liturgies, and other writings that money could procure; as he was a very good judge of them, and was supplied by that prince with sufficient sums for that purpose: so that finding it impossible to get admittance into *Abissinia*, he contented himself with buying as many as he could get in *Egypt*, and other parts. Some discontents, which happened to him afterwards, or, as he expresses it, the perusing of these liturgies, made such an impression upon his mind, that, being quite dissatisfied with his own religion, he renounced *Lutheranism*, and took the *Dominican* habit at *Rome*. From that time, he became a zealous proselyte to that church (P), to the great regret

Wansleb sent thither by the elector of Saxony.

[q] Abba GREGOR. apud Ludolph. [r] See before, p. 9, & seq.

(P) *Michael Wansleb* was a native of *Ertffurt*, vulgarly called *Erfort*, a city in the electorate of *Mentz*; but, since it embraced the *Ausburg* confession, under the protection of the dukes of *Saxony*. He had been brought up under Mr. *Ludolph*, and was a master of the oriental languages; and, as such, recommended to that prince as a proper person for that commission (32). Soon after his ill success, and turning monk at *Rome*, he was again recommended to the great Mr. *Colbert*, who sent him into the *Levant* upon the same errand; where he accordingly purchased above 500 MSS which were afterwards conveyed to *Paris*, and placed in the king's library; but finding all his fresh attempts to get entrance into *Abissinia* frustrated, he returned into *France*, *anno* 1676, and died there some years after.—Before that time, he had caused

(32) *Vide Ludolph. Comm. Proem.* I. *p.* 20. *& in lib.* iii. *c.* 14. §. 135. *Le Grand, Relat. d'Abissin. p.* 157, *&* 196, *et alibi.*

the

regret and mortification of the duke his benefactor, and of all his friends [s], who expected greater things from him; and an end was put, on that ſide, to all future endeavours of getting either books or any other intelligence from thoſe parts. And as for the miſſionaries, they have been forced to draw all their accounts concerning what happened there ſince their expulſion, from *Cairo* in *Egypt*, and from ſuch hands as can give the reader but little ſatisfaction; there being ſtill a much wider difference between them; and, what is much worſe, the conteſts are riſen to ſuch a height, and ſo much been written by both parties, and with ſuch confidence and animoſity, as leaves one ſcarcely room to gueſs on which ſide the truth or the ſlander lies [t].

Cannot get into the country; turns monk.

[s] See Ludolph, Proem. i. c. 90, 94. Lobo, Relat. de l'Abiſſ. p. 157, 196. [t] See before, p. 9—20. and the cloſe of the next Section.

the liturgy of *Dioſcorus*, the heretic patriarch of *Alexandria*, to be printed at *London*, *anno* 1661; and, before he went upon his ſecond enterprize, he publiſhed a liſt of the works which he deſigned to have printed in the *Cubupic* tongue, together with an account of the preſent ſtate of *Egypt*, in *Italian*. Theſe two appeared, *anno* 1671; and, upon his return, he publiſhed a freſh relation of his voyage into *Egypt*, *annis* 1672 and 1673. Soon after which followed his hiſtory of the *Alexandrian* church. He left likewiſe a catalogue of all the *Abiſſinian* MSS. which he had either ſeen, purchaſed, or copied, during his ſtay there, together with an imperfect manuſcript account of the then ſtate of *Abiſſinia*. Laſtly, there appeared a book in *Engliſh*, printed at *London* by *Jonathan Edwin*, intituled, *A ſhort account of the rebellions and bloodſhed, occaſioned by the Jeſuits and other popiſh emiſſaries in the empire of* Abiſſinia, *collected out of a MS. hiſtory written in* Latin *by* John Michael Wanſleben, *a learned papiſt*: De rebellione & turbis tempore patrum ſocietatis in Habaſſia excitatis. Which book was compiled from that author's writing, as Mr. *Ludolph* believes it to be; yet muſt be ſuppoſed to have been very much mutilated, and blended with a great deal of fabulous traſh by the compiler. However that be, Mr. *Wanſleb*'s proceedings have too far impaired his character, not only in the opinion of the Proteſtants (33), but in that alſo of the *Romiſh* fathers, to be depended on (34), whatever theſe may ſay to extenuate them, in order to prop up the credit of his writings.

(33) *Ludolph, ubi ſup.*

(34) *Le Grand, ubi ſup.*

SECT.

SECT. X.

The Chronology, Succeſſion, and Series, of the Abſinian *Monarchs; and their Hiſtory from the ti of the* Portugueſe *coming thither, to that of th Expulſion from thence.*

The Abiſſinian *chronology very lame;*

WE have had frequent occaſion, as well in our Antient this Modern hiſtory of *Abiſſinia*, to obſerve how i perfect, maimed, and uncertain, all the records and hiſto of that antient and potent empire are. We ſhall find th ſtill more deficient in point of their chronology, in the tling of their various epochs, the numbering the years their monarchs reigns, and other material tranſactions; a laſtly, we ſhall, even in thoſe few ſcraps, as we may juſtly them, which they have preſerved upon their moſt impor events, or, at leaſt, in thoſe which the *Portugueſe* miſſiona have been able to procure from thence [b], obſerve ſome m rial differences, which they themſelves could not reconcil

and our intelligence concerning it much more ſo.

They were taken from two manuſcripts, which, beſides they vary with each other in many particulars, reckon only hundred emperors from *Menilehech*, the ſon of *Solomon* and *M keda* queen of *Sheba*, down to their great friend and pat Sultan *Jaſſok-Adyan-Sagged*, or *Segued*; but without m tioning either the times in which they flouriſhed, or length of their reigns. One of them reckons 24 of th before Chriſt, and from thence to the time of his writi that is, in the time of *Faciludus*, or *Baſilides*, the ſon ſucceſſor of *Segued* above-mentioned, about the year 16 only 68; yet makes the ſum total, if it be not an erro the preſs, 99; whereas 24 and 68 make in all but 92; u we will ſuppoſe the other ſeven to have been of the *Zagu* family, who uſurped the *Abiſſinian* throne during the ſpac 340 years, and are, for that reaſon, ſtruck out of the liſ

The uſurping monarchs ſtruck out of the liſt.

the true deſcendants of the *Solomonic* race. This laſt will pear the leſs improbable, if we conſider that thoſe liſts no notice even of the women of the *Solomonic* line, as were queen of *Sheba*, queen *Candace*, and the empreſs *Hele* which is rightly ſuppoſed to have been in conformity to *Jewiſh* cuſtom, which, as St. *Jerom* obſerves, excluded females out of their genealogies; and if ſo, much m

[a] Vol. xviii. p. 300, & ſeq. [b] De his, vide ALMEYDA TELLEZ, lib. i. c. 27. LUDOLPH. lib. ii. c. 2, & ſeq.

woul

would they ſuch a liſt of uſurpers. Conformably to which, we have heretofore ſhewn, that thoſe *Iſraelitiſh* kings, which are omitted by St. *Matthew*, in his genealogy of Jeſus Chriſt, were excluded out of it on that very account, that is, for want of a legal title [c]; which doth perfectly account for the difference between his and that of St. *Luke*, and of the *Chronicles*. Add to this, with reſpect to what we are upon, that thoſe ſeven *Zaguean* reigns, if we may gueſs at their duration from two of them, *viz.* thoſe of *Lalibela* and his ſon, each of whom are ſaid to have reigned 40 years, they will come pretty near the 340 years of their uſurpation above-mentioned; of which we ſhall give a further account in the ſequel.

FROM thoſe two imperfect records, the one of which was taken from that often mentioned, which is kept in the great church of *Axuma*, and the other from a book, then in the poſſeſſion of the emperor *Segued*, by Father *Emanuel d'Almeyda*, the only material tranſactions belonging to the antient as well as modern hiſtory, which can be reduced into a chronological order, are theſe that follow (A).

THE queen of *Sheba* came into *Judea* in or about the year before Chriſt 992, and of the world —— 3012 — *Queen of Sheba.*

SHE reigned 25 years after her return, and was ſucceded by her ſon *Menilehech*, — —— 3037

MENILEHECH reigned 29 years, and was contemporary with his father, and 18 years more with his ſon *Rhehoboam*, and died. — *Menilehech.*

[c] See Ant. Hiſt. vol. x. p. 452, & ſeq. in the notes.

(A) Before we go further, it will not be improper to appriſe the readers of two things, with reſpect to the *Abiſſinian* computation of time; the one, that they begin their year at the autumnal equinox, in which ſeaſon they believe the world to have been created; the other, that they compute the numbers of years from the creation to the birth of Chriſt to be 5500, which is eight years ſhort of the *Septuagint* reckoning, which the *Greek*, *Armenian*, and ſome other churches follow. This error is alſo crept into their computation of the Chriſtian æra; ſo that whoever will rightly underſtand it, muſt be ſure to add always thoſe eight years to it. How this defect came to be introduced among them, is variouſly conjectured, and hardly worth our farther inquiry (1). In other caſes, they make uſe of the old *Egyptian* year, conſiſting of twelve months, of 30 days each, with the proper intercalary ones, to reduce it to the true ſolar.

(1) *De hoc, vide Gregor. apud Ludolph. lib.* iii. *c.* 6. §. 97, *et ſeq.*

FROM

FROM *Sadgur*, the ſon of *Menilehech*, proceeded, in a lineal deſcent, 24 princes; the length of whoſe reigns is not ſet down; but, in the eighth year of which laſt, whom the chronicle calls *Phecen*, was our Saviour born, —— —— 400

FROM this æra of our Saviour's birth to the joint reig of the two brothers *Abra* and *Abza*, or, as the commemo tion made for the reſt of their ſouls hath it, *Remember, L the* Ethiopian *monarchs*, Abrehe *and* Atzbahe, reckoned emperors more, whoſe names, and the years of whoſe reig are alſo omitted, elapſed 327 years; in the laſt of whic *Frumentius* was ſent by St. *Athanaſius* into *Ethiopia*, where converted the *Abiſſinians* to the Chriſtian faith [d].

Atzſa, Atzfed, *and* Amay.

THE chronicles go on, and give a ſtrange account of thr other brothers, who agreed to reign jointly and amicably o the whole empire. Their names are *Atzſa*, *Atzfed*, and *Ama* who, we are told, to prevent all diſcord and interfering b tween them, bethought themſelves of an odd expedien which was to divide the day into three parts, and to hold t reins alternately each his third part, or eight hours. ſtrange way of government this! but which, if we will b lieve the *Abiſſine* legends, ſucceeded to a miracle; for if, any time, one of the brothers differed or fell out with an other, the third was ready to interpoſe, and act as umpi between them [e].

Arado, Aladoba, *and* Alamid.

THOSE, of whoſe lives and reigns we have no farther ac count, were ſucceeded by *Arado*, *Aladoba*, and *Alamid*, or, *Tellez* calls him, *Amiamid*, in whoſe reigns vaſt numbers monks and anchorites came out of *Egypt* hither, with a vie of propagating Chriſtianity, and the monaſtic life. *Alam*

Tacena.

was ſucceeded by *Tacena*, and he by *Caleb*; about whic time, new colonies of monks, and aſcetics came from *Ru*

Caleb, *who conquers the* Homerites.

and ſettled in the kingdom of *Tigre*; that is, about the tim of the emperor *Juſtinian*, near the year of Chriſt 521, 522. *Caleb*, having ſubdued the *Sabean* or *Homerite* kin dom, by the defeat and death of the *Jewiſh* king *Dunava* (B), is ſaid to have ſent his crown to *Jeruſalem*, to be ther ſuſpende

[d] De his, vide Ant. Hiſt. vol. xviii. p. 326, & ſup. p. 142.
[e] TELLEZ, lib. iv. c. 29. LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. iv. §. 19, & ſeq.

(B) This *Caleb*, who was nephew to *Amiamid* above-mentioned, is the ſame whom ſome *Greek* and *Latin* writers ca *Eleſbaan* (2), which might pro bably be his *Ethiopic* Chriſtian

(2) *De hoc, vide Niceph. Calliſt. l.* xvii. *Baron. Ann. ad ann.* 522. *Ludolph. lib.* ii. *c.* 4. §. 23, *& ſeq.*

name,

ended in the great church of St. *Sepulchre*, in memory his signal success against that bitter enemy and persecutor the Christians [f].

He was succeeded by *Gebra Mesket*, whose name imports *servant of the cross*, a wise and peaceable prince; who, we told, made an alliance with the emperor *Justinian* named [g]. His two next successors were *Constantine* and *na*; and, after them, were fifteen more, all of the same nic line: the last of whom was named *Del-Noad*, who ed till about the year 960, when the succession passed the *Zagean* family; and the usurpation began, which ed 340 years, and of which we are now going to give the st account we can find out of those imperfect memoirs we ve of it, not so much from any authentic records, as from at the *Abissinians* call an undoubted tradition, which is as lows.

Gebra Meskel.

Constantine,

Frezena *deposed.*

TREDDA GABEZ, a woman, who, for her impiety, elty, lewdness, and other enormous vices; was furnamed *at*, or *fire-brand*, found means, about this time (960), to troy not only *Del-Noad*, the emperor on the throne, but whole imperial family, in order to raise a son of hers, om she had by the governor of *Bugna*, to the *Ethiopian*

The Zagean usurpation begun by Tredda Gabez.

[f] See the *Abissine* Poet, apud Ludolph. lib. ii. c. 4. 4. §. 39.
[g] Procop. Bell. Pers. lib. i. c. 9.

ne, or, with the *Arabic* ar- *el*, *El-etzbaha*; it being y common for the *Abissinian* perors to have two or more es. Both the *Romans* and *ssinians* have ranked him a- g the saints, on account of two great victories which he ed over a *Jewish* prince, ed *Dunavas*, then king of *Homerites*, and a great per- r of the Christians.

Elesbaan was prevailed upon the *Alexandrian* patriarch to dertake that war against him; which he proved so success- l, that he slew him in the se- nd battle, and seized upon his hole kingdom, which put an d to that of the *Homerites*, or *Sabeans*, as well as to their horrid persecutions of the Christians: in one of which, 340, with the martyr *Aretas* at their head, were burnt alive all together in one day in the city of *Nagran*, or *Najran*. This new kingdom was afterwards divided, and one part of it was given to the son of the martyr *Aretas*, together with the city of *Nagran*, which became the place of his residence. The other was made tributary to *Elesbaan*, and continued so 72 years, that is, till about *anno* 578, when *Said Ebn Jazan*, having made an alliance with the *Persians*, shook off the yoke, as we have shewn in our Antient History (3).

(3) *Iid. ibid. See also Ant. Hist. vol.* xviii. *p.* 328, *et seq.*

who dethrones the Solomonic *race.*

throne; so that not one of the unhappy family escaped, except one, who fled for shelter into the kingdom of *Shew*. *Xaoa*, where his posterity was preserved with the utmo[st] vacy by the *Xaoan* viceroys, who were all faithfully a[t]tached to the line of *Solomon*, during the 340 years of the usurpation. The *Abissinians*, however, who, as we [have] a little higher, never acknowleged that new race [of] princes, but only as so many usurpers, have oblit[erated] names; so that we should perhaps have never he[ard] had not two or three of them taken care to e[ternize] selves by some glorious deeds, particularly the [great] formerly mentioned, who left many indelible mon[uments] his piety and magnificence, by the ten noble churche[s] he caused to be hewn out of the solid rock [h], an[d] famous actions, for which, in spite of all their aversion [to] family, they have not scrupled to number him amo[ng] saints. This is, indeed, by far the most illustrious of but yet we have the names of two or three more, who bear a very great character among them, *viz. Degna Mic[hael]* *Newaja Christos*, and *Naacu Luabo*; the last of whom extol as a peaceable, magnanimous, and beneficent prince, highly beloved of God [i]. Who, how many, and what of princes they were, that filled the throne during the re[st] these 340 years, we are not told; nor by what means crown returned to the descendants of *Solomon*; but only about the year 1300, the *Zagean* family being driven f[rom] the throne, *Icon Amlac*, or, as others call him, *Igunu Am[lac]* whose predecessors had been preserved in the kingdom *Xaoa* during the whole time of the usurpation, recove[red] the *Abissinian* throne: from which period it hath continued the *Solomonic* line to this time. *Icon*, or *Aikun Amlac*, wh[o] they reckon the 66th monarch from *Menilehech*, reigned years; and from him to the emperor *Zaara Jaacob*, w[ho] reigned about the year 1437, they reckon fifteen more; wh[ose] names, as they are still found either in their liturgies, or so[me] other of their writings, are as follow, according to the or[der] they stand in the imperial list [k].

Four of the usurpers good princes.

The Solomonic *race restored.*

Icon Amac, *and his successors.*

66. *IG HU NU*, or *Icon Amlac*. 67. *Jagbea Tzejon*, *Agbascon*. 68. *Baharsarda*, or *Bahar Azgued*. 69. *Ebra[him]* 70. *Cadem Saghed*. 71. *Zenzagued*. 72. *Udimrad*. 73. *[Ka]zion*. 74. *Scifaarad*. 75. *Udmaasfan*. 76. *David* [77. *Tz]don* 78. *Isadc*. 79. *Andrea*. 80. *Hesbinaan*.

[h] De his, vide sup. p. 104, & seq. [i] Ludc §. 13. [k] Alf. Mendez, Tellez, Alvare. & al. supra citat.

le ſucceſſor was the *Zar-a Jaacob* above-mentioned, whom reckoned their 82d emperor.

R-A JAACOB began his reign, as has been obſerved, Zar-a
437, in which the *Florentine* council ſat, to which, Jaacob.
rince of learning and great penetration, he ſent his
rs with a letter to Pope *Eugenius* IV. as we ſhall
equel. He was ſucceeded by,

DA MARIAM, about *an.* 1465, who died after Bœda
ign, and left the government to his widow, the Mariam.
a.. His ſucceſſor was,

ANDER, or *Eſcander*, who reigned fif- Alexan-
and ſix months; that is, from 1475 to 1491. der.
Reign, *Peter Covillan* came into the empire of
being the firſt *Portugueſe* that ever penetrated ſo
into . He was ſucceeded by his ſon,

MDA IZGON, or *Amdſcon*, who died ſix months Amda-
r without male iſſue, and left the crown to his uncle, Izgon.

NAOD, the ſon of *Bœda Mariam*, who was called to Naod.
crown from his confinement on the rock *Geſhem*[1], to
ich *Alexander* had confined him. He reigned thirteen
rs and nine months, and died about *an.* 1507. To him
ceeded,

ETANA-DENGHEL, or *Lebna-Denghel*; more Onag-
monly known by the names of *Onag-Segued* and *Da-* Segued.
; which laſt he took upon his aceſſion to the crown.
reigned from *an.* 1507 to *an.* 1540: and it was to this *The* Por-
nce that the king of *Portugal* ſent that ambaſſy, of which tugueſe
ncifco Alvarez was appointed chaplain, and of which he *ambaſſy.*
e the public ſo curious a relation.

His ſon, and ſucceſſor, was *Claudius Segued*, or Claudius.
naf-Segued; who had but a very unfortunate reign; be-
harraſſed on all ſides with grievous wars againſt the
las and *Mohammedans*, who would quickly have ſwal-
ed up his whole empire, had not Providence ſent to his
ance the brave Don *Chriſtopher de Gama*, of whoſe ſucceſs
ſhall ſpeak more fully in the ſequel. *Segued*, however,
t his life in a fight againſt the *Gallas*, in *March*, *an.* 1559,
r a tedious reign of a little above eighteen years; and leav-
no male iſſue behind, was ſucceeded by his brother's ſon.

MENAS, ſurnamed at his coronation *Adama Se-* Adama-
reigned little more than four years before Segued.
by his own ſoldiers, in a fight againſt *Iſaac*,
ed *Bahr-nagaſh's*, or governors of the ma-
in *April*, 1562. He was ſucceeded by his ſon,

[1] c, vid. ſup. p. 113.

Malak-Segued. 90. *MALAK SEGUED*, who reigned some mo[nths] above thirty-three years; and having no sons by his q[ueen] had brought up a natural one of his, named *Jaacob*, who[m] he designed for his successor; but repenting of it a little b[e]fore his death, left the crown to a son of his brother *Loca[m]axas*, named,

Zedenghel, 91. *ZEDENGHEL*, *an.* 1595, which proved the fa[tal] cause of a most bloody civil war; many of the grandees tak[ing] *Jaacob*'s part against him, on account of his too great propensity to the *Roman* church; though in other respects a brave and noble prince [m]. *Peter*, the then Abuna, was the leader of that rebellion; and having absolved the *Abissinians* from their oath of allegiance, they took arms against him, whilst he, with the few forces he had left, and a small number of *Portuguese*, venturing to give them battle, was defeated and killed, *October* 15, 1604, after a short and troublesome reign of nine years. Upon his death, his competitor was again invited to the throne; but had not enjoyed it long, before he saw himself strenuously opposed by the great-grandson of *Etana Denghel*, al. *Onag Segued*, whose name was *Susneus*, or *Sacinias*, a young prince, no less artful than brave. The contest lasted somewhat above two years, but was at length decided by an obstinate fight, *March* 10, 1607; in which, *Jaacob*, and the Abuna *Peter*, were killed on the spot.

conspired against, and *killed*.

Susneus introduces the Pope's power. *SUSNEUS*, the 92d monarch, having gained the day and regained the crown, made no scruple of betraying the same inclination for the church of *Rome*, though it had cost his predecessor so dear; and gave such encouragement to the popish missionaries, that great numbers flocked thither during his reign, who would, in all likelihood, have established the Pope's authority in that empire, had not a stop been put to their progress by the unexpected death of that monarch, who died in *November*, *an.* 1632; and by the accession of his son *Faciladas*, or *Basilides*, to the crown, who proved as great an enemy, as his father had been a friend and patron, to them.

The missionaries expelled by Faciladas.

THUS far we have brought down the list of the ninety-two *Abissinian* monarchs, in the best chronological order we could, from the few records which the *Portuguese* writers have been able to procure, down to the time in which they wrote. But our readers will not be dissatisfied, if, to them, we add the names and reigns of those few more, which are

[m] Id. ibid. vid. & LOBO, relat. pass. LE GRAND, dissert. v. p. 250. ix. p. 297, &c. seq.

come

to our knowlege by other hands, since the total exclusion of the missionaries and Roman-catholics out of the land, as they have been since transmitted into *Europe*, and have been collected by a late *French* author, and printed at *Paris*, *an.* 1728 [a]. They are these that follow.

3. *BASILIDES* took the name of *Adyam Segued*, and was the prince who issued out that decree against the Roman-catholics; for which he is represented as a favourer of *Mahommedism*, though an enemy to them. Several letters passed between him and the patriarch *Alphonso Mendez*, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel. He died in the year 1664, aged sixty-five, and was succeeded by his fourth son,

4. *JOHN*, who, on his accession, took the name of *John Segued*, and died, *an.* 1680. John.

5. His son *Jawso*, or *Adyan Segued*, al. *Ayasous*, succeeded him; and is the prince to whom the physician *Poncet* was sent, by Mr. *Maillet*, the *French* consul at *Alexandria*. Jawso.

He was afterwards dethroned by his son,

6. *TAKLIMENOTH*, al. *Tekla Haymanoth*, *an.* 1706; *Taklimanoth* was, for his perfidy, massacred by his own people, *an.* 1709: and, Taklimanoth.

7. His brother *Tesilis* sat upon the throne. His reign was much of the same short duration as that of his predecessor; his prime minister, named *Oustas*, the son of a sister of *Adyam Segued*, having dethroned him in the third year of his reign, and seized upon the crown: the *Abissinians*, however, did not suffer him to usurp the imperial dignity longer, than till they could raise prince *David*, another son of that monarch above-mentioned, to the throne; which was not done without a dreadful slaughter and massacre of both parties, as we are informed by some letters from *Gondar*, dated *June*, 1718; from which it is concluded, that he was acknowleged emperor about the beginning of the year 1714 [b]. Tesilis. *Destroys the usurper.*

From this maimed and imperfect scantling we have given of the *Abissinian* chronology and history, which is all that our missionary fathers have been able to collect from their records and traditionary records, our readers will easily perceive what a barren field we are got into, and how little is to be found or said upon that subject, till we come to the time of the *Portuguese* arrival in that empire. One might indeed have expected, that after the effectual abolition of *The Abissinian records maimed and imperfect.*

[a] See Le Grand, dissertat. v. p. 247, & seq. [b] See Le Grand, dissertat. v. p. 251, & 473.

since the restauration of the Solomonic *line;*

the *Zagean* usurpation, lately mentioned, and the happy restauration of the *Solomonic* race to the crown, *an.* 1300. under *Icon*, or *Iqhun Amlak*, they would have been more careful to preserve a faithful account of all the ensuing reigns, and of all the material occurrences that happened under each of them from that time downwards, at least to the coming of the *Portuguese*; especially as that epocha appears in general to have been very remarkable, for the many wars which those princes had with the *Agaus*, *Gallas*, *Turks*, and other nations; the dismembering of so many large and noble provinces from the empire, and the dreadful devastations that were made in others, till it was reduced within the narrow bounds, and to that desolate condition in which those new comers found it at their arrival, and was the occasion of their being so well received there.

But whether the confusion or calamities that raged during those invasions and destructive wars, occasioned this neglect of transmitting some account of them to posterity, or whatever may have proved the cause of it, we can only say, that the memory of the far greater part of them, hath been hardly preserved among the inhabitants, by any other records, than by those devastations and dire monuments, which those savage enemies have left behind them, or in the many kingdoms and vast territories, they have continued in the possession of ever since: for it is hardly to be supposed, if any of those transactions had been committed to writing, or regularly kept in the imperial archives, the jesuits, and other missionaries, whilst in such high favour with those monarchs, would not have obtained a sight of them, and transmitted an account to their fraternity, both at *Rome* and in *Portugal*. Had any such records been preserved in any part of the empire, and afterwards carried off, or been destroyed by any of those barbarian invaders, or perished by fire, or any other accident, the remembrance of such a remarkable disaster could never have so far perished with them, within so short a space of time as a century or two at most, as that there should be no traces, no memorial left of them, when the *Portuguese* made their first appearance in it. So that upon the whole, we cannot account for that obscurity which reigns through the history of those latter ages, to any thing but the same neglect and natural indolence of the *Abissinians*, which had suffered the most signal occurrences of the more remote ones, such as, more particularly, that of their first conversion to Christianity, and the history of their church from that time downwards, to be buried in such impenetrable darkness, above any other Christian nation. It is therefore high time

owing chiefly to the indolence of the people.

now

ow to come to that remarkable period, which reaches from he firſt arrival of the *Portugueſe* into thoſe dominions, down o their final expulſion out of them. This epoch, which fraught with the moſt important tranſactions, and tranſitted by ſo many able pens, will, in ſome meaſure, make ends for the barrenneſs and obſcurity of the former; eſpeally if they be read with that caution, which we have vented to hint, more than once, through the courſe of this apter, with reſpect to that partiality with which they muſt reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been penned, in a caſe, herein the credit and intereſt of the *Roman* church is ſo eply concerned, and the writers are ſuch profeſſed, ſtanch, d indefatigable promoters of it [p].

How this empire was at firſt diſcovered by *Peter Covillan* and *Michael Payva*, in their wild ſearch after the famed and ſought-for one of *Preſter John*, we have already ſeen [q]. 1490.

e next attempt in queſt of it was about ſeven years after, en *Vaſco de Gama* firſt ventured to ſail round the cape d coaſts of *Africa*, and thence to the *Eaſt-Indies* [r]. Seven rs after, *Alphonſo d'Albuquerc*, following the ſame track, s the firſt *European* that ſailed through the ſtreights of *bel-mandel*, and ſpread the *Portugueſe* name among the *iopians*, by confirming all that *Covillan*, who was ſtill re, and had been detained there ever ſince his firſt ival, had told them concerning their naval power, w diſcoveries and ſettlements in *Afric*, *India*, *&c.* This oved ſo much the more favourable a juncture for them, as e empire of *Abiſſinia* was at that time reduced to the loweſt b, both by foreign wars and inteſtine broils, and go- rned by king *David*, a minor monarch, under the empreſs *lena* his grandmother; who, though in all reſpects a per- n of a moſt excellent character, yet was now altogether capable of holding the reins of government, under ſo many, d almoſt unſurmountable, difficulties, without ſome pow- ful aſſiſtance from abroad: ſo that ſhe no ſooner heard of e proweſs, valour, and ſucceſs of the *Portugueſe*, than ſhe olved to apply to their king Don *Emanuel* for ſuccour, and enter into a treaty, ſtrict alliance, and friendſhip, with that ince: and that ſhe might ſucceed the better in it, ſhe made oice of an *Armenian* merchant, named *Matthew*, a perſon every way qualified for ſuch a commiſſion, to be ſent on an mbaſſy to the court of *Portugal*. To oblige that prince 1497. Alphonſo d'Albuquerc *ſails into the* Red Sea. 1505. *The empire reduced to a low ebb.* *The empreſs* Helena's *ambaſſy to* Portugal.

[p] See before, p. 9, & ſeq. [q] See before, p. 30, & ſeq.
[r] See before, vol. i. paſſ.

the more to her intereſt, ſhe preſented him with a piece of the holy croſs, as a token of her Chriſtian profeſſion; which was ſoon after depoſited in a gold box, which *Alphonſo d'Albuquerc* cauſed to be made for that purpoſe. *Matthew* was likewiſe received by him with particular honour, and diſpatched to *Liſbon*, where he likewiſe met with a moſt gracious reception from Don *Emanuel* and his whole court, who began to look on this embaſſy, and deſired alliance, as an earneſt of ſome ſingular advantage that would accrue both to him and the church of *Rome* from it; and was accordingly accepted with the utmoſt readineſs.

Well received by king Emanuel.

But before we enter into a farther detail of this tranſaction, which laid the foundation of that friendſhip and alliance between the *Portugueſe* and *Abiſſinian* courts, and proved the cauſe of ſo many ſtrange accidents and revolutions in the latter, it will not be amiſs to reſume the thread of it a little higher, in order to give ſome farther light into this part of their hiſtory. We have already hinted, that *Covillan* had been detained by the emperor *Alexander* ever ſince his arrival thither, according to the uſual policy of thoſe princes, not to ſuffer a ſtranger to ſtir again out of their dominions; but though detained a priſoner, yet he was not uſed in other reſpects like one: that prince, who is ſaid to have been a ſecond *Alexander* in generoſity, having conceived a great value for him, as a perſon of valour and experience, and one who might be very ſerviceable to him both by his council and his courage. *Nahod*, his ſucceſſor, treated him in the ſame manner all the thirteen years of his reign, and willingly heard him ſpeak of the bravery, ſtrength, and extenſive commerce of his nation, and gladly conſulted him on all occaſions. This prince dying, left the government and tuition of his ſon, *Lebna Denghel*, ſince called *David*, then an infant, to his mother, the empreſs *Magueza*, and to the empreſs *Helena* his grandmother, who was the widow of *Bœda Mariam*, and a princeſs juſtly eſteemed by all for her extraordinary wiſdom and piety; and who, in all likelihood, was adviſed by her *Portugueſe* priſoner, to take the ſtep ſhe did, of inviting the king of *Portugal* to her aſſiſtance.

Covillan kept in Abiſſinia; *and much valued by the emperor.*

Helena's works of charity.

She was moreover immenſely rich, and enjoyed vaſt fertile territories in the kingdom of *Gojam*; and having neither ſon nor daughter, beſtowed the greateſt part of her income in works of charity, and particularly in building ſtately churches, and endowing them with a munificence truly

tudy royal (Q) *: and as these were built quite in a different manner from those of Abissinia*, it is not unlikely that the

* Almeyda, Tellez, Lobo, &c.

(Q) Our readers will not perhaps be displeased, if we give them a sketch of one of those noble structures, which that pious empress caused to be erected in the middle of the kingdom of *Gojam*, where the greatest part of her lands lay, and where she kept her usual residence. It was built on a beautiful eminence, in the territory of *Nebassa*, which is watered by the river *Nile*; and to have it completed in the most sumptuous manner, she sent for a considerable number of the best architects and workmen out of *Egypt*, at a vast expence. At the foot of the hill on which it stands, was built a large square inclosure of stone and clay, each of the sides 200 paces long, and the wall full 30 yards thick, and about 40 in height; the whole so strongly cemented together, that it could not be broke asunder without the greatest difficulty and labour (1).

In the centre of that precinct stands the church, all of square stones; the structure not like a round, as other churches in *Abissinia* are, but of a square figure, as well as the choir, or chancel, within. The walls are 104 feet in length, and the chapel about 60: the stones polished very smooth, with roses, pinks, lilies, and other flowers, curiously carved upon them, in such variety, and with such beautiful delicacy, as could hardly be outdone by the pencil, or on wax, or any fine metal. Those flowers, we are farther told, were covered with gold and silver; the workmanship of which vastly exceeded the value of the metal (2).

The arc, or little altar (3), chalices, plates, and other sacred utensils, were no less rich and magnificent; and our author tells us, that he saw two of these altars in the time of Soltan *Segued*, all of solid gold; one of which weighed 800, and the other 500, ouquas, or ounces (4).

This fine edifice had, however, two considerable faults, in common with all those of the empire; the one, that they are much too dark; which, according to the notion of the *Abissinians*, adds something of solemn grandeur to them; especially, as all the divine service is performed in them by candle-light, whether by day or night. The other is, that they are all thatched with straw; which, considering the number of candles that are burning in them, exposes them to be frequently set on fire.

This noble structure had hardly stood twenty years, before its rich utensils inticed one *Granhe*, a *Mohammedan* general, to come and plunder it of all its wealth, and set fire to the rest, which was all (except the stones still standing) reduced to ashes.

(1) *Almeyda, ap. Tellez, l. i. c. iii, vid. sup. p. 135.* (2) *Id. ibid.* (3) *De* (4) *Almeyd. ub. sup. Ludolph, Lobo, &c.*

same *Portuguese* gentleman was the chief architect and conductor of those noble structures, which being so much nearer to those of *Portugal*, might serve to give that princess a still greater idea of his nation. However that be, whilst she was thus employing her time and her wealth in such magnificent works, she saw the empire attacked by the *Mohammedans* without, and her government sadly disturbed by parties and factions within: so that, not knowing which way to turn herself, we need not wonder at her being so easily prevailed upon, by the politic *Cozillan*, to send to *Portugal* for succour; a thing quite opposite to the common practice of all her predecessors; which, in the end, plainly shewed the remedy to have been worse than the disease. But to return to her ambassador;

The empire attacked within and without.

Matthew *sent ambassador to* Portugal.

He not only met with the utmost compliance from the *Portuguese* king; but as such an alliance appeared to be of the utmost consequence both to him and the church of *Rome*. He made no delay to send the empress a solemn ambassy in return to hers, and nominated to it the famous *Edward Galvan*, a man of excellent capacity and great experience; who, after having served his two predecessors in the quality of secretary of state, had been afterwards sent ambassador into *Germany*, *France*, and *Rome*, and was every way qualified for such an important commission, had not his extreme old-age made him unfit for so long and dangerous a journey. He set out, however, with a suitable retinue, and a numerous fleet, commanded by *Lopez Alvarez*, and laden with magnificent presents for the young *Abissinian* emperor and his excellent protectress and grandmother, the empress *Helena*. *Francis Alvarez*, probably a near relation of the commander, a clergyman, justly reflected upon by *Almeyda*, *Tellez*, and by Mr. *Ludolph*, for his too great credulity, and his indiscrete relating of many monstrous absurdities, upon mere hearsay, but in other respects, a man of candor and piety, was appointed chaplain to this grand ambassy, which met with a quick and easy voyage into the *Red Sea*; but was soon after disconcerted by the unexpected death of the ambassador *Galvan*, at the island of *Cumaran*, in the 71st year of his age; by which unforeseen accident, a stop of near four years was put to the designs of the *Portuguese* monarch, and the great expectations of the empress *Helena*[t].

Galvan *sent ambassador by king* Emanuel.

Alvarez *sent chaplain to the ambassy.*

Galvan *dies at* Cumaran.

The matter, however, was thought of too great importance to be set aside; and the arrival of Don *Lopez de Seguira* (who was then entering into his government of *India*) at

[t] Alvarez, & al. sup. cit.

the

the iſland of *Mazwa*, then belonging to the *Abiſſinian* emperors, tho' ſince taken by the *Turks*, offered him a freſh encouragement to renew it. He was then bringing back the *Armenian* merchant from *Liſbon*, and was to land him at that iſland; where, obſerving with what joy and eagerneſs he was received by the *Bahrnagaſh*, or governor, by the monks of *Bizan*, and other Chriſtians of the country, he reſolved, without further delay, to appoint another perſon to go on that ambaſſy, with the ſaid *Matthew*, to the *Abiſſinian* court. Unfortunately, the perſon he pitched upon for that commiſſion, was *Rodriguez de Lima*, a perſon of a quite oppoſite character to his predeceſſor *Galvan*, a paſſionate humourſome young gentleman, and quite unfit for ſuch an office. Father *Alvarez* was ordered to accompany him as his chaplain, and a numerous retinue was ordered to attend them: their journey proved very long and troubleſome, through the heat of the climate, and the badneſs of the roads; notwithſtanding which, they all arrived ſafe at the *Abiſſinian* court on the 20th of *April*, where they met with an affectionate and pompous reception. As for *Matthew* the *Armenian*, he fell ſick at their firſt ſetting out, and died in a village belonging to the monks of *Bizan*, and was buried in the church of that monaſtery [u].

Rodriguez de Lima ſent in his ſtead.

1520.

His arrival at court.

Matthew dies in the way.

THE emperor *David*, now Sultan *Segued*, received the ambaſſador with great marks of joy and eſteem, and admitted them as ſoon as poſſible, though with great ceremony and formality at the firſt audience, they being obliged to make frequent long halts at every ſtage, as they drew nearer to the imperial pavilion, according to the ſtately grandeur of that court. He cauſed them to be entertained with all poſſible magnificence during their tedious ſtay, which was ſix whole years; for ſo long did he detain them before they could obtain their diſmiſſion; though *Rodriguez*, naturally hot and impatient at the affected delays of that monarch, preſſed him to it with the utmoſt importunity, and much more ſo, after he received the news of the death of the king *Emanuel*, and of the acceſſion of *John* III. to the throne. One thing indeed that contributed much to the retarding of their return, we are told, was the want of ſhipping to convey the ambaſſador away; for if any veſſels chanced to come from *India*, it was at a time when they were at a great diſtance from the ſea *. At length, with great difficulty, they obtained their audience of leave, and ſet out for the *Red Sea*, charged with a letter to the new king of *Portugal*; to whom

Their reception,

and long ſtay:

partly for want of ſhipping.

Their departure

[u] Id. ibid. * TELLEZ, l. ii. c. 5.

he

and presents.

1526.

An ambassador sent with them.

he likewise sent his crown of gold and silver [w] as a present. The letter may be seen at large in the history which *Alvarez* hath given of this embassy [x] and empire. He likewise made choice of a learned monk, named *Zagaza Ab*, to go ambassador to the king of *Portugal*, whom he charged with a letter to Pope *Clement* VII. and earnestly entreated *Francis Alvarez* to accompany him on his embassy to *Rome*, which he readily promised to do (R). At the same time, *Rodrigues* was desired to leave *John Bermudez*, his physician, behind with him, and a painter of his retinue, to which he consented; and this *Bermudez* is the very person who was made, soon after, *Latin* patriarch of *Abissinia*, and wrote a short history of that empire, of which we have given an account in a former section [y], and out of which we shall extract most

[w] See before. p. 7. [x] Ch. 136. [y] See before, p. 110.

(R) These letters, which are full of fulsome flattery, both to the Pope and king of *Portugal*, and acknowlege the former to be the true and only vicar of Christ, and the head of his church on earth, in the plainest and strongest terms, were afterwards translated into *Latin* by *Paul Jovius*, and procured *Alvarez*, who was appointed to carry them to *Rome*, a most gracious reception from that pontif and his court (5), whilst his colleague *Zagaza Ab* was detained at *Lisbon* for some politic reasons, as we shall see in the next note.

The misfortune was, that both these letters, and the purport of this embassy, were afterwards absolutely disowned by his successor in the next reign, disclaimed and condemned as so many contrivances and forgeries, set on foot by the *Portuguese* missionaries, in order to introduce the Pope's authority into that empire, and to promote some other political views of that pontif, and of the king of *Portugal*. The truth is, there is nothing in the contents, diction, style, manner, &c. of them, that can incline an unbiassed reader to believe them the genuine and real scripture of that monarch. Nor, on the other hand, can any one well conceive, if they were forged, and the embassy been only a contrivance of those politic fathers, how the one could be incited, and the other carried on, in a manner so contrary to their usual conduct and foresight, and which so plainly carries with it the marks of an artful, yet ill-concerted design. The reader may see both letters at length in Mr. *La Grand*'s relation, often quoted in this chapter (6), together with some other anecdotes relating to this, and some other transactions of the like kind, from which he may perhaps form a more satisfactory judgment of them.

(5) *Tellez. lib.* ii. *De Conto's decad.* 4. *l.* i. *c.* 10. *Joh. de Barros, decad* 4. *c.* 4. *Alvarez, Lobo, &c. ab.*

(6) *Pag.* 451, *& seq. & alib. pass.*

of

of the transactions which happened during his stay in that country.

In the mean time, *Rodriguez* and his retinue arrived safe at *Goa*, and sailed from thence in the month of *January*, 1527. and the year following for *Lisbon*; where, upon their arrival, on the 25th of *July* following, they were prevented from landing, on account of the plague raging very furiously; so that they were forced to sail up higher as far as *Sanbarin*, a sea-port, about twelve leagues north of that capital; whence they were conducted by the marquis of *Villareal* to *Coimbra*, where the court then was, and where the *Abissinian* ambassadors were presented to the king, and met with a most courteous reception. The result of this notable embassy being in some measure foreign from our history of the empire, and yet interesting enough to excite a reader's curiosity, we shall subjoin in a marginal note (S), and return now to our account

Arrival at Lisbon.

(S) The sequel of this embassy, so far as it relates to our present subject, was this:

Fr. Alvarez, who was burning with a holy zeal to go and throw himself at his holiness's feet, and to kiss his slipper, in the name of his *Abissinian* majesty, could hardly brook the delay which he met with at the court of *Portugal*. On the one hand, it was thought fit that his collegue, *Zagaza-Ab*, should tarry some time there, to be carefully examined about the faith and practice of the *Abissinian* church, and to that end was turned over to the famed historian *John de Barros*, and *Amian de Goez*, to be carefully sifted in every point, whose answers they immediately committed to writing.

On the other, the king of *Portugal*, who designed to send likewise an embassy of his own to *Rome*, hesitated a good while before he could fix upon a proper person; but at length nominated his own nephew Don *Martin* to it, and ordered him a suitable equipage and retinue. But *Zagaza Ab*, not having given his two inquisitors the satisfaction they expected from him, but having been frequently caught prevaricating with them, was not deemed fit to be sent with them, but was still detained in *Lisbon*, where he wrote a treatise of the *Abissinian* faith; which was afterwards translated into *Latin* by *Amian de Goez*, and published in the *Spania Illustrata*, among the affairs that related to *Portugal*; but which hath gained but little credit among the learned, as may be seen by the account which the judicious *Codignus* hath given, both of it and its author (7).

Whilst he was thus employed at *Lisbon*, his collegue *Alvarez*, and Don *Martin*, set out thence for their embassy, and arrived at *Bolonia* in the month of *January* 1533, where *Charles*

(7) *Codign. de Reb. Abissin. p. 2, et seq. 214, et alib.*

V.

count of the *Abiſſinian* affairs, after the departure of the *Portugueſe* ambaſſador.

avid *gains ſome victories over the* Moors.

THE emperor *David*, ſoon after his taking upon him the reins of goverment, having gained ſeveral ſucceſsful battles againſt, and recovered ſome large territories from, his *Mooriſh* neighbours, did not a little alarm their fears, by his detaining the *Portugueſe* ambaſſador ſo long in his dominions. They had their ſpies at his court, who ſoon appriſed them that he had made a league offenſive and defenſive with the king of *Portugal*, who had engaged to aſſiſt him to drive all the *Mohammedans* out of their new conqueſts. The king of *Adel*, amongſt the reſt, whoſe territories were contiguous to *Abiſſinia*, and who was himſelf a *Mohammedan*, and a profeſſed enemy to all Chriſtians, was one of the firſt who took up arms againſt him, and ſent a ſmall body of troops into his frontiers, commanded by the valiant *Moor Achmed*, ſirnamed *Granhe*, or left-handed, whom *David* had lately ſtripped of ſome conſiderable lands: in revenge of which, he marched his troops with ſuch ſwiftneſs and fury into his dominions, that he quickly over-ran the kingdom of *Fategar*, deſtroyed churches, towns, villages, and all that came in his way, and made vaſt numbers of priſoners, before any thing could be attempted to oppoſe him; inſomuch that, encouraged by his vaſt ſucceſſes, he began to form a deſign of making himſelf maſter of the whole *Abiſſinian* empire [z]. The emperor, alarmed at theſe deváſtations, made all the ſpeed he could

The king of Adel *ſends* Granhe *againſt him.*

His ſucceſs and ravages.

[z] BERMUDEZ, ch. 1. TELLEZ, ub. ſup. l. ii. c. . LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 16. LOBO, LE GRAND, & al.

V. was to be crowned emperor by the *Roman* pontif, in the view of a vaſt concourſe of people, of all ranks, who flocked thither from all parts, to ſee that grand ſolemnity. And here it was that *Alvarez* appeared in the character of his *Abiſſinian* majeſty's ambaſſador, paid homage to, and harangued his holineſs on the occaſion, and delivered into his hands the emperor's letter, whether genuine or counterfeit, and was received with all the joy and affection imaginable by that pontif (8); whilſt his *Abiſſinian* collegue, the learned *Zagaza-Ab*, was ſhamefully detained and diſcredited in *Portugal*, till the year 1539, for no other reaſon, perhaps, than becauſe he would not concur with the accounts which the jeſuits had given of the *Abiſſinian* faith, nor father all the errors which they had laid to his church's charge. How he was rewarded for it, we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(8) *Alvarez, Hiſt. Ethiop. Tellez, l.* ii. *Ludolph, l.* ii. *c.* 16. *n.* 11, & *ſeq.*

to

to ſtop his progreſs; and coming againſt him with a body of 3000 horſe, and a numerous body of foot, eaſily overthrew his ſmall army, as it conſiſted only of 300 horſe, and an inferior number of foot, and carried off many of the latter priſoners. Two years after this, he came again at the head of a more numerous army, and gave him a ſecond defeat; but all this did not hinder him from going on with his conqueſts and ravages, inſomuch, that from this time, to that of that monarch's death, which happened twelve years after, he ceaſed not making new conqueſts and devaſtations, plundering and burning where-ever he came, till he had reduced the greater part of the empire to the utmoſt extremity. What increaſed the general diſaſter ſtill more, was, that many of the nobles and grandees went over to the *Mooriſh* general, and ſided with him; the greateſt part of whom, as well as of the *Abiſſinians*, whom he had taken priſoners, made no ſcruple to turn *Mohammedans*; which we need the leſs wonder at, if what we formerly obſerved out of *Alvarez* be true, that they believe that rebaptization will waſh away all the ſtain and guilt of their apoſtacy, as ſoon as they think proper to apply to it, and return to their church and faith [a].

The emperor reduced to great ſtreights.

THIS was the diſmal ſtate to which the empire was reduced, by the irreſiſtible forces of the *Adelian* king, under his ſucceſsful *Mooriſh* general, who, like an impetuous torrent, carried all before him, when the unfortunate emperor bethought himſelf of applying afreſh to the *Portugueſe* for aid. The perſon he made choice of to negotiate that important affair, was the *Portugueſe* phyſician, *John Bermudez*, whom Don *Roderiguez de Lima* had left behind with him. In order therefore to procure him and himſelf the greater credit at the courts of *Rome* and *Liſbon*, where he was to appear in the character of his ambaſſador, he cauſed him to be inſtalled Abuna of *Ethiopia*; for as he was known to be a ſtanch catholic, it could not but give an evident proof of that monarch's affection to that church, and intereſt thoſe two courts in his favour, and give a ſucceſs to the negotiation. And it was probably the great diſtreſs which the emperor and his dominions were in, that prevailed upon the old Abuna, who was then alive, to nominate him his ſucceſſor, and conſecrate him in that dignity, rather than any inclination he can be ſuppoſed to have had towards the church of *Rome*.

Bermudez *ſent ambaſſador to* Rome *and* Portugal.

Conſecrated patriarch.

HOWEVER that may be, *Bermudez*, to make the greater diſpatch, croſſed over the *Red Sea* and went through *Paleſtine*, as not only the quickeſt, but likewiſe the ſafeſt, way

[a] See before, p. 187.

to

1538. to get to *Rome*, which he did not however reach till after
Arrival and success at Rome the death of Pope *Clement* VII. to whom his credentials, and the emperor's letter, were directed. But this did not hinder his being received by his successor, *Paul* III. with the honours due to his double character: and we may add, that no ambassy from that empire met with greater and more speedy success than this. The Pope immediately ordered his bulls to be dispatched, by which he created him patriarch, not only of *Abissinia*, but likewise of *Alexandria*; and with these, and a letter of recommendation to the king of *Portugal*, he set
and Lisbon. sail for *Lisbon*, where he met with the same kind reception and dispatch.

By this time so many complaints had been made against his colleague *Zagaza Ab*, at the *Abissinian* court, that he had received orders from the emperor to arrest him and clap him in irons, for his pretended neglect and ill conduct, which was accordingly done by *Bermudez*; but at the request of the king of *Portugal*, his double irons were taken off some days after. He was however continued in his imprisonment, stripped of his ambassadorial dignity, and forced to resign himself up wholly to his custody, in order to be brought back by him into *Abissinia*, and give there an account of his ill success, or, as they were pleased to stile it, his ill conduct, during his long stay at that court. This strange transaction *Bermudez* himself hath not scrupled to give us at full length, in the very beginning of his history; though a judicious and impartial reader, will discover much more of *Romish* policy in it, than either of neglect or guilt in his unhappy prisoner.

However that be, *John* III. glad of such an opportunity of sending so many of his subjects into *Abissinia*, ordered him to be furnished with 450 musketeers from *India*, and charged the viceroy of *Goa* to receive him with the honour due to his character, and to dispatch the forces above-mentioned into *Abissinia*, with all possible speed.

Sails for Goa. *BERMUDEZ* sailed away accordingly on the next year for *Goa*, and met with the wished-for readiness in the governor,
1539. Don *Garcia de Noronha*, to give all possible dispatch to the king's orders; but unfortunately died before he could fully complete them. He was succeeded by Don *Stephan de Gama*,
The emperor's distracted state. who quickly finished what was still wanting, and conveyed the whole succour, together with the patriarch *Bermudez*, into *Abissinia*, with all convenient speed. And great need there was of such dispatch, for during *Bermudez*'s absence,

[b] Bermudez, & al. ub. sup.

the

the emperor's affairs had gone ſtill from bad to worſe; inſomuch, that he had been reduced by the *Mooriſh* general to ſeek for ſhelter among ſome of the inacceſſible mountains; from which he had been again forced to retire, to the top of that of *Damo*; where, with ſome few of his braveſt men, he endeavoured to defend himſelf for ſome time, hardly now able to bear the name, much leſs to ſupport the dignity, of a monarch. But in this invincible fortreſs, he was forced to yield his crown and life to that more infallible conqueror death, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and thirty-third of his reign; the firſt twenty of which had been as happy and proſperous, as the thirteen laſt proved diſtracted and unfortunate [c]. This was the ſad cataſtrophe of the emperor *David*, or, as he is ſtyled in his ſuppoſed letters above-mentioned, Soltan *Segued*, in the flower of his age; but quite exhauſted by cares, and the moſt affecting diſtreſſes; abandoned, and even hated by moſt of his ſubjects; ſurrounded by a victorious and implacable enemy; confined on a barren and inacceſſible rock, with a handful of men; his empire above half conquered, depopulated, and laid waſte, and in the poſſeſſion of *Mohammedans*, the moſt inveterate enemies of Chriſtianity; one of his ſons, named *Menas*, an unhappy priſoner amongſt them; beſides many thouſands of his other ſubjects, who, to lighten the weight of their chains, had ſhamefully apoſtatized from their religion, and undergone the ſcandalous and indelible ſtigma of circumciſion; all which dreadful diſaſters he could not but be deeply ſenſible were chiefly owing to his unhappy and indiſcrete propenſity to, and zeal for, the church of *Rome*, and the Pope's ſupremacy, which had alienated the hearts of his beſt ſubjects from him, and rendered the whole *Abiſſinian* clergy his moſt irreconcileable enemies. No wonder then if ſuch a load of complicated misfortunes cruſhed him thus immaturely into his grave, and before he could receive the comfortable news of the ſuccours that were haſtening to him from *Goa* [d].

Miſerable death,

1540. *and diſtracted condition.*

He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Claudios*, or *Claudius*, then in the eighteenth year of his age, and under the regency of his mother *Cabelo Qanguel* (T). This prince, who took then

Succeeded by his ſon Claudios.

[c] Id. ibid.

[d] Id. ibid.

(T) Soltan *Segued* left four ſons; the eldeſt of whom, named *Victor*, died before him. *Claudius* was next in ſucceſſion, and mounted the throne accordingly. The third was called *Menas*, and had been taken priſoner by *Granhe*, the *Mooriſh* general; but by ſome means, which we are not told, had regained

or Claudius. then the ſirname of *Aſnaf Segued*, was a prince of ſingular wiſdom and excellent qualities, even by the confeſſion of the jeſuit miſſionaries, who were not otherwiſe greatly affected to him, as we ſhall ſoon ſee. His perſon was graceful, tall, and majeſtic; his diſpoſition truly generous; his learning greatly exceeded not only moſt of his predeceſſors, but even that of his whole clergy. He was perfectly acquainted with the antiquities and conſtitutions of the *Abiſſinian* church; and in his diſputations, often nonpluſſed thoſe learned fathers, and with great zeal and warmth repelled the calumnies of that church, particularly with relation to circumciſion, rebaptization, confeſſion, holy communion [e], *&c.* In a word, he was a wiſe and evcellent prince; and every way worthy not only of the empire, but likewiſe of a longer and more proſperous reign than he enjoyed.

His excellent character, and learning.

Takes a different courſe from his father.

UPON his firſt acceſſion to the throne, as he could not but have obſerved how fatal his father's propenſity to the church of *Rome*, and ill-timed regard for the miſſionaries, had been to him, he wiſely reſolved to regain the alienated hearts of his ſubjects, by a quite oppoſite conduct to his; and though he was continually intangled in wars with the king of *Adel*, and other neighbours, and chiefly depended upon the ſuccours which were ſending to him from *Portugal*, without which he might plainly ſee that it was impoſſible for him to ſave his empire from being totally over-run by them; yet did not this deter him from publicly declaring his utter diſlike to the church of *Rome*; diſowning his father's letters to the Pope and king of *Portugal*, his confeſſion of faith, and ſubmiſſion to the Pope; and condemning the whole as a forgery and politic contrivance of the miſſionaries, in order to bring the *Abiſſinian* church and empire under a foreign yoke. And though he did not deprive thoſe fathers, and their converts, from the free exerciſe of their religion, yet he took care ſo to diſcountenance and diſcourage their zeal for making new converts amongſt his ſubjects, that many of the old ones made no ſcruple to return to their mother church [f].

Miſſionaries diſcouraged.

Raiſes an army.

As he was no leſs valiant than prudent, his next care was to levy a ſufficient number of troops to oppoſe thoſe of the

[e] TELLEZ, lib. c. 27. & al. ub. ſup.

[f] TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH,

gained his liberty, and afterwards ſucceeded his brother. After him came the fourth ſon, named *Taſcarus*, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel (9).

(9) *Tellez, lib.* ii. *c.* 27. *Ludolph, l.* ii. *c.* 6. *n.* 17, *& ſeq.*

king

king of *Adel* and other invading *Moors*; and ſignalized the beginning of his reign, by the total overthrow which he gave to the *Moor Amirozman*. He was, however, ſoon after, ſo overpowered by him, that he was forced to flee into the kingdom of *Xaoa*, with only about ſeventy or eighty of his men, and to ſpend the whole winter there in expectation of the *Portugueſe* ſuccours, which came accordingly ſoon after, and juſt time enough to ſave the empire from being wholly ſwallowed up by the *Mohammedans*, by the very next year. Don *Stephen de Gama*, then governor of the *Indies*, having entered the *Red Sea*, at the head of a conſiderable fleet, through the ſtreights of *Babel-mandel*, had, by this time, done ſome great ſervices to the emperor, by the ravages he had committed along the *Arabian* coaſts, and ſufficiently ſcattered thoſe infidels, when he came to anchor at the iſland of *Mazowa*; from which he ſent a reinforcement of four hundred men to the aſſiſtance of the *Abiſſinian* emperor, under the command of his own brother, the brave Don *Chriſtopher de Gama*. Theſe immediately took their route through thoſe ſandy deſerts and uncouth mountains, having at their head the new patriarch *Bermudez*, who had been appointed chief of this expedition, and, out of regard to the governor, *Stephen de Gama*, had given the command of the four hundred forces to his brother *Chriſtopher*. The reader may eaſily judge, from the deſcription we have elſewhere given of this country [g], what difficulties they muſt have met with through ſuch mountainous paſſes and defiles, through which they were forced to march with their unweildy equipage, and ſpecially with their artillery: for as they had no proper carriage for that purpoſe, they found themſelves obliged to get ſome timber to make them there, after the *European* manner; and for want of iron, they made uſe of ſuch old battered muſkets as they had with them. As they proceeded farther into the country, they were met by ſhoals of people, who welcomed them as their deliverers: upon which, *Bermudez* deputed ſome of them to give notice of their coming to the empreſs *Cabelo Oanguel*; who made all the diſpatch ſhe could to come to meet them. This princeſs had been forced, for ſome time, to take refuge, for ſafety, on the top of mount *Damo*; which is of ſuch difficult acceſs, that there is no other way to get up to it, but by being hoiſted up in baſkets; but was now come down to meet them at the town of *Dewaroa*. The *Portugueſe*, on their ſide, went about a league out of it to meet her majeſty in battle-array, with

Various ſucceſs.

1541.

Don Chriſtopher de Gama's arrival.

Difficulty of the roads.

Met by the empreſs.

[g] See before, p. 94, & ſeq.

trumpets sounding, and colours flying, and attended with the artillery. At their head was the patriarch *Bermudez*, whose blessing she first asked; after which, she complimented Don *Christopher*, and the rest of the captains, and was conducted by them to the town above-mentioned [h].

TOWARDS the end of the year they left *Dewaroa*, and marched with that princess to go and join the king her son, who was then in a distant part of the empire, and posted on another mountain as inaccessible as that of *Damo*; and in their way they were met by a messenger, who was sent by *Granhe* the *Moor*, to enquire who they were, and what their business was in those parts? Don *Christopher* answered, they were *Portuguese*; and that they were sent by their king to restore the emperor *Claudius* to his dominions, which the king of *Adel* had unjustly seized upon. After which, he sent the messenger back, with a present of a few trinkets for his master, but with a much more considerable one to him (U). *Granhe* did not fail to resent the affront and answer; and though he was then advantageously posted on an eminence, yet was easily brought down to attack them, as he had with him 1000 horse and 5000 foot, besides fifty *Turkish* musketeers, and the same number of archers. Both sides came soon within reach of each other, whilst the empress, at the sight of the enemy, was in the utmost consternation, though the *Portuguese* had taken care to place her and her women in the centre, and well surrounded with the baggage. The *Moorish* general appeared, mounted on a stately horse, with his standard by his side; but was quickly dismounted, by a shot from a *Portuguese* gentleman, which killed his horse, and wounded him in the thigh; upon which he was carried off by his men. Don *Christopher* was likewise wounded in the leg; notwithstanding which, *Bermudez* ordered the empress's tent to be reared up in token of victory; which so disheartened

Answer to Granhe's *messenger.*

Defeats him.

[h] BERMUDEZ, ub. sup. TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, & al. ibid.

(U) The former of these presents consisted only of a small looking-glass, a silver egg wrought in the *Pegnan* fashion, and a pair of hair-pincers; which was rather designed as an affront than a compliment; whilst those he gave to the messenger, were, two gold bracelets, a rich furniture trimmed with gold, a piece of *Bengawse*, and a *Turkish* cassock and vest; all which the empress had, by the patriarch's advice, furnished him with for that purpose (10).

(10) *Bermud. Hist. c. 2.*

the

the *Moors*, that they immediately retired, with their general, to his old post. Soon after which, came a renegado, and first cousin to the *Bahr-naghsh*, to compliment the *Portuguese* on their happy escape, occasioned by the wound given to *Granhe*; who, but for that, would have cut them all to pieces. And as their little camp was in great want of provision, it being now the time of lent, he promised to bring them a sufficient supply of them in a very few days; which he accordingly did: for being, as he said, governor of that whole territory, which of right belonged to the *Abissinian* emperor, he promised for the future to pay the tribute of it to him, instead of the king of *Adel*, who had forced him to pay it to him.

Receives a fresh supply.

LENT was no sooner over, than Don *Christopher*, who was cured of his wound, received a fresh message from *Granhe*, with a promise that he would soon pay him a second visit; which he accordingly did; but with a more numerous force, both of horse and foot, than before, which threw the empress and her ladies into a fresh consternation. Don *Christopher* was ordering his troops to the best advantage to receive him by the very next morning, when the frighted empress gave *Bermudez* such a dreadful account of the enemy, as quite disheartened him from staying to see the upshot; so that he found no difficulty to perswade him to accompany her in her flight. They were, however, recalled by Don *Christopher*, not without some severe reproaches. Immediately after which, he desired him to bestow his blessing upon him and his little army, together with a general absolution, as the *Portuguese* custom upon such occasions; which the patriarch not only granted, but superadded a plenary indulgence to them, pursuant to the commission he had received from the Pope. On the next morning by break of day both armies engaged; but that of the *Moors* was so terribly annoyed, not only by the *Portuguese* artillery, small arms, hand-grenadoes, and other fire, but chiefly by the quantity of gunpowder with which they had strewed all that ground, and set on fire as fast as they advanced, that the *Turkish* infantry began to retire with all the speed they could, whilst the cavalry, which was posted at some distance, seeing the havock which was made of them, stood motionless, not daring to move one step forward to assist them. The whole *Moorish* army soon betook themselves to a hasty flight, leaving in their camp abundance of provision and rich plunder. Presently after which, great numbers of *Abissinians*, who had

and a fresh challenge from Granhe.

Gives him another defeat.

[1] Id. ibid.

Releases a great number of captives.

gone over to the *Moors*, came back, some on horseback, others on foot, and joined the *Portuguese*, to the great joy of the despondent empress, who ordered them to be re-baptized, probably on account of their apostacy (W).

Granhe applies to the Turks *for succour.*

THE panic desertion of that *Mooriſh* army, obliged *Granhe* to apply to the *Turkiſh* baſhaw, who reſided in that neighbourhood, for freſh aſſiſtance, without which, he told him, it would be impoſſible for him to preſerve that rich province to the Soltan his maſter, in whoſe name he had made himſelf maſter of it, and to whom he ſent, in token of his fidelity, 100,000 ougues, or ounces, of gold, 20,000 of which were to be for the baſhaw. Don *Chriſtopher*, being appriſed of this negotiation, was obliged to ſecure himſelf and his army on the top of a craggy high rock, and to cut a way up to it into the rock, by the aſſiſtance of his *Abiſſinian* troops; which was nevertheleſs ſo ſtreight, that they were forced to carry their cannon upon their ſhoulders. Not thinking himſelf ſecure enough there, he reſolved to remove to a much higher rock, inhabited by *Jews*, but in the poſſeſſion of the *Moors*, and guarded by a captain, and a garriſon of 150 horſe. He ſoon reached the place by the help of his *Abiſſinian* guides, and attacked the captain with ſuch haſte and bravery, that he killed ſixty of his men, took thirty of their horſes, and, by the aſſiſtance of the *Jewiſh* inhabitants, eaſily put the reſt to flight, purſued, and killed ſeveral of the fugitives, and amongſt them the captain; and got a conſiderable plunder, and a good number of their wives; particularly that of the commander, a woman of ſuch beauty, that Don *Chriſtopher* became enamoured of her, and reſerved her for himſelf, and grew ſo jealous of her, that he caſhiered two brave captains, for no other fault, than looking, as he thought, upon her with too amorous an eye [k].

Don Chriſtopher *gains an advantageous poſt.*

[k] Id. ibid.

(W) We have elſewhere ſpoke of this ceremony of re-baptizing apoſtates (11); and it is very likely that theſe had turned *Mohammedans* whilſt they were under their government: for *Granhe* had ſeized this whole province for the Grand Signior, not only on account of its fertility, but much more likely becauſe it belonged to the Abuna, independently of the emperor, and brought him a yearly revenue of 3000 ounces of gold. This rich ſpot, we are told (12), is called the province of *Nazareth*; and had been yielded by a former monarch, named *Thedrus*, to the patriarch, by way of reparation for ſome injury he had done him (12).

(11) *See before*, p. 187.

(12) *Bermud. relat. ub. ſup. ch.* 2.

WHILST

WHILST this passed on the *Jewish* mountain, *Granhe* appeared at the head of 600 *Turks*, which the bashaw had sent him, and made their way up towards that where the empress and the rest of the *Portuguese* were posted; which obliged them to send with the utmost dispatch for Don *Christopher*; and upon his return, proposed to him, to surprize and attack the enemy in the night on both sides, as the surest way to defeat them: but our proud *Portuguese* scornfully rejected the proposal as cowardly and dishonourable, and resolved to fight them in the broad day; to which they were obliged to agree, though much against their will. Accordingly, as soon as it was light, he prepared himself to give them the attack; but one of his horses breaking loose, and running towards the *Mooriſh* camp, a scuffle immediately began between the two armies, which, unhappily, brought on the onset, before they could put themselves in order. The fight was obstinately sustained on both sides; a considerable number of *Moors* and *Turks* were slain; and on the *Portuguese* side, several brave cavaliers; particularly Don *Sebastian* his standard-bearer, who maintained his post till he was quite spent with weariness and wounds, and was slain by the surrounding *Moors*. Don *Christopher* likewise received a grievous wound in his arm, yet continued fighting, till abandoned by most of his men, he was forced to retire, with the few that stood with him, to a neighbouring eminence; upon which the patriarch immediately advised the empress to withdraw with him thither; whilst she, unwilling to leave the rest of her women behind, absolutely refused to go, till he forced her, and the greatest part of the rest, before him.

Proudly rejects to surprize the Moors.

His standard-bearer slain, and he wounded.

AMONG those that staid behind for want of horses, was the empress's nurse, a virtuous and brave woman, with two of her daughters, and some other women of her retinue; and who, to avoid falling into the hands of the merciless *Moors*, set fire to a small barrel of powder, which she found in the tent, and put an end to all their lives and fears [1]. Her example was followed by about fifty or sixty soldiers, who, disabled by their wounds from providing for their safety, had recourse to the same violent remedy, and killed themselves on the spot (X). The empress, who had gained a place

A lady blows herself and family up.

[1] BERMUD. ub. sup.

(X) Father *Tellez*, who hath greatly embellished this whole action in favour of Don *Christopher*, and the rest of his brave

place of safety by her flight, was glad to see the patriarch make towards her with her young daughter behind him, whom she supposed to have been left behind and blown up with her nurse; but was no less anxious about Don *Christopher*, whom she supposed to be either slain or taken prisoner. He appeared at length with his arm in a sling, and full of pain, but less sensible of his wound, than of his rashness and shameful defeat; the loss of so many brave men, and especially of his standard, drove him into a kind of despair, which nothing could assuage. It was with great difficulty that the patriarch prevailed upon him to mount, and accompany him and the empress, with the dismal residue of their forces, to some place of safety. In their flight they were obliged to ford through two deep rivers; and when they came to a third, over which was a draw-bridge, he stiffly refused to go farther, protesting that he would shoot himself if they offered to force him to it. The patriarch was obliged to comply with him, though with great regret; and, at his request, having heard his confession, and given him

Don Christopher *in great despair,*

refuses to follow the empress.

Portuguese, says, that these wounded men, whom he only makes to amount to forty, were barbarously massacred by the *Moors*. He likewise swelled his account with several gallant exploits performed by that general and his brave officers, of which the patriarch *Bermudez* takes no notice at all, tho' he was an eye-witness of all that passed, and was himself a chief actor in every other part but that of fighting.

Father *Lobo* hath still farther illustrated the relation of his victories, last overthrow, and heroic death; with many rhetorical flowers, and new circumstances, which raise him to the highest degree of a hero, with regard to the first; and of a martyr of the first magnitude, with respect to the latter; and all this, on the bare authority of an old *Abissinian*, a pretended eye-witness of the greatest part of them; particularly that of his martyrdom; when on the place where his head fell, there sprang up a miraculous fountain, whose waters cured all, even the most incurable diseases, and retained their virtue a considerable time (13).

We have, therefore, chosen to follow the plain and artless account of the good patriarch *Bermudez*, than whom none could be better acquainted with every transaction; nor from the unaffected simplicity of his relation, can challenge a greater credit and regard, where ever he asserts any thing from his own knowlege; though in other respects, he is justly blamed for his too great credulity, even by those, who with equal justice commend him for his honest simplicity (14).

(13) *Lobo, ap. Le Grand, relat. de l'Abissin. p. 91, & seq. Bertuud. Telles, &c.* (14) *Telles Hist. de Ethiop. l. ii. c. 20.*

ſome balm to dreſs his wounds, took a ſorrowful leave of him, and the few attendants that ſtaid with him: theſe were his valet de chambre, his ſecretary, and three inferior *Portugueſe*. The empreſs, being told of Don *Chriſtopher*'s ſtrange reſolution, could hardly be prevailed upon to go farther, till they heard the noiſe of ſome *Mooriſh* troops at a diſtance; which obliged her to make all the haſte ſhe could over the bridge, and to draw it up as ſoon as the reſt were got over, in order to get out of the reach of the enemy, from whoſe hands they now began to fear it was impoſſible for Don *Chriſtopher* to eſcape.

The patriarch and empreſs get ſafe away.

BERMUDEZ and the empreſs continued their flight through mountains, wild deſarts, and dangerous paſſes, for ſome days, and got at length over a large river, where they began to think themſelves out of all danger, and where the governor of the country ſupplied them with plenty of proviſions, which were the more welcome to them, as they had been forced to feed upon tamarinds, and other fruits, a great part of the way. Here the patriarch reviewed his remaining forces, amounting now ſcarcely to 300; and as he deſpaired of ever ſeeing Don *Chriſtopher* any more, he nominated Don *Alphonſo de Caldeyra*, a prudent and warlike commander, to ſucceed him. Soon after this arrived *John Gonzales* and *Denis Alvarez*, whom they had left with Don *Chriſtopher*, who gave the following account of him to the empreſs:

Don Chriſtopher *taken in a cave.*

THAT a woman, purſued by ſome *Moors*, being entered into the cavern where he lay concealed, they had followed her thither; and, as ſoon as they had ſpied him, aſked who he was; to whom he made himſelf known with ſuch readineſs, that they could ſcarcely believe him, till an eunuch, who knew him perfectly well, aſſured them, that he was indeed Don *Chriſtopher de Gama*; upon which, they gladly conveyed him to *Granhe*, who was no leſs overjoyed to have him in his power; and, after ſeveral previous queſtions, aſſured him, that, if he would turn *Mohammedan*, and abandon the *Abiſſinian* emperor, he would load him with honours and favours. To this he anſwered, with a ſmile, that, being a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, he ſcorned to exchange his religion for that of an impoſtor; which ſo exaſperated him, that he ordered him to be buffeted, and the hair of his beard to be pulled off. Being cooled again, he tried once more to perſuade him, by the largeſt promiſes, to order his *Portugueſe* troops to leave *Abiſſinia*, and retire; which he immediately ſet about: but obſerving the eunuch, lately mentioned, to be ſet at his elbow, in order to watch every ſtroke of his pen, he found

Inſulted by Granhe.

His constancy and policy.

himself obliged to write what *Granhe* dictated to him, instead of what he himself intended to have done. However, to prevent any misapprehension of his true meaning, he took care to cross his name with two strokes, like two thorns, to intimate to his men to be very cautious in what they did. This letter, which was forthwith dispatched to them by two *Moors*, greatly alarmed the empress; who taking it in the sense it was wrote in, could not forbear breaking out into bitter complaints against the writer, in whom she had placed her whole confidence; so that she was not less delighted at his artifice, when the meaning of the cross thorns was explained to her. The new general *Alfonso de Cadeyra* having undertaken to answer the letter in the name of the rest, with the same precaution sent him word, that he might applaud himself in the favour of *Granhe*; but that, as for himself and his men, they neither wanted nor sought it; being all resolved to complete, like true Christians, the work for which the king their master had sent them thither; which was to destroy *Granhe*, and deliver the empire from his tyranny.

Outwits the Moorish *general.*

THIS answer was no sooner delivered into Don *Christopher*'s hands, than he carried it to *Granhe*; who, not suspecting the artifice, made him no reproaches about it, but only asked him how he came to be so soon healed of his wounds: to which he answered, that it was by means of an extraordinary composition which he had about him, which never failed of making a speedy cure. Here *Granhe* desired him to make the same use of it on his captain-general. *Lobo* [m] adds, that he was his uncle, who had been grievously wounded in a late encounter (Y); instead of which, he dressed his

[m] Relation de l'Abissin. ap. LE GRAND, p. 93.

(Y) This was, according to the same author, in defending a strong important pass, which he had intrusted him with, and from which, in spite of his valour and stout opposition, they had forced him by their continual fire. He adds, by way of embellishment, that *Granhe*, tho' his nephew, could not forbear treating him with opprobrious language at his return: to which the old general could only answer, that the *Portuguese* were not men, but devils, who spit fire out of their mouths. Upon which account, he had, it seems, endeavoured since to dissuade his nephew from attacking them afresh; but he, flushed with his former victories, despised his advice; alleging to him, that mountains never flinch. It happened soon after, that the old general caught his nephew flying from the enemy, and asked him, "whether mountains fled? To which he replied, "No; but "neither run they into the fire; "for there is a deal of that in "the place whence I come." Which answer is since become a kind

his wound with ſuch corroſives as killed him in leſs than three days; and, being taxed with it, anſwered, that he came to deſtroy, not to cure, the enemies of Chriſt. This bold anſwer ſo exaſperated the *Moori*ſh general, that he cauſed him to be ſeverely cudgelled, and even threatened him with immediate death: to whom Don *Chriſtopher* calmly anſwered, *You can only kill my body, but my ſoul is Chriſt's, who will receive it into eternal life.* Upon which, he ordered him to be immediately conveyed to the place where the other wounded *Portugueſe* had been maſſacred, and to be there beheaded [n]. *Tellez* and *Lobo* ſay, that *Granhe* fell into ſuch a rage at his anſwer, that he ſtruck off his head with his own hand [o]. However that be, *Bermudez* confirms the legend of the miraculous fountain, and of the great cures it performed; and adds ſeveral other particulars relating to this martyr, which we ſhall not trouble our readers with; except that his head was ſent to the baſhaw of *Kairo*, one of his quarters to the province of *Judah*, another to that of *Adel*, and one of his legs to *Zebid*, the *Turkiſh* baſhaw, who had ſent him the reinforcement we lately mentioned: all which plainly ſhew how much he valued himſelf upon the advantage he had gained over a few *Portugueſe* troops. *Tellez* [p] adds, that the baſhaw *Zebid*, and his *Turks*, ſeverely threatened him for having preſumed to put him to death, inſtead of having ſent him to *Conſtantinople*, as they deſigned to have done; which was the reaſon of his ſending his head to *Kairo*, in order to be thence conveyed to the *Porte*. Four hundred of the 600 *Turks*, whom *Zebid* had ſent him, were ordered back, and only 200 ſtaid with him, to ſecure the tribute he had engaged to pay to the Grand Signor. Theſe laſt particulars were brought to the new *Portugueſe* general, we are told, by one of their men, who had been taken by the *Turks*, but had ſince made his eſcape [q]. As for the remains of Don *Chriſtopher*'s body, they were left, we are told, by the patriarch on the ſpot where he had been executed; whence ſome *Abiſſine* monks afterwards conveyed them to their convent, where they were preſerved with great veneration, and as the relicks of a ſaint

His intrepid behaviour.

Occaſions his death.

His head and limbs ſent away.

Eſteemed a miraculous martyr.

[n] Lobo, & al. ubi ſup. [o] Ubi ſup. [p] Iid. ibid. [q] Ubi ſup.

kind of proverb among the *Abiſſines*, who, when they want to expreſs the difficulty and danger of an enterprize, commonly cry out, *The mountains do not run into the fire; and there is a deal of it in that* (15).

(15) *Lobo, ubi ſup. p.* 91, *& ſeq.*

and

and martyr, on account of the supernatural fragrancy they still retained, and the many miracles that were wrought by them *.

But dies for his rashness.

THIS was the end of the famed Don *Christopher de Gama*; and, in all appearance, the method he chose to wipe off the stain of his presumption, and ill-timed refusal, of attacking a superior enemy in the night; by which he not only lost a fair opportunity of cutting them all in pieces, and, in all likelihood, of putting an effectual stop to all future hostilities from them; the *Moors* being known to be so far from daring to fight in the night, that they dare not even stir out of their tents; but occasioned the loss of a great number of his men, and threw the rest of them, as well as the empress and her retinue, into that dreadful danger and distress in which we saw them. Neither is it likely, that both she, the patriarch, and his own commanders, in the confusion they were then in, could forbear upbraiding him with it in the strongest terms. And this was, questionless, the motive that induced him, against all their united efforts and persuasions to the contrary, to stay behind, and throw himself into the enemy's hands, in order to retrieve his character by a glorious and resolute martyrdom.

The empress reinforced.

BUT it is time now to return to his little flying army, whom we left in a place of plenty and safety, where they were soon after, to their inexpressible joy, joined by a reinforcement of 150 horse and 1000 foot, with *Asmache de Douro*, and *Asmache de Guidini*, at their head. These were, it seems, subjects of the young emperor *Claudius*, and were presently introduced to the empress, to whom they gave the same account of Don *Christopher*'s death, which she had received before; adding, that they had fled from *Granhe*'s camp immediately after his late victory, whilst he, they told her, flushed with his success, was advancing, by large strides, towards the lake *Dembea*, with a full design to attack the young emperor, who was then incamped with his army in the neighbourhood of it. The empress gave them a gracious reception; soon after which, they all marched together towards the frontiers of the *Jewish* mountain, where their chief met them with a fresh supply of provisions and refreshments, and invited the empress to retire into that mountainous territory, where she would be in all imaginable safety; there being but one entrance into it, which could be easily defended against the enemy, if he should attempt to force it. They accepted his offer; and, as soon as they were entered into

They all march to the Jewish *mountains.*

* BERMUD, & al. ubi sup.

the

the mountain, he begged that he might be admitted to baptism; which was readily complied with by the patriarch, and Don *Caldeyra* stood his godfather [a].

Whilst they continued in this mountain, the young emperor arrived at the foot of it, attended by a few of his men, in a sorry plight. The *Portuguese* went down to receive him, with whom he condoled for the loss of their general with some seeming regret; but bid them not to be too much discouraged, or think themselves in a strange country, but to look upon it now as their own, where they would be speedily furnished with cloaths, tents, mules, servants, and all other necessaries. In answer to which, after suitable thanks, they assured his majesty, that, since they had lost their old commander, they would now accept of no other but him; after which, they accompanied him to the tent of the patriarch. Here, again, he was not a little pleased to see the patriarch come to the door to receive him, looking upon it as a piece of great condescension, because the abuna is as much respected here as a pope is at *Rome*, and alighted from his horse to receive his blessing. From thence he passed into the empress his mother's tent, and, after a little stay, was conducted to his own, which had been reared in the centre of their camp. During his abode there, which was about two months, he got together most of his forces, amounting to about 500 horse and 8000 foot, deemed sufficient by the *Portuguese*, when joined by theirs, to attack the *Moors*; which they begged his majesty to do, and revenge the death of their late noble general. The young prince appeared somewhat diffident of his strength; but being told, that *Granhe* had but 200 of the 900 *Turks*, which their bashaw had sent him, he readily consented [b].

Where the young emperor joins them.

Stays with them two months.

But before they came to be thus unanimous, the young emperor had been obliged to put up with a great deal of insolence from *Bermudez* and them, before they would consent to fight for him, or even stay longer in his dominions. This circumstance *Tellez* seems to have carefully avoided mentioning in his history, as reflecting some dishonour on the patriarch and *Portuguese* chief; though he himself hath made no scruple to give the world a full account of it, and in such terms as shew that he valued himself not a little for it, as it discovered how resolutely they were bent to take advantage of his present situation, to oblige him to establish the pope's authority in his dominions. But as it doth not so strictly re-

Grievous contest between him and the patriarch.

[a] Bermud. ibid. & al. ibid. [b] Bermud. Tellez, Lobo, &c. ubi sup.

late

late to the political as to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the empire, though, in other reſpects, well worth a curious reader's notice, we ſhall give the ſubſtance of it in the margin (Z).

(Z) The good patriarch, as himſelf informs us (16), having prepared his *Portugueſe* troops, in a ſet ſpeech he made to them, to aſſiſt him in the rooting all ſchiſm and hereſy out of the country, by reducing both king and clergy to the pope's obedience, went and addreſſed himſelf to the young monarch in the ſame pathetic ſtile, calling him his deareſt ſon (he was, it ſeems, his godfather), and telling him, that, if he deſigned to ſhew himſelf a worthy ſucceſſor of his late father, of pious memory, he muſt reſolve to follow his ſteps, and ſend a proper ambaſſador to *Rome*, to aſſure the ſovereign biſhop of all biſhops of his ſincere and dutiful obedience to him; and, to aſſure him that his father had done ſo before him, he ſhewed him his letter to that pontif, in which he made a full acknowlegement of his plenary authority over the church of Chriſt.

This ſpeech was made to him in the preſence of his mother, who was then in his tent; but the young *Claudius*, like a raſh youth, who little minds what he ſays (theſe are the patriarch's own words), plainly told him, that he did neither own him for his father nor his patriarch; and that he was the *Abuna* of the *Franks*, and an *Arian*, who believed in four Gods. Whereupon, *Bermudez* as bluntly told him, that he lied in ſaying that he worſhipped four Gods; but, added he, "ſince you refuſe "obey the holy father, I "only look upon you as an "communicated and accurſ "perſon, and will concern m "ſelf no more about you; and ſo ſaying, roſe off his ſ to be gone; and did ſo, wi out receiving any other anſ from the young prince th this, "You are the excomm "nicated perſon, and not I.

The next ſtep the patria took, after having acquai his *Portugueſe* with what h paſſed, was to forbid them under pain of death and communication, to aſſiſt young monarch, or, in any c to regard his commands. this they anſwered, that, as n ther they nor their anceſtors h ever been diſloyal to the pope their prince, ſo neither wou they now to him. A little whi after, one of the emperor's o ficers being ſent to diſtribu 3000 ounces of gold amo them, and to make their gen ral ſome valuable preſent, th all unanimouſly excuſed them ſelves, and ſent him word, th the breach he had made wi their patriarch would not pe mit them to accept of any thin from him, or to do him an further ſervice.

This anſwer obliged the young monarch immediately to hold a council, in which it was reſolved that the empreſs ſhould go to the patriarch, accompanied with an archbiſhop of his

(16) *Bermud. Relat. c.* 3.

ordain

that we may the more closely stick to the main part of our history.

Soon after matters had been accommodated between the young emperor and the patriarch, and every thing was preparing to attack the enemy, the new *Portugueſe* general Don being dead by a fall from his horſe, one *Arias Diz*, a gentleman who had been in *Ethiopia* ever ſince the year 1520, and had been intruſted by the former monarchs with ſome conſiderable commiſſions, was nominated in his room, at the

Arias Diz *choſen general.*

ſhining, to beg pardon of him for her ſon, and to promiſe, in name, that he would do every thing he ſhould enjoin him, in reſpect to the pope. She came accordingly, and, in the humbleſt terms, delivered her meſſage to the patriarch, who, inſtead of being ſoftened by her tears and intreaties, inſolently told her, that he had now nothing left to do but to retire with his troops into *Portugal* with all poſſible ſpeed. This high ſpeech brought the afflicted princeſs upon her knees, and made her renew her inſtances to him with ſuch vehemence and ſuch floods of tears, that, being at length overcome by them, he accompanied her to her ſon's tent. At their arrival, the young monarch came out to receive him, and, in the humbleſt manner, took hold of his hand, and kiſſed it, and begged pardon for what had paſſed.

Here they all three ſat down, and the young prince began the diſcourſe with aſſuring him of his readineſs to obey the prince of biſhops; but aſked the patriarch, whether the homage paid to him by his father might not be ſufficient, without his being obliged to ſend a freſh embaſſy to him? "No," anſwered the prelate, "you muſt ſend "one in your name, which is no "more than what every prince "in *Europe* is obliged to do as "ſoon as he comes to the "crown: and ſince you have "not done it hitherto, you muſt "now perform it to me, who "am commiſſioned by his holineſs to receive it from you. "Beſides which," continued he, "you muſt give me an ample teſtimony in writing, ſigned with your own hand, and ſealed with your own ſeal, "and in the name of all your "kingdoms and provinces, in "which you ſhall make public acknowlegement that God "hath no more than one "church, and one vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, in all the world, "from whom all the power and "rights of all Chriſtian princes "and prelates immediately "flow." He inſiſted further, that this public act ſhould be read with an audible voice, on ſome eminent place, and in the hearing of all the people, by one of the chief officers of the realm. To all which the young emperor was glad to ſubmit; and the act, concludes the author, was accordingly read with the utmoſt pomp and ſolemnity, and with the ſound of the trumpet (17).

(17) *Ibid.*

deſire

desire of the young prince, who had put a great confide
The young emperor tries to give them the slip. in him. But young *Claudius* had still another view in for being quite dissatisfied with the patriarch's tyrannic haviour to him, he had formed a design to give him the s to which end, he desired of him to permit the new general his *Portuguese* soldiers, to go with him on a secret expediti that would turn to the glory of God. *Bermudez*, though suspected his design, nevertheless consented, relying on h fidelity. Accordingly, as soon as he had got the rest of army ready, and had reached the mountain where *Granhe* his forces were posted, he sent an express to *Dir*, to join with all speed, and to bring the young emperor with h Upon their arrival, they left the empress in a place of saf and marched on through very craggy passes and narrow files, where, in their way, they met with a *Moorish* c
Engage Granhe afresh. mander, at the head of 300 horse and 2000 foot, in the vince of *Ogara*; and attacked them by break of day with suddenness, and loud shoutings, as made all the mount echo with their voices. Fifty *Portuguese* horse, who led van, slew the commander with most of his men, and took m others prisoners, who informed them, that *Granhe* was place not far off, named *Daraskea*, in the kingdom of *E bea*, near the place where the *Nile* crosses the lake of name, and where his wife and children, who had been h him a long while, were come to join him soon after Don C *stopher*'s defeat.

The young emperor's strange behaviour. THIS good success was soon followed by the death of *Abissine* general, who, having ventured too far on a skirm was surrounded by another party of the *Moors*, who qui covered him with wounds, and, after their brutish man cut off his privities; the news of which so afflicted the yo emperor, that he shed a flood of tears for him, tore his h and cast his crown to the ground, and shewed the most cessive tokens of grief and despair. This affliction was s after followed by the news, that *Granhe* was in full m against him; which threw him into such a panic, that he solved to save himself by flight; and would actually have d so, had not a *Bahr-nagash* apprised the patriarch of it, w immediately came out of the monastery, where he had tired to pray with the rest of the monks, or perhaps rat to be out of harm's way, whilst his troops were preparing encounter with the *Moorish* army, and, with difficulty, p vailed upon the pusillanimous prince to stay, and encour his forces by his presence against the approaching enemy.

* Id. ibid.

All

All this while, *Granhe* was advancing at the head of 13,000 horſe and foot, and his 200 *Turkiſh* muſqueteers. He was mounted on a ſtately white horſe, and had a *Turk* on each ſide. Several bloody ſkirmiſhes happened; in one of which an *Abiſſine* general having been treacherouſly drawn into a pretended parley with the enemy, was murdered by them; which ſo diſcouraged the reſt of the *Abiſſine* forces, that the emperor, to prevent a deſertion, conſented they ſhould engage next morning by break of day. Accordingly, the *Portugueſe* leading the van with 200 *Ethiopian* horſe, and 350 foot, ſet forward with great eagerneſs, whilſt the emperor, who brought up the rear with 250 horſe more, and 1500 foot, ſtood with them poſted on an eminence, to ſee them begin the onſet. *Granhe* made no leſs haſte to meet his enemy, and advanced in two lines; one of which he led himſelf, which conſiſted of the 200 *Turks* above-mentioned, 600 *Moriſh* horſe, and 7,000 foot: the other conſiſted of 600 horſe and 6000 foot, and was commanded by another general. The onſet, according to *Tellez*, and other *Portugueſe* writers, was very fierce and furious for ſome time on both ſides, except on that of the *Abiſſinians*, who were eaſily thrown into diſorder by the *Turks*, and, with ſome difficulty, were rallied by the *Portugueſe*. In the height of the engagement, *Granhe* appearing on his white horſe, with his *Turks* on each ſide, to ſupport his own men, and venturing too near the enemy, a *Portugueſe*, named *Peter Lion*, a man of low ſtature, but an excellent markſman, ſeeing him to be within gun-ſhot, let fly at him with ſuch dexterity, that he quickly brought him ſprawling on the ground. The two *Turks* fell dead on each ſide of him by ſome other ſhot, before they could carry his body off; which being obſerved by the reſt of his troops, they immediately turned their backs without ſtriking another ſtroke. The other *Turkiſh* general did indeed maintain the fight ſome time longer with great bravery; and, whilſt the emperor's forces were in purſuit of the flying *Moors*, made a ſtout defence againſt the *Portugueſe*, till all the 200 *Turkiſh* muſqueteers were ſlain, except 14, who fled to *Granhe*'s wife, and acquainted her with their defeat, and her huſband's death. Upon the news of which, ſhe immediately rode away with 250 horſe, that were left to guard her, and all the treaſure that *Granhe* had been hoarding up during the war. All this time the *Portugueſe* were buſy in ſlaying all that fell in their way, and plundering the camp, in which they found, beſides a conſiderable ſpoil, a prodigious quantity of proviſions, and a great number of *Abiſſinian* captives, whom they releaſed, to their no ſmall joy; ſome meet-

Granhe advances againſt him.

He ſhot by a Portugueſe markſman.

His army routed.

His wife carried off, with his treaſure.

meeting with their parents, others with their children, wives, relations, and friends; so that they could not but express the liveliest gratitude to their brave deliverers; and the young emperor failed not to give them the greatest marks of his esteem for their signal bravery, and for so effectual a victory, which paved the way to the recovery of a great part of his dominions: and, among other tokens of his thankfulness to God for it, ordered a noble monastery to be built on the field of battle, in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ * (A).

The emperor's gratitude to the Portuguese.

* Bermud. ubi sup. Tellez, ex Almeyda, Lobo, & al.

(A) *Bermudez*, however, adds a singular circumstance, which reflects no small discredit on the *Abissinian* gratitude, especially with regard to the young monarch. It is as follows: One of his officers having observed *Granhe* to fall off his horse, took an opportunity to cut off his head; which, as soon as the fight was over, he came and laid at his majesty's feet, and took upon him the honour of being the person who had slain him, and of course, of being the chief instrument of that complete victory. The young emperor, glad at heart to hear that he owed so signal a service to one of his subjects, not only thanked him very affectionately for it, but made him captain-general of all his forces.

Unluckily for the *Abissinian* boaster, the general *Aries Diz*, who was thoroughly acquainted with the affair, begged of his majesty to examine how many ears were on that head; which he did, and found that one of them had been lately cut off: upon which, he took the liberty to tell him, that that ear wanting was in the possession of a person of much superior valour to the braggadocio; one who had actually shot the *Moorish* king, and cut off that ear whilst his *Abissinian* forces were viewing the engagement from a distant eminence, where they stood posted; and, for a confirmation of what he said, ordered *Peter Lion* to be brought, who immediately produced the ear; which was found to match the other so exactly as to put the matter out of all doubt.

Lion, however, desired the bragging officer to shew him the weapon with which he had given *Granhe* his death-wound; to which he giving no answer, the *Portuguese* told his majesty that, if they examined the dead body, they would find that he had been killed by a musket-ball; a weapon, added he, which he knows not how to use. This circumstance, upon examination, being likewise verified, the young monarch was covered with confusion, and ordered his officer to be cashiered and disgraced (18): for this brave soldier had, it seems, formerly belonged to Don *Christopher de Gama*, and had done that action merely to revenge his death.

(18) *Bermudez, cap.* 3. *Tellez, ex Almeyd.*

The

THE king and his army deſcending from the high grounds of *Oynadaga*, came and incamped on the banks of the *Demean* lake, where they tarried two whole months; in which time, forty *Portugueſe*, who had formerly fled from the ſlaughter, when Don *Chriſtopher* was defeated, and had taken the way to *Mazwa*, with a deſign to embark for *Portugal*, hearing of *Granhe*'s overthrow and death, returned back, and, taking the empreſs with them, came and joined the imperial camp. All this while, the head of *Granhe*, which had been ſhewed firſt to that princeſs, was conveyed and ſhewed through all the other parts of the empire, together with the news of his total overthrow, occaſioned ſuch univerſal reſting among all the people, that the *Moqrs*, who were poſted in garriſons in ſeveral kingdoms and provinces, by which means they held them in ſubjection, hearing of this grand defeat, thought fit to abandon all thoſe ſtrong-holds, and the countries were glad to return to their obedience; and even thoſe who had been moſt forward in going over to them, and had changed their religion, in order to obtain better terms from them, were, upon their re-ſubmiſſion, all pardoned and received into favour. Great rejoicings were likewiſe made at the arrival of the empreſs, whoſe ſon went to meet her about a league off his camp, yet without acquainting the patriarch with it; which ſhewed that he ſtill retained his former reſentment; ſo that that princeſs was not a little ſurprized at his not being of the company, and no leſs diſpleaſed when he acquainted her with the reaſon of it.

Some of them conduct his mother to him.

Granhe's head carried about the empire.

They all ſubmit, and are pardoned.

BUT this was not the only inſtance, in which the young prince mortified both him and the *Portugueſe* that were with him. Among thoſe governors of provinces, that had been pardoned for going over to the *Mohammedans*, and ſhewing an irreconcileable hatred to them, there was one of them, who, by his defection, had occaſioned Don *Chriſtopher*'s defeat; againſt whom, therefore, they made ſtrong remonſtrances to the emperor, but in vain; his majeſty telling them, that as he had given his word to pardon him, he could not go back from it. Which behaviour ſo exaſperated the vindictive *Portugueſe*, that they at once ruſhed into the traitor's tent, and ſtabbed him to death with their daggers [x].

The Portugueſe fall out with the emperor.

THIS piece of inſolence, which the young monarch was obliged to let go unpuniſhed, on account of their great ſervices, did, however, give him to underſtand what tyrannic lords he was likely to fall under, if he did not take ſome proper means to ſuppreſs them. On the other hand, the haughty patri-

The patriarch irritates him by his proud demands;

[x] Iid. ibid.

patriarch was daily ſoliciting him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to perform the engagements he had forced from him, to make a public abjuration of the *Abiſſinian* hereſy, and ſubmit to the pope and church of *Rome*. He proceeded ſo far as to threaten him with excommunication, and the withdrawing his *Portugueſe* forces; the worſt of it was, that he had, about this time, received a haughty meſſage from the exaſperated king of *Adel*, on account of his ill-treatment of the late vanquiſhed *Granhe*, and cauſing his head to be carried through all his dominions. He threatened him, that he ſhould ſoon find a ſecond and more formidable *Granhe* in him, and be once more ſtripped by him of all his newly-recovered dominions.

and obliges him to yield. The young emperor ſaw himſelf obliged to manage the prelate and his *Portugueſe*, till he, by their aſſiſtance, had got the better of his powerful foe; and only begged time till then to perform his promiſes to them. He intreated him to ſtay behind with the empreſs his mother, whilſt he and his forces marched with the *Portugueſe* againſt the enemy [y]. After a

The king of Adel *marches againſt them.* long and tedious march, they came to a broad but ſhallow river, on the other ſide of which the *Adelian* monarch and his forces were incamped, and which the horſe croſſed over with eaſe, and the foot were ferried over on rafters covered with hides. All this was done in the night, without being perceived by the enemy; ſo that they came ſuddenly upon them, and plied their fire-arms ſo ſucceſsfully againſt them, before they could put themſelves in order of battle, that they made a great ſlaughter among them. Several Chriſtians were likewiſe killed and wounded; and, among the latter, the young emperor, but not dangerouſly. At length, the king of *Adel*

Is defeated, and killed. was ſlain; at the ſight of which, his daſtardly *Moors* betook themſelves to a ſpeedy flight; but were purſued with great ſlaughter, and a much greater number were taken priſoners,

His queen taken priſoner, and given in marriage to Arias Diz. and, amongſt them, the *Adelian* queen. The young emperor failed not to expreſs his thankfulneſs to the *Portugueſe* for this freſh victory; and, as a token of his gratitude, preſented them with all the vaſt and rich plunder of the enemy's camp, to be equally divided amongſt them: reſerving only to himſelf the horſe and ſcymitar of the ſlain king, and the perſon of the queen, whom he afterwards beſtowed on *Arias Diz*, their general, together with the kingdoms of *Doar* and *Belwa*, in order to raiſe him to an equal degree with her, as well as to prevail upon her to become a Chriſtian and his wife [z],

[y] Bermud. ubi ſup. & al. ſup. citat, c. 3.

[z] Bermud. in fin.

This

THIS was indeed a maſter-piece of policy in that young monarch, and ſuch as was likely to have diſconcerted all the patriarch's meaſures, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, and rendered all his haughty threatenings vain and abortive, could any princely policy be an equal match with that of a ſelfiſh prelate, intruſted with ſuch a plenary power both from the pope and king of *Portugal* over a ſet of ſlaves and bigots to their authority. The overthrow of the *Mooriſh* army had no ſooner reſtored peace and tranquillity to the empire, and the prince, with his victorious army, reached the kingdom of *Dembea*, than the flushed patriarch renewed his former inſtances with more boldneſs than ever; by which he became daily more irkſome and odious both to him and his court. *Bermudez renews his inſtances to the emperor.*

Arias Diz, the *Portugueſe* general, gained and overcome by the late liberality, and raiſed to the royal dignity, had privately renounced the church of *Rome*, and been baptized into that of the country, and taken the name of *Mark*. The conſequence of which was, that the young emperor, thinking himſelf ſure of his intereſt, began to treat the patriarch with greater coldneſs and contempt, whenever he came into his preſence. He now no more roſe from his ſeat to receive his bleſſing, nor ſuffered him to ſit any longer before him, or remind him of his old promiſes. This ſtrange behaviour raiſed in *Bermudez* all his pride and reſentment, inſomuch that he ſcrupled not to tell him one day, that he was only a ſhameful ingrate to the king of *Portugal*, by whoſe favours and victorious arms he was reſtored to his loſt empire, but, which was ſtill worſe, a rebel to Jeſus Chriſt, by violating that reſpect which was due to him as his repreſentative; adding, that he would be accurſed, rejected, and excommunicated, if ever he relapſed into the errors of the *Alexandrian* church, which God had ſuffered to fall under the tyranny of the *Turks* for its defection from the apoſtolic ſee of *Rome*. This ſpeech, which rather exaſperated than frightened the young monarch, were only anſwered with reproaches and threatenings againſt the *Romiſh* church; after which, he haughtily told him, that if it was not out of conſideration of his being his godfather, he would not ſcruple to have him drawn and quartered: upon which, he immediately withdrew to his own tent. *Treats him with ſeverity and ſcorn.* *The emperor reſents it.*

NOT long after, he received expreſs prohibition to ſend any further orders to the *Portugueſe* forces, who were now under the command of *Marco*, his captain-general, and ſhould no longer obey any but him. To which he anſwered, that they, being ſubjects of the king of *Portugal*, were now no longer under any obligation to obey one who had proved

a traitor to his king and religion; and that since his majesty still persisted in his refusal of submitting to the pope, contrary to his former promise, he was resolved to withdraw his forces and himself out of his empire: but was soon given to understand, that he was absolute master in his dominions, and expected them to pay obedience to his general, and to none else; the upshot of which was, that all, as one man, resolved to die sword in hand, in opposition to such ungrateful tyranny; and went about immediately to fortify their camp against him [a].

The Portuguese fortify themselves against him

THE emperor, who interpreted this last step as bidding him open defiance, ordered them to be attacked with all speed; but with such ill success, that his cuirassiers, who were the foremost in the van, were either burnt to death, or forced to fly half-burnt, by the fire which they set to a quantity of gunpowder scattered about in an ambush, into which they had drawn them by a feigned flight. This threw the king into a new fit of despair; upon which, the apostate *Arias*, now *Marco*, told him, that, since the *Portuguese* could not be vanquished by open force, he ought to try to do it by treachery. Pursuant to which advice, they were sent for by *Claudius*, who appeared extremely sorrowful for his too frequent breach of promise, and desirous again to make all possible satisfaction both to the patriarch and to them (B); but, in fact, meaning the very reverse: for *Marco* the traitor, whose counsel the young monarch followed in every thing, soon put him in a way to elude all their demands, by a double piece of fresh perfidy, *viz.* first, by forbidding all his subjects furnishing them with any kind of sustenance, and the other, by stopping their mouths with a timely donative of a considerable quantity of gold and fresh provisions, and a very valuable present to the patriarch, whilst the most proper means were taking for dispersing and confining their chiefs in

Repel the emperor's forces.

Marco betrays them by his counsel.

[a] BERMUD. ibid. c. 4.

(B) That is, as we are told, to the former, to give him leave, on the ensuing *Christmas*, to make a public ordination, over and above his making a public acknowlegment of his submission to the pope and church of *Rome*; and to the others, to bestow on them one third part of the territories they had recovered for him. For these two additional conditions these incroachers had, it seems, extorted from him, since the former, in the time of his great distress (20).

(20) *Bermudez*, c. 4. *Tellez*, *lib.* ii. c. 3. *Lobo*, *Le Grand*, p. 295, *& al.*

several

ſeveral diſtant provinces of the empire, beyond the poſſibility of their ever re-uniting again.

THE *Portugueſe*, however, were ſoon appriſed of this treachery, as well as of his having obtained a new Abuna from the patriarch of *Alexandria*, who was coming to him with all the ſpeed he could. *Bermudez* was forced to come afreſh to expoſtulate with him; but, inſtead of fair promiſes, as formerly, had the mortification to hear it all owned and excuſed with his own mouth. The reaſon which he gave for the one was, that he choſe thus to ſeparate them to prevent their raiſing new troubles during his abſence, he being juſt on the point of marching againſt the *Gallas*: "and as to you, my father," added he, "you muſt be content to ſtay in the territory of the *Gaſſates*, where you will have nothing to do but to pray for me, till my return. There you will be reſpected, and have that canton allotted to you for your maintenance. I found it ſufficient for myſelf and my few troops, during my late ſtay in it, and doubt not but it will be ſo for you and yours." *Marco* coming in juſt then to deſire the emperor to ſend to *Alexandria* for the new patriarch, was anſwered, "God bleſs my dear *Marco!* My dear friend, the thing is already done [b]."

A new Abuna ſent for.

The Portugueſe diſperſed through the empire.

BERMUDEZ was accordingly obliged to depart with his retinue, and ſome field-pieces, for the mountainous territory above-mentioned, under a ſtrong guard, and arived there after eight days difficult march; and, at his arrival, the captain ordered the heads of the people to pay him the revenue which they did to the emperor; which was done accordingly. About ſeven months after, hearing that the monarch was returned from his unſucceſsful war againſt the *Gallas*, he reſolved to return to him; and, to prevent the captain's oppoſing him, cauſed him, on ſome pretence, to be tied hands and feet, and ſeverely cudgelled, and ſome of his field-pieces to be fired at random among his men; two of whom were killed by the ſhot; which threw the reſt into ſuch conſternation, that they were glad to let him go unmoleſted, and even to intreat him to do ſo: which, he the more readily did, as he was ſince told that the traitor *Mark* was dead, and had been buried with the utmoſt pomp by the emperor, and with as real grief as if he had been a brother, or ſome dear relation. *Bermudez* met, in his way to court, one of his *Portugueſe*, who was taking poſſeſſion of ſome lands which that monarch had aſſigned him, and who told him,

Bermudez *ſent among the* Gaſſates.

Returns.

Marco's *death, and pompous funeral.*

[b] BERMUD. ubi ſup. TELLEZ, ubi ſup. LOBO, ib. LE GRAND, P. 93.

that he had divided his *Portugueſe* troops into two ſquadrons, and given the command of one of them to *Lopez de Almanza*, and that of the other to *Gaſpar de Souza*, with a deſign that they ſhould be always near his perſon; but that the *Portugueſe* had rejected the firſt, as being a ſtranger, and one of the late *Marco*'s partiſans: ſo that the whole command of them was given to the latter. This news was the more welcome to the patriarch, as *Soza* was his nephew, and much attached to him.

He was accordingly joyfully received by thoſe of his nation, and, in outward appearance, by the emperor, who ſent him his compliments on his ſafe arrival, with a preſent of 500 ounces of gold; but was obliged to keep him at a diſtance, on account of his being then expecting that of the new Abuna from *Alexandria*. During his ſtay in the camp, he was given to underſtand, by an officer of diſtinction, under the moſt ſolemn promiſes of ſecrecy, that the emperor ſo highly reſented his behaviour to him, eſpecially his obliging him to acknowlege the *Romiſh* pontif, that he ran the greateſt riſk if he did not quickly and privately withdraw himſelf. But as he ſtill inſiſted on ſeeing and ſpeaking to his majeſty, he ordered two of his officers to ſeize and convey him to one of their *ambas*, or craggy high rocks, already deſcribed [c], to prevent his ever getting out of his dominions. He was, however, ſoon reſcued out of their hands by his brave nephew, who, when blamed for it by the emperor, made no ſcruple to tell him, that he had done nothing unworthy of his character, in reſcuing their patriarch out of the hands of a tyrant who knew only to return evil for good; and that he muſt not expect that he, or his *Portugueſe*, ſhould ever ſuffer a prelate of theirs, who had done him ſuch ſignal ſervices, to be cowardly given up to his reſentment. *Claudius*, finding them ſo reſolute in his defence, vouchſafed to invite him again to his preſence, loaded him with fulſome careſſes, and appointed him an income of 20,000 crowns *per annum*, as patriarch to them; whilſt *Joſeph*, now arrived in his dominions, was declared Abuna of the *Abiſſines*. To prevent their making any reſiſtance to this eſtabliſhment, he bethought himſelf of ſending them into ſome diſtant province, on the frontiers of the *Gallas*, and of the kingdom of *Adel*, where he was ſenſible they ſhould meet with but a cold welcome from the inhabitants, and be continually haraſſed by their neighbours (C).

The emperor's ingratitude to Bermudez.

Prevented by Don Souza *from being impriſoned.*

New ſtratagem of the emperor againſt the Portugueſe.

Accord-

[c] See before, p. 94, & ſeq.

(C) He made choice of the two ſmall kingdoms of *Dowaro* and *Bale*, which he had lately beſtowed on his favourite *Marco*, upon

ACCORDINGLY they were ſcarcely ſettled there, before the governor of that territory began to lay his treacherous deſigns for cutting them all off; and would effectually have done it, had they not been conſtantly upon their guard, and had recourſe at length to a ſtratagem, which they had often tried with ſucceſs, and which would, at one lucky ſtroke, rid them of a foe ſo much ſuperior to them in number[d]: for, in other reſpects, they were ſuch puſillanimous baſtards, that they refuſed to attack them, as ſoon as they found themſelves obſerved by the enemy, till *Calido* himſelf appeared, and obliged them to move forward; little dreaming of the imminent danger he was in: for as he was eaſily known by his dreſs, he was no ſooner come within reach of their muſket-ſhot, than ſeven of their beſt markſmen, who had been poſted in the front, let fly at him at once, even before the onſet had begun; ſo that the reſt, ſeeing their commander dead before them, immediately laid down their arms, and readily promiſed to ſubmit, and pay their tribute to them; which they accordingly did. This lucky hit procured them four months reſpite; and the emperor, who always looked upon *Calido* with a jealous eye, was no leſs agreeably ſurpriſed at the news of his death, and ſent a meſſenger to congratulate them upon their ſucceſs.

The governor of Dowaro *ſlain by them.*

The reſt ſubmit to them.

AT the end of the four months, they received a freſh meſſage from him, to acquaint them, that the *Gallas* would upon pour in their numerous forces upon their little camp; as they accordingly did, and made ſeveral attempts upon the eminence on which they were then advantageouſly poſted, during the ſpace of ten or twelve days. The *Portugueſe*, who dared not come out of their camp, killed great numbers of them with their fire-arms, as long as their powder laſted: but that being now wanting, and they being in expectation of 1555.

A new irruption of the Gallas *againſt them.*

[d] See the laſt note.

upon his marriage with the widow of the king of *Adel*, as has been already hinted; and, after that traitor's death, had given the government of it to one *Calido*, whom he knew to hate the *Portugueſe*, and would be ſtill a more inveterate enemy to them, as they were to be maintained out of the revenue of theſe provinces, and thereby greatly diminiſh his own. To cruſh them more effectually, the king immediately raiſed 7000 horſe, 6000 foot, and 600 archers, againſt their little ſquadron, which, our author tells us, hardly conſiſted now of 150 men (21).

(21) *Bermud. ubi ſup.*

Their brave defence.

the emperor's arrival, they ſet themſelves about making it the country abounding with ſaltpetre and wood, till he brought them a freſh ſupply. Upon his arrival, and ſeeing ſo great a part of theſe two kingdoms almoſt depopulated by thoſe barbarians, he not only ſwooned away, and continued ſenſeleſs a conſiderable time, but was in danger of loſing his reaſon, through exceſs of grief. They took that opportunity to induce him to be again reconciled to the church of *Rome* and to her patriarch, and to give him hopes, that if he did, Providence would not fail of proving more favourable to him. He lent a deaf ear to them, and ordered them to follow him; which they did through ſeveral of his provinces, ſome of which had refuſed their tribute, and others were ready to follow their example; and, by their help, reduced the one to their duty, and over-awed the reſt.

The emperor's exceſſive grief on his arrival.

Takes a progreſs with them through ſome of his provinces.

THIS expedition being ended [e], about winter they deſired to return to the province of *Beth Miriam*, where he had allotted them lands to live on. *Bermudez* followed them thither; but Don *Gaſpar de Souza*, who was their commander, had ſtrict orders to prevent his making his eſcape; whilſt others of his *Abiſſines* were enjoined to have a watchful eye over him, and even to kill him, if he attempted it. To prevent, therefore, his deſign being diſcovered (for he was reſolved at all hazards to try to give that untractable monarch the ſlip), he pretended to be laid up with the gout, and to want a change of air; and, during his nephew's abſence, told the principals of the province, that he was going, for the recovery of his health, to the monaſtery of *Debarowa*; and hoped that the prayers of the good monks there would contribute to it. By this artifice, he found means to croſs the kingdom of *Tigre* with only eight faithful ſervants; and, after many windings and ſtratagems, had the good fortune to reach it, without being ſtopped or ſuſpected. Here he met with an affectionate reception from the monks, and other *Portugueſe*; but was forced to keep himſelf concealed [f], or rather confined, near two whole years (D), before he could find an opportunity to get

The patriarch cloſely watched.

[e] BERMUD. ubi ſup. TELLEZ, & LOBO, paſſ. [f] TELLEZ.

(D) That this laſt was his caſe, appears from ſome further particulars which he himſelf gives of his ſtay there, and deſerve to be here ſubjoined. Soon after his arrival, the Bahrnagaſh of that country, a well-wiſher to him, came with no ſmall joy to welcome him, and earneſtly to intreat him not to offer to run away, but to return to the emperor; which laſt he abſolutely refuſed; but, to conceal his deſign from him, told him, that he only deſired to ſpend the reſt of his days in a neighbour-

get to the iſland of *Mazowa*, on the *Red Sea*, where he was to imbark for *Goa*, in a ſhip which was likewiſe to take in an *Abiſſinian* ambaſſador, whom the emperor was ſending thither to the viceroy. He arrived ſafe at that iſland, after a variety of difficulties and dangers, in the year 1556; and was likely to meet with a freſh obſtruction from the ambaſſador, who, ſurpriſed to find him there, whom he thought to have been cloſely confined within ſome ſtrong *amba* of the empire, refuſed to go on board, if the patriarch was ſuffered to go with him. The captain of the gallies, whoſe name was Don *Antonio Peixoto*, however, paid ſo much regard to the prelate, that he readily took him on board his own veſſel; upon which, the envoy went back as ſoon as he ſaw him on board, rightly judging that he ſhould meet but with an indifferent welcome from the viceroy of *Goa*, if *Bermudez* ſailed thither with him, and perhaps a much worſe from the emperor at his return. *Makes his eſcape to Mazwa.* 1556.

As to what happened to the patriarch after his arrival at *Goa*, it being beſide our preſent ſubject, we ſhall only add, that, after ſeveral freſh dangers and diſaſters, he happily arrived at *Liſbon*, where he met with a gracious reception from *Sails for Goa and Liſbon.*

neighbouring hermitage, dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*. The Bahr-nagaſh then begged of him, that he would repeal the dreadful ſentence of excommunication, which he had fulminated againſt the emperor and his ſubjects; promiſing, on that condition, to obtain his majeſty's permiſſion for his retiring to the hermitage; and accordingly ſent an expreſs to him about it. The meſſenger being returned in a few days, brought word, that his majeſty was irreconcileable to him, for having branded him with the names of *heretic* and *excommunicate*; that, if it had not been out of regard to the *Portugueſe*, he would have long ago put him to death. He added, that he was a traitor, a forſworn wretch, who had violated the oath he had taken to him, not to ſtir out of his dominions without his leave; and concluded with an expreſs charge to that officer to have him narrowly watched, and to take particular care of him.

Not long after, whilſt the Bahr-nagaſh was gone to court, *Bermudez* received the news of Don *Antonio Peixoto*'s arrival with his two gallies at the iſland of *Mazwa*; a few days after which, the church of *Our Lady* at *Debarwa* being by ſome accident burnt down to the ground, he made that a pretence for going over to that iſland, in order to beg ſome money of thoſe *Portugueſe* towards the rebuilding of it; and, by that artifice, over-reached the Bahr-nagaſh and the *Abiſſines*, who had the charge of him, and imbarked in one of the gallies for *Goa* (22).

(22) *Bermud. ubi ſup. ad fin. cap.*

king

king *Stephen*, who had by that time ſucceeded *John* III. and obtained a handſome maintenance from him during the reſt of his life.

His plain account worthy of credit.

THUS ended the patriarch-commiſſion, after a reſidence, or rather troubleſome confinement, of above thirty years in the *Abiſſinian* dominions. Upon which account, his plain relation to us appears the more authentic, as he had an opportunity of ſeeing many places in it, to which the Jeſuits, ever ſuſpected in thoſe parts, were denied acceſs, and conſequently of being thoroughly acquainted with a much greater number of tranſactions than they, who were kept at a great diſtance from the court, and other ſcenes of action. Thoſe that have written any thing concerning that empire, ſince their expulſion out of it, plainly appear to have affected, from motives of reſentment, to extenuate the power and grandeur of its monarchs; and *Tellez* himſelf hath not ſcrupled to repreſent that, which is in the frontiſpiece of his book, as a negro half naked, quite contrary to the deſcription which *Bermudez*, *Poncet*, and *Gregory* the *Abiſſinian* abbot, have given us of them. We ſhall conclude his relation with ſome obſervations with which he cloſes his own, to the prince to whom he dedicates it; and which, in his plain, yet zealous, way of expreſſing, gives us a much clearer inſight into the ends and views of the pope and king of *Portugal*, in ſending the *Abiſſinian* emperors ſuch a ſeaſonable aid, than we could ever get from the writings of all his other cautious brethren. The are to this effect:

The concluſion of it very remarkable.

" WE have been looked upon, and given over, in the " country, as altogether loſt beyond recovery; and it " wholly owing to the little care that hath been taken " us, that our expedition hath proved of ſo ſmall advantage " and your highneſs will permit me to aſſure you, that our " affairs were brought to ſuch a ſtate, that, if we had been " duly ſupplied with freſh recruits, we ſhould have proved " ſo ſtrong, and gained ſuch authority over the emperor, that " he muſt, whether he would or no, have ſubmitted to the " church; and the people, by our preaching and commerce " with them, muſt have abjured the errors of the *Alexan* " *drian* church. The converſion of the *Abiſſinians* would " have proved ſo much the eaſier, as they have no proud and " and arrogant men amongſt them, but are pious, humble, " and ſincerely zealous for the ſervice of God, and readily " yield themſelves up to conviction g.

g Ibid. ad fin.

AND

" AND as to the temporal advantage, it might have proved " ſuch as neither *Peru*, with all its gold, nor the *Indies*, with " their vaſt commerce, would have been able to outweigh. " There is a much greater quantity of gold to be found in " the kingdom of *Damot*, and ſome others that border upon " it, than in the whole continent of *Peru*, and much more " eaſy to be come at, without that vaſt expence, and thoſe " continual wars, which attend the procuring it from the " latter (E)."

CLAU-

(E) We have elſewhere taken notice of the great quantity of that metal which is brought into the empire from the kingdom of *Narea* (23), which is contiguous to that of *Damot*. This author elſewhere mentions another province in that neighbourhood, inhabited by Gentiles, whoſe lord is tributary to the *Abiſſinian* monarchs (24). This province the emperor *Claudius* took in his way, in the laſt progreſs he made with the *Portugueſe* through the remote parts of his empire, becauſe the lord of it had revolted, and was then at war with the kingdom of *Damot*, and ſent *Bermudez* to him to reduce him by fair perſuaſion; which he accordingly did, and waited on his majeſty with a vaſt quantity of gold. The reception he met with proved ſo obliging to him, that, as an acknowlegement of it, he invited him and his *Portugueſe* to come into his territories, where he would ſhew him what prodigious quantities of gold they produced. The way to it is acroſs a large river, without either bridge or ferry-boat; and thoſe who are permitted to go over it to fetch that metal, make uſe of buffaloes brought up to it, who draw them acroſs by their tails, and pay a certain duty to the lord. The land on the other ſide appears of a reddiſh brown hue, and the duſt that is brought from thence yields two parts of gold to one of earth (25).

The emperor having fully ſatisfied himſelf of the truth of this by the men he ſent over that river, and the eſſay which was made of the ore, adviſed the lord or owner of it to become a Chriſtian; which he readily complied with, and was baptized by an *Abiſſinian* prelate of *Debra Libanos*. He then complained to that monarch of ſome very bad neighbours he had about him, who committed cruel ravages in his dominions, and begged the aſſiſtance of the *Portugueſe* againſt them; who, with his permiſſion went, and put whole provinces of them to fire and ſword, and returned laden with the richeſt ſpoil, particularly gold and precious ſtones, beſides a good number of ſlaves.

Thus it appears very plain what this miſſion and ſuccours from *Portugal* aimed at; and what indeed muſt have been the fate of the *Abiſſine* monarchs,

(23) *See before*, p. 38. (24) *Bermud. ubi ſup.* (25) *Id. ibid.* *Vide & Tellem & al. ſup. citat.*

and

Claudius's *kindness to the other* Portuguese.

CLAUDIUS, though vexed at the escape of the patriarch, who, without all question, would now use his utmost efforts at the courts of *Rome* and *Lisbon* for fresh supplies both of troops and missionaries, to carry on their politic views against his church and empire, took all possible care, during the short remainder of his reign, to prevent their entrance into his dominions, and, at the same time, shewed himself very generous, in all respects, to those that remained, by giving them fertile lands to live on, and to enjoy their rich plunder in peace; not doubting but that they would become now more tractable and submissive to him, their zealous patriarch being got so far from them. He had not, however, enjoyed long this pleasing prospect, before he saw it unexpectedly troubled by the arrival of a new patriarch from *Goa*, who quickly revived the old claim of his predecessor with as great assiduity and vehemence: for those two courts were so far from dreaming of the ill-success of the old one, that they thought of nothing less than to see themselves, in a short time, masters of the whole empire; and the famous *Ignatius Loyola* was taking all proper measures to introduce and settle some of his newly-founded fraternity in it, and would willingly have gone thither himself, if the pope had not declared against it [h].

Ignatius Loyola *promotes a new mission.*

A new patriarch and ambassy sent into Ethiopia.

FOR the greater magnificence of this new mission, it was agreed that the king of *Portugal* should send Don *Ferdinand de Sousa* as his ambassador to the *Abissinian* court, along with Don *Nunez de Barreto*, the new patriarch. These, accompanied by Don *Andreas de Oviedo*, with the title of bishop of *Nicæa*, and father *Gonzalo de Sylveira*, with that of bishop of *Hierapolis*, and some others, embarked for *Goa* on the 15th of *March*, and arrived there on the 13th of *September* following, *anno* 1556. Here they were quickly apprised of the different state of that empire from what they expected, and therefore resolved not to expose either the patriarch or ambassador to the resentment of the emperor, but to send thither first Don *Andreas de Oviedo*, with some of his compa-

[h] TELLEZ, CODIGN, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup.

and their vast dominions, if those few *Portuguese* had been constantly supplied with fresh recruits, arms, and ammunition, from *Europe*. Nothing less than a double slavery must have been the consequence of that expedition, a spiritual one to the pope and church of *Rome*, and a temporal one to the *Portuguese* monarchs; either of which was too heavy for them to bear, and much more so when joined and closely linked together.

panions;

nions; who accordingly ſailed thence in four ſmall veſſels, and arrived at *Arkico* about the end of *March*, the enſuing year, and thence travelled by land to the monaſtery of *Debarowa*, where the Bahr-nagaſh *Iſaac* reſided. This was the ſame who had formerly introduced Don *Chriſtopher de Gama* into *Abiſſinia*; and as he had ſome private views in favouring the *Portugueſe*, and was not without great hopes, by their means, of making himſelf maſter of the kingdom of *Tigre*, one of the largeſt and richeſt in the whole empire, received them with great pomp and courteouſneſs. This happened to be at a time when the *Mohammedan Moors* had made ſome conſiderable conqueſts on that ſide, and were marching ſtill nearer to *Debarowa*; ſo that not thinking it ſafe to continue long there, he diſpatched a meſſenger with a letter to acquaint the emperor of his arrival, and the occaſion of it, and to beg to be admitted to an audience as ſoon as poſſible. The emperor readily conſented to it, and the biſhop and his company, who made a moſt gallant ſhew in their march, met with a very gracious reception from him. *Oviedo* being introduced into his preſence by the Bahr-nagaſh with great ſolemnity, immediately acquainted him with his commiſſion; and that the pope and king of *Portugal* expected no leſs from him than an effectual and ſpeedy performance of his former engagements to them.

Oviedo *well received by the politic* Bahr-nagaſh.

His audience at court.

He delivered it in ſuch a manner, that the emperor could not prevent his diſlike and reſentment from appearing in his looks. At length recollecting himſelf, he repreſented to him the difficulty there would be to perſuade his ſubjects, who had always acknowleged the *Alexandrian* patriarch as head of their church, to conſent now to ſuch a change; however, he promiſed that he would adviſe with his council, and his learned men, about it; and accordingly conſented that the matter ſhould be fairly debated between him and them. *Oviedo* juſtly looked upon all this as a pretence to gain time, eſpecially as the emperor, who often aſſiſted at their meetings, made uſe of ſuch ſtrong arguments as they could hardly withſtand; and therefore choſe to write againſt all their errors; and when he thought that he had maſtered and ſufficiently confuted them all, he delivered them to his majeſty; who, on his ſide did not fail to anſwer him in the ſame way, and in ſuch a manner, as if it did not convince him, yet gave him ſufficient cauſe to think that he would never be prevailed upon to ſubmit to the pope or *Roman* church (F).

Letter to the emperor.

This

(F) What is ſomewhat ſurpriſing in that generous monarch's behaviour towards this prelate, is that he neither offered to

Excommunicatory letter, and retirement.

This intercourse lasted till the latter end of *December* 1558, when the bishop thought fit to withdraw himself from court, which he did in *February* following, and only left a circular, as *Tellez* calls it, but was rather an insolent, letter behind him, addressed to his *Portuguese*, and their converts, and cautioning them against conversing with schismatics; concluding with an earnest exhortation to the *Abissines* to forsake their errors, and submit to the *Roman* church.

ALL this while the emperor was making great preparations to go and oppose the progress of the forces of the king of *Adel*, who had invaded his eastern dominions with a powerful army, commanded by an experienced general, called *Noor*,

to detain him prisoner, as he had done the patriarch *Bermudez*, nor suffered any of the *Abissines* to shew him any disrespect; on the contrary, he even seemed touched with a sense of his danger, in withdrawing himself at a time when his way to the *Red Sea* was beset with *Mohammedan Moors*, who would shew him no mercy, if he had the misfortune to fall into their hands: insomuch that his fear and concern for him is said (26) to have made him cry out, *Alas! what will become of the poor bishop, if I should chance to be killed!*

It was, however, far otherwise with the empress, his mother, who, tho' once so great a friend to the patriarch and his *Portuguese*, and had taken such pains to reconcile her son to them and to the church of *Rome*, was now become one of their most inveterate enemies, and the most strenuous opposer of the re-union of the *Abissinian* church with that of *Rome*. But it is not unlikely, that their insolent and tyrannic behaviour, of which we have given many pregnant instances, were the occasion of this change (27). Neither will the good bishop *Oviedo*'s circulatory, or, to speak more properly, excommunicatory letter give them, or us, a more favourable proof of his pastoral charity. It was to this purport: "We do, by this our "sentence, decree and declare "all the people of *Ethiopia*, who "refuse to submit to the holy "*Roman* church, the mother of "all churches, excommunicate, "&c. For which reason, we "charge all our spiritual children to separate themselves "wholly from them. And as to "the *Ethiopians*, we turn them "over to the sentence of the "church, to be punished by it "either in their persons or "goods, either publicly or privately, and to be treated with "mercy or severity, according "as their amendment doth "more or less deserve. Given "at our church of *Dolomo*, *February* 2d, 1559. Signed "*Andreas*, bishop of *Hierapolis* "(28).

(26) *Eman. Fernandez's Letter to F. Jac. Laynez*, 1562. *Tellez, ubi sup. lib.* ii. *c.* 27. *& al. sup. citat.*

(27) *Tellez, & al. ubi sup. La Croze, Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie.* 1697.

(28) *Id. ibid. p.* 276, *& seq. Vide & Geddes's Church Hist. of Ethiopia, lib.* iii.

or

or *Nour*, a man who then burned with impatience to revenge his father's death, who had been killed, with the *Moor Granhe*, at the battle of *Ogara*, lately mentioned; and had watched all opportunities to make himſelf thoroughly acquainted with the ſtrength and ſtate of the empire. Being at length informed that *Claudius*'s forces were neither very numerous, nor well-diſciplined enough to make head againſt his own, which had been long inured to the invading trade, he entered his dominions with a great army of foot, and 1700 horſe, putting all to fire and ſword where-ever he came, till his progreſs was ſtopped by the *Abiſſine* forces, which came to meet him, with all the ſpeed they could, with their monarch at their head [h].

Noor, *a* Mooriſh *general, invades* Ethiopia.

THEY met accordingly in a ſpacious plain, fit for the purpoſe, and the two armies engaged with the greateſt eagerneſs on both ſides; but the *Abiſſines*, who were quite undiſciplined, no ſooner felt the fury of the firſt onſet, than they threw down their arms, and fled with their uſual ſpeed, and left their ſovereign in the greateſt danger and extremity. The *Portugueſe*, who had been called on this occaſion, but were now dwindled to leſs than 150, behaved with their uſual bravery, as long as they were able; whilſt he, like a wiſe and intrepid warrior, ſtill ſtruck terror among the infidels, and ſlew many of them with his own hand. At length being himſelf quite overpowered by numbers, forſaken by his daſtardly troops, and, with only eighteen *Portugueſe*, left to defend himſelf, he ruſhed with them, with more fury than prudence, upon the enemy, by whom he was ſoon pierced with wounds, and ended his life and reign by an honourable death, in the month of *March* 1558, or, according to others, 1559. The *Moors*, now become victors, and maſters of the field of battle, purſued their advantage with their uſual greedineſs, ſlew great numbers of the fugitives, took a greater number of them priſoners, and plundered the *Abiſſine* camp of an immenſe wealth. *Noor*, the *Adelian* general, having gained ſo complete a victory, immediately returned to *Adel*, laden with ſpoils and laurels, and was every-where received with acclamations of joy, but more eſpecially in his maſter's capital, into which he choſe to make his entry, mounted on an aſs; alleging, that as God alone, for whom he fought, had given him the victory, ſo all the glory of it was due to him only. A wonderful inſtance of moderation in an infidel, ſays our author, and fit to confound the Chri-

The Abiſſines *put to flight.*

The emperor's brave defence, and death.

1559.

Noor's *ſingular humility.*

[h] TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, &c.

ſtians,

ſtians, who are generally puffed up with vanity upon every ſmall ſucceſs [1].

The emperor's memory unjuſtly blaſted.

THIS was the unfortunate end of the wiſe and brave emperor *Claudius*, or *Aſnaf Segued* (which laſt name he took at his acceſſion to the crown) in the flower of his age, and in the eighteenth, or, according to *Ludolph*, nineteenth of his reign; during all which, even in his minority, he ſtill ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the incroachments of the patriarch *Bermudez*, his godfather, and of his miſſionaries, in conſequence of the great conceſſions which his father had made to them; ſo that he never gave them any hopes of his ſubmitting to the church of *Rome*, but when he was on the brink of loſing his empire; but the danger over, he found means to evade the execution of his moſt ſolemn promiſes. And it is to this his frequent breach of his word, and ſtiff refuſal to comply with their demands, that thoſe good fathers aſcribe all his ill ſucceſs and untimely end, as well as all the diſaſters that happened in the empire after his death: as if it was indeed a more heinous crime in him to elude the performance of ſuch promiſes, which had been extorted from him in his extreme danger, and contrary to his conſcience, and the declaration and learned defence he had cauſed to be publiſhed of his faith, than it was for them to extort and inſiſt on thoſe promiſes, knowing them to be ſuch: for how much ſoever they have thought fit to blacken and tarniſh his memory, on that account, yet he always acted towards them with an open frankneſs, and open profeſſion of his faith, not only in thoſe diſputes which he allowed them to have with his clergy, and wherein he often aſſiſted, and repelled their arguments with ſuch ſtrength and reaſon, as ſurpriſed them all; but much more in that public confeſſion of his faith above-mentioned; *His confeſſion of faith.* the ſum and ſubſtance of which the reader may ſee in the margin (G): for what was this but an open and ſincere appeal

[1] TELLEZ, l. ii. c. 27. LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al.

(G) The confeſſion of faith of *Claudius* king of *Ethiopia*.

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, one only God.

This is my faith, and the faith of my anceſtors, kings of the *Iſraelites*; and the faith of my flock, which is within the incloſure of my kingdom.

We believe in one God, and in his only Son JESUS CHRIST, who is his Word, Power, Wiſdom, and counſel; who was with him before the world was created: and in the latter days came down unto us, though he left

peal to God and the world, againſt their tyrannic compelling him to apoſtatiſe from a church he could ſo well defend; and

left not the throne of his Divine Majeſty, and was made man by the power of the Holy Ghoſt, and born of the holy Virgin *Mary*. He was baptized in the river *Jordan* in the 30th year of his age, and was hanged on the tree of the croſs in the days of *Pontius Pilate*; ſuffered, died, and was buried, and roſe again on the third day. And after forty days he glorioufly aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth on the right-hand of his Father; and ſhall thence again come down to judge the quick and dead; whoſe kingdom ſhall have no end.

And we believe in the Holy Ghoſt, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father.

And we believe one baptiſm for the remiſſion of ſins; we hope for a reſurrection of the dead, and a future eternal life.

We do, in this, walk in the plain and true highway, neither turning to the right or left-hand, from the doctrine of the Fathers, the twelve apoſtles; of *Paul*, the fountain of wiſdom, of the ſeventy-two diſciples, of the three hundred and eighteen orthodox fathers of the council of *Nice*, the hundred and fifty of that of *Conſtantinople*, and the two hundred of that of *Epheſus*. And thus I believe and teach; even I, *Claudius*, king of *Ethiopia*, and according to the name of my kingdom, *Aſnaf Segued*, the ſon of *Vanag Segued*, the ſon of *Naod*.

As to our obſervation of the ſabbath, or ſeventh day, we do not do it like the *Jews*, who crucified our Lord, and cried out, *His blood be upon us and upon our children*; and who neither draw water, nor kindle fire, nor dreſs victuals, nor bake bread, nor ſtir out from houſe to houſe: but we celebrate it by receiving the holy communion, and aſſiſting at our *Agapæ*, or feaſts of charity, as they were enjoined by the apoſtles in their Conſtitutions. We do not celebrate it as we do the firſt day, which is a new day, of which *David* ſpeaks; *this is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it*: becauſe on that day our Lord Jeſus Chriſt aroſe, and the Holy Ghoſt deſcended on the apoſtles, in the houſe, or parlour, (*Cœnaculum*) of *Zion*; and on the ſame day Chriſt was incarnate in the womb of his ever immaculate virgin mother; and ſhall come again, to reward the juſt, and puniſh the wicked.

As to our rite of circumciſion, we do not receive it as the *Jews* do, well remembering the words of St. *Paul*, the fountain of wiſdom, that *neither circumciſion availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion, but a new creature, through faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. The ſame apoſtle ſaying likewiſe to the *Corinthians*, *Is any man circumciſed, let him not become uncircumciſed*. The ſame doctrine he teaches in all his epiſtles. But circumciſion is deemed among us as a typical cuſtom, like the ſcar in the face in *Nubia*, and the boring the ears among

and from no worthier inducement, than that of a reluctant promise forced from him by them in his greatest extremity.

Is succeeded by Minas.

He died without children, and was succeeded by his brother *Minas*; who, as we formerly hinted, had been detained a prisoner of war among the *Mohammedan Moors*; and, if we may believe the *Portuguese* writers, had there acquired such cruel savageness in his temper; that his reign proved a very tyrannical one, during the short time it lasted, and especially against the jesuits, missionaries, and all the favourers of the church of *Rome*. This those good fathers ascribe in a greater measure to the height of libertinism and immorality, which had by this time spread itself among the *Portuguese*, than to his education among the *Turks* [k]. But

A cruel prince, and an enemy to the missionaries.

[k] Fernand. letter to F. Laynez. Tellez, ub. sup. p. 178, Lobo, ap. Le Grand, p. 294, & seq. Ludolph, & al,

among the *Indians*; and therefore is used by us, not out of regard to the *Mosaic* law, but as a custom merely human.

The same we say with regard to our abstaining from eating swine's flesh; we neither do condemn those that eat it, nor command or forbid the eating of it, but follow the apostle's prescription to the *Romans*, *Let not him that eateth not, despise him that eateth*, &c. *For the kingdom of God consisteth not in meats and drink. To the clean all things are clean, but he sinneth who by his eating gives offence to his brother.* The same is also said in St. *Matthew*'s gospel, *Not that which enters into a man, but that which cometh out of him, defileth him*; which utterly overturns the *Jewish* doctrine which was given to them by *Moses*.

My religion therefore, and the religion of my priests and doctors, who teach by my authority, and within the circuit of my empire, is not to deviate, or recede in the least, from the rules of the gospel, or the doctrine of our holy father St. *Paul*, either to the right-hand or the left. We read in the book called *Zaricb*, that the emperor *Conjlantine* ordered all the *Jews* that were baptized into the Christian church to eat swine's flesh on the day of our Lord's resurrection: but with us, every man may either eat or abstain from it, as seems best to him: some like fish, others fowl, and some abstain from mutton; every one according as he likes best. But as to the eating of the flesh of any living creatures, we find neither law nor canon against it in the *New Testament*. *To the pure all things are clean. And he who believeth* (saith St. *Paul*, *Rom.* xiv. 2.) *may eat any thing*.

This is what I intended to write to you, in order to inform you what my religion is.

Given in the kingdom of Lamot, *on the 23d of the month of* June, *in the year of our Lord's nativity* 1555 (29).

(29) *De hac, vid. Ludolph. comment.*

though

though we do not deny but their looſe morals might draw ſuch a ſevere judgment upon them, yet it is plainly enough to be ſeen, even by the writings of thoſe fathers, that much more of that ill treatment which they met with from that emperor, was owing to their treachery to him, and their conſtant caballing with the old Bahr-naghaſh *Iſaac*; who, as hath been lately hinted, had hatched ſome treaſonable deſigns in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and was no farther a friend to them, than he found them ſo to his private views.

Who give into the views of the Bahr-naghaſh.

MINAS, upon his acceſſion to the crown, took upon him the ſurname of *Adamas Segued*; and, whether apriſed of their intrigues with that ambitious governor, or on ſome other account, he began very ſoon to diſcloſe his hatred againſt all the *Portugueſe*. Father *Emanuel Fernandez*, chief of the miſſion, being then in great expectation of a freſh reinforcement from *Goa*, which had been promiſed to him on his departure from thence for this kingdom, wrote very preſſingly for it, though to no purpoſe, which threw him into the greateſt difficulties; becauſe, on the one hand, the Bahr-naghaſh had put his chief hopes in that ſuccour; and on the other, the emperor had not only deprived the few *Portugueſe* that were left of the firſt expedition, of all the lands which his brother *Claudius* had given them, but likewiſe denied them the free exerciſe of their religion, and puniſhed ſome of their converts, and others of their faith, with great ſeverity. Their only refuge therefore was in the Bahr-naghaſh; but as no ſuccour came from *Goa*, as that father had made him expect, they could hardly hope that he would undertake any thing in their favour, eſpecially as they could give him ſo little aſſiſtance in their preſent diſtreſs.

1560.

THE emperor, however, had ſo far diſobliged his own ſubjects by his tyranny and cruelties, that the greateſt men in the empire rebelled againſt him, and ſet up a baſtard ſon of an elder brother deceaſed, upon the throne. This young prince, whoſe name was *Habitacum Tazcaro*[1], was ſoon joined by the prime officers of *Ethiopia*, and by the captain of the *Portugueſe*, with about thirty of his men, the reſt being then at too great a diſtance. Whether the Bahr-naghaſh *Iſaac* was in the conſpiracy or no, we are not ſure; only thus much we know, that he was the firſt againſt whom the emperor *Minas* bent all his force. *Iſaac* was then buſy on the ſea coaſt, and executing ſome orders he had received from *Tazcaro*, and being a martial man, marched out againſt

Tazcaro *ſet up againſt the emperor.*

[1] De hoc, vid. LUDOLPH, l. ii. c. 6. §. 27, & ſeq. TELLEZ, & al.

Isaac *defeated by* Minas.

him, and repulsed him at the first encounter, but was defeated and forced to fly. This victory gave that monarch an opportunity to march against his competitor *Tazcaro*,

1561. whom he reached about the beginning of *July* of the next year, and after a sharp engagement, overthrew him and took him prisoner [m].

In the interim, the Bahr-naghash, who had with some difficulty escaped to the sea-side, was there waiting still in expectation of receiving the long wished-for supplies from *Goa*; but his hopes being at length quite frustrated, and being no less afraid of a surprize from the emperor, found no other way to provide for his safety, than by concluding a league with the neighbouring *Mohammedans*; by whose assistance he set up another bastard brother in the room of *Tazcaro*, whom *Minas* had put to death. *Minas* lost no time, but marched against him and his *Moorish* allies at the head of a numerous army. Both sides engaged at first with

1562. equal bravery and eagerness, on the 20th of *April* of the year following; but the fire which the *Turkish* artillery made against the emperor's forces, threw them into such panic and confusion, that they immediately betook themselves to flight without striking a blow, and left the enemy master of their camp. They likewise made a great number of prisoners; among whom was *Emanuel Fernandez*, and some others of his fraternity, whom the emperor had caused to be detained in his camp as hostages, and to be closely watched as well as severely treated. They might have fared still much worse now in the hands of the *Turks*, their most bitter enemies, had not the Bahr-naghash taken pity of them, and procured them their liberty, together with some chalices and other church utensils, which they had been stripped of. The reader may guess at their distressed condition, by the conclusion of one of their letters to their general, which we have subjoined in the margin (H). As for the Bahr-naghash and

The Abissinians *put to flight.*

Some jesuits taken prisoners.

[m] Ludolph, ub. sup. & auct. sup. citat.

(H) We were, says the writer of the letter, made prisoners by the *Turks* and *Abissinians* that fought against the emperor; and God saved our lives by means of the *Portuguese* that were there. We had been robbed four times before, and were now reduced to the last extremity; only the Bahr-naghash gave us our chalice, and some small things; the rest we ransomed as well as we could. You may, reverend father, judge of the miserable condition we now are in, being forty in family, and forced to relieve, when we are able, the

and his *Portugueſe*, who had conſented to his having recourſe to the *Mohammedans* againſt the emperor, their name became ſo odious to all the *Abiſſinians*, eſpecially to their monarchs, that they would never ſuffer any of them to be in their army from that time. What became of the king is variouſly reported; ſome ſaying, that ſeeing his country ruined by the *Turks*, and his chief ſea-ports in their hands, he once more tried his fortune againſt them, and was defeated and killed; others, that he was forced to flee into ſome high mountains, where he led a wandering miſerable life, till death put an end to it the year after his defeat [n]. Minas's death.

By this time, however, the viceroy of *Goa*, *Conſtantine de Braganza*, at the earneſt and repeated inſtances of patriarch *Nunez Barreto*, had made ſome attempts, in vain, to get intelligence from *Abiſſinia*, the *Turks* having locked up all entrance into it, and guarding the ſea-coaſt with their ſhips, to prevent any being brought to the *Portugueſe* that were in it; inſomuch, that of the three veſſels that were ſent thither by that governor, in *February*, *an.* 1560, one of them was taken, whilſt the other eſcaped with great difficulty. In the firſt of them, father *Fulgentius* being taken priſoner, and very much wounded, continued a ſlave at *Kairo* ſome years, till he was redeemed by order of Pope *Paul* IV. and ſent back to *Portugal*. Thoſe jeſuits that were ſtill in the empire, and were no leſs deſirous to tranſmit an account to *Goa* of their diſmal ſituation, had no better luck in their attempt to ſend ſome of their ſociety thither. The perſon they pitched upon was father *Gualdares*, and another *Portugueſe*; who being come to *Mazwa*, underſtood that there was a ſhip there ready to ſail for the *Indies*; upon which, they bribed a *Moor* with a conſiderable reward, to go privately *The* Portugueſe *ill ſucceſs on the* Red Sea. Fulgentius *taken priſoner.*

[n] Conf. Tellez, Lobo, & al. ub. ſup. & Le Grand, p. 295.

the *Portugueſe* widows and orphans, and nobody to aſk an alms of; for the *Portugueſe* have more occaſion to beg than give, and the natives more inclined to ſteal than to impart any thing. For our table, we have ſcarcely a bellyful of parched barley. The biſhop (*Oviedo*) is not fit to be ſeen. We beg your bleſſing, and the prayers of our ſociety; and having no other way left to write to your reverence, may take this, if it comes to your hands, for the laſt. *Ethiopia*, *July* 29, 1562.

Emanuel Fernandez,
Francis Lopez,
Antony Fernandez,
Gonzalez Cardozo (30).

(30) *Tellez*, *ub. ſup. l.* ii. *c.* 5.

Gualderez *betrayed and put to death.*

and desire the captain to take them in: but the treacherous *Moor* went immediately and betrayed them to the bashaw of that island; who caused the jesuit to be seized that very night, and to be cut in pieces [o].

1563.

THIS was the sad situation of the missionaries in *Ethiopia* when *Adamas Segued* died, and his son *Forza Dânghil* succeeded him, who then took the surname of *Malac*, or *Melc Segued*, and was crowned with the usual solemnity at the church of *Axuma*. He was a wise and valiant prince, and was blessed with a long, and, for the most part, successful reign, though hardly ever free from wars, either against some of his revolted subjects, or against his now powerful and inveterate enemies the *Gallas* and *Mohammedan Moors*, so that he had no time, nor perhaps any inclination, to revive the persecution which his father had raised against the missionaries and their converts, but let them go on in the usual way without any molestation, or betraying the least favour or friendship towards them.

Malac Segued *crowned emperor.*

John Nunez *dies at* Goa.

IN the mean time, the Pope's patriarch, *John Nunez Barreto*, died at *Goa*, in the sixth year after his arrival there, that is, *an* 1562, without having ever been able to come into his patriarchate; so that according to the tenor of the Pope's bull, he was to be succeeded in it by *Andrew d'Oviedo*, who, as we hinted in the last note, was now reduced to such a miserable condition, that his new dignity was of very little service to him, being in a manner abandoned by his people, having scarce food enough to keep life and soul together, or clothes to cover his nakedness; being now with a very few friends and proselytes retired into the monastery of *Fremona*, a small town not far from the *Red Sea*, and without any forces to support his authority or the credit of his missionaries; for well doth father *Tellez* observe from his own experience, that this *Ethiopian* mission never could thrive longer than the preachers were supported by a sufficient number of forces [p], of which they were now almost wholly destitute; and which was still worse, had not the least hopes of ever receiving any more, either from *Portugal* or *Goa*.

Succeeded by Oviedo. *His wretched condition.*

FOR by this time it was sufficiently known in both the countries, how dreadfully retrograde their affairs had gone during the two last reigns, and how small dependence could be had on the most flattering promises of the jesuits, of what they might do if they could but receive a new rein-

[o] TELLEZ, CODIGN. LOBO. LUDOLPH, & al. sup. p. 184.

[p] Ub. forcement,

forcement from either [q]. Among the reſt, prince *Henry*, who now governed *Portugal*, during the minority of king *Sebaſtian*, ſaw ſo far through the artifice, that he made no difficulty to write to Pope *Pius* V. to deſire him to recall his patriarch and all his miſſionaries out of *Ethiopia*, and to ſend them to preach in *China*, *Japan*, or any other country, and ſet aſide all further thoughts of gaining any ground in the *Abiſſinian* dominions, at leaſt till time offered ſome better proſpect of ſucceſs. The pontif, who was no leſs appriſed of the misfortunes that had attended the miſſion, readily agreed to his requeſt, and ordered a bull to be expedited for the recall of *Oviedo* and the reſt of the jeſuits; which was accordingly ſent to him in the year 1566. *Oviedo*, who received it the year following, anſwered his holineſs, that he was very willing to obey his orders, and to go and preach in *India*, or any other country where he ſhould pleaſe to ſend him; but at the ſame time humbly repreſented to him, the difficulty and danger of getting out of *Ethiopia*, as well as his inexpreſſible regret for abandoning a country where ſo great and glorious a harveſt of ſouls might be ſtill reaſonably hoped for, if the miſſionaries could but be ſupported by five or ſix hundred *Portugueſe*; alledging the good diſpoſition he had obſerved in many of the *Abiſſinians* to embrace the catholic faith, and their being only deterred from it through the fear of the puniſhment. He added, that there were moreover great multitudes of heathens, which might be eaſily brought over to the pale of the church; that many of them, he was credibly informed, had begged that favour of the late emperors, who had, for worldly intereſt, denied their requeſt (I).

The jeſuits become ſuſpected at Liſbon.

Oviedo *and his miſſionaries recalled by the Pope.*

His plauſible reaſons for ſtaying.

THE

[q] TELLEZ, CODIGN. & al. ub. ſup.

(I) Among theſe were the inhabitants of the large kingdom of *Damot*, and of the rich canton called *Sinaxi*, which produces great quantities of gold. Againſt theſe laſt, a kinſman of the late emperor had been making war; upon which they offered to become tributary, and to embrace Chriſtianity, if he would deſiſt; which he abſolutely refuſed. Of thoſe Gentiles, eſpecially of *Damot*, the *Mooriſh* merchants, which are very numerous in this empire (31), buy vaſt multitudes, whom they drive to the *Red Sea*, and ſell them to the *Turks* and *Moors* at a great price, who afterwards force them to turn *Mohammedans*, and breed them up for ſoldiers;

(31) *De his, vid. ſup. p.* 69, *& ſeq.*

Begs for fresh troops.

THE question indeed was, how such a considerable reinforcement, had the king of *Portugal* been inclined to send it, could have found admittance into any part of the empire, now all the sea-ports and sea-coasts were in the hands of the *Turks?* And if they had, whether the known insolence of those troops would not rather have obstructed, than promoted, the conversion, either of the *Abissinians* or Heathens; or at best have been justly looked upon as a kind of dragooning, rather than an evangelical mission. But the good patriarch was so zealously bent upon subjecting the *Abissinian* church to that of *Rome*, and the temporality of the empire to the king of *Portugal*, that he had not time to consider how far he over-acted the part of an apostle of the meek and gentle JESUS, whom he pretended to represent; and therefore left no stone unturned, nor motive unurged, to obtain the so much wished-for succour; and, among other things, represented the present emperor as a weak and indolent prince, quite unfit to hold the reins of such an empire, which would soon be swallowed up by the *Turks*, and utterly lost to *Europe*, and to the *Roman* see, unless an effectual stop was put to their progress, by the timely arrival of the *Portuguese* forces [r]. The Pope, however, and the king of *Portugal*, lent a deaf ear to all his specious pleas; so that he was left to die there in the extremest poverty and misery, in the year 1577, after he had resided near twenty years in that country. His death was soon followed by that of the few jesuits that were left with him. *Antony Fernandez*, whom he had appointed chief of this first mission, expired soon after in the same miserable condition; *Gonzalez Cardoso* was assassinated in a wood by some banditti; *Andrew Gualdarez* was massacred by the *Turks*, as we lately hinted; *Emanuel Fernandez*, the oldest of all the four, died next; *Francis Lobo*, the last of them, was the only one who sur-

Dies miserably.

His other missionaries die soon after.

[r] TELLEZ, ubi sup. p. 194, & seq. CODIGN. l. iii. c. 13, & seq. LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup.

so that they become in time very hurtful to the Christians (32).

It might, therefore, be justly questioned, whether these worldly ends, as the good patriarch stiles them, were not rather very impolitic, and whether the tribute which those merchants paid the *Abissinian* monarchs for every slave they carried out of those countries, could counterbalance the great harm those very slaves, when brought up under a military discipline, might do afterwards to their dominions.

(32) *Tellez, ubi sup. Lobo, Ludolph, & al.*

vived

vived them, till the year 1596. This was the sad catastrophe of that first mission, after it had lasted forty years; that is, from 1557 to 1597, when father *Lobo*, or *Lopez*, died; and which might probably have succeeded much better, had not the *Portuguese* insolently insisted upon one third part of the empire, as a reward for their timely assistance, and the Pope's patriarch as strenuously exacted a total submission of the emperor, and all his subjects, to the church of *Rome* (K) *. *The sad end of the mission.*

ALL these multiplied disasters, which made the princes of *Europe* look upon this enterprize as wholly set aside and impracticable, did only whet the zeal of the jesuitical society to pursue their sollicitations at the courts of *Rome* and *Madrid*, for reviving of it with greater vigour; to which they were encouraged by the great number of *Portuguese*, which were still left in *Abissinia*, as well as by the hopes they had conceived of *Philip* II. who, as shall be shewn in the sequel, had now got possession of the kingdom of *Portugal*; and, as they rightly imagined, would gladly embrace any opportunity of renewing a correspondence and commerce with that empire, especially as *Malac Segued*, who was still involved in wars, both against his rebellious subjects, and his *Mohammedan* neighbours, might, on that account, be glad enough to accept of some assistance from him. He had in- *The Jesuits revive the mission.* Malac Segued's *success in* Ethiopia.

* Iid. ibid.

(K) This last is reported to have foretold, as he was dying, to his distressed flock, that they should have the comfort, before a year was expired, to see some new missionaries arrive; which was verified by the coming of father *Belchior de Sylva*, by birth an *Indian*, and a Brachman, whom Don *Alexis de Menesez*, archbishop of *Goa*, who had converted him to Christianity, sent thither for that end (33). *Sylva* accordingly arrived before the year was out, and continued his mission in those parts till the year 1602, though with no great success that we can learn, through the difficulty of those times, says our author (34); but we may add, through the irreconcileable hatred which the *Abissinians* had justly conceived against all the *Portuguese*, whether missionaries or otherwise.

We are told likewise, by the jesuit *Guerriro* (35), that the patriarch *Oviedo* foretold that the monastery of *Fremona*, the residence of the *Roman* patriarch and his fraternity, should subsist as long as the world; but the event shews that he was no true prophet, as we shall see in the sequel.

(33) *Vide Codign. de Rel. Abass. l.* iii. *c. ult. ad fin.* (34) *Le Grand, Relat. d'Abassin. p.* 297. (35) *Relaçam Annal. dos annos* 1607, *& seq. fol. vers.* 42. *La Croze, ubi sup. l.* iii. *p.* 284, *& seq.*

deed

deed been very ſucceſsful againſt them, and gained ſeveral conſiderable victories over both of them; and over and above that, had ſubdued the rich kingdom of *Enarea* [t], and cauſed the inhabitants to be converted to the *Abiſſinian* faith. But whilſt he was employed with his army in one part of the empire, he was ſtill plagued with ſome invaſion or inſurrection in another; and this encouraged king *Philip* to ſend him an obliging letter and meſſage, in order to renew the alliance between the two crowns, and, if poſſible, to introduce ſome of his forces once more into that empire. The perſon he choſe for that purpoſe was one *Lewis de Mendoza*, who was then ſettled at *Diu*, and well acquainted with the commerce of the *Red Sea*.

Conquers Enarea.

Philip II. of Spain *ſends a letter to him.*

He was to be accompanied by an *Italian* biſhop, named *John Baptiſta*, to give an air of grandeur to the meſſage; but he died in the way thither, and *Mendoſa* found means to penetrate into *Ethiopia*, and delivered the letter to the emperor, who expreſſed a great ſatisfaction at it, as appears by the anſwer which he cauſed to be ſent back by the ſame meſſenger. It was written in *Ethiopic*, in an elegant ſtyle, and full of expreſſions of friendſhip and good wiſhes, mentions the *Italian* biſhop's death, and ſome epiſtolary correſpondence that had paſſed between the viceroy of *Goa* and himſelf, wherein he had deſired him to ſend him ſome able workmen, to caſt cannon and other fire-arms, make gunpowder, ſwords, and other military weapons, and renews the ſame requeſt to the king his maſter; but ſays not one word about ſending him any auxiliary forces. The letter is dated *February* 9, 1589, according to the *Roman* ſtyle, and is kept among the archives of the eſcurial; a copy of which was ſent from thence to Mr. *Ludolph*, by a *Swediſh* gentleman, named *Sparwerfeld*, a perſon of note and learning; and afterwards tranſlated into *Latin* by Mr. *Ludolph*, and publiſhed among many others of the *Abiſſinian* monarchs in his *commentary* [u], with his remarks upon it (L).

The emperor's anſwer to it.

MEN.

[t] De hoc, vide ſup. p. 38.

[u] P. 483, & ſeq.

(L) This tranſaction is omitted by Father *Tellez*, though he makes mention of *Mendoza* upon another account, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. What induced him to paſs it over, we know not; unleſs it be that king *Philip*'s making choice of an *Italian* biſhop, inſtead of one of his own fraternity, might be looked upon as a ſlight upon his order, of whom there were enough that would gladly have accepted of that commiſſion: however, both the meſſage and letters, and the ſending of that prelate, are facts too well known to admit of a doubt; and are accordingly

MENDOZA having ſo well ſucceeded in his firſt expedition, was eaſily perſuaded by the jeſuits to undertake a ſecond, and to introduce thither with him two of that fraternity that had been pitched upon by Don *Emanuel de Souza Continho*, the new governor of *Goa*, from a good number of others whom their provincial preſented to him: theſe were, *Antonio de Montſerrato*, a *Catalonian*, and *Peter Pays* a *Spaniard*, whom he was to embark in ſome of the *Indian* veſſels, commonly called Banieans, which frequently trade to *Mazwa*. They had accordingly ſailed from *Goa* in *February*, *an.* 1588, for *Diu*, the place where *Mendoza* reſided; but had been driven by a ſtorm into the gulph of *Babaos*, whence he fetched them privately in the night, and conveyed them into *Diu*, in the habit of *Armenians*, to prevent their being diſcovered. They ſtaid a conſiderable time there before any of thoſe ſhips would venture to take them in, becauſe their diſcovery would have been followed by a confiſcation of the whole cargo, that being the penalty of carrying white men on board without proper paſſes; ſo that it was not till *December* following that they went on board one of thoſe Banieans, which deſigned to land them at *Zeyla*; but being ſhattered by a ſtorm, was forced to put into one of the iſlands called *Curia Maria*, where they were diſcovered, and ſtripped, and made ſlaves of, and were not redeemed till almoſt ſeven years after, and at a very high price. This ſlavery, however, proved of ſingular benefit to father *Pays*, who became by that time a perfect maſter of the *Arabic* tongue, which was afterwards of great ſervice to him upon his coming into *Ethiopia*.

Montſerrato *and* Pays *attempt to get into* Abiſſinia.

Taken priſoners.

WHEN the news of their captivity had reached *Goa*, it was immediately reſolved, that two others of the ſame fraternity ſhould be ſent thither in their ſtead, there being now none of them left alive there but father *Lobo*, mentioned a little higher, and he extremely aged and worn-out. One of the perſons they choſe was father *Abraham de Georgiis*, by nation a *Maronite*, and by profeſſion a jeſuit; a man of great

Abraham, *a* Maronite

accordingly taken notice of in the relation of *Alexis de Mendoza*'s expedition (36). And as to the emperor's letter, it bears all the marks of a genuine one to a much greater degree than ſome others from the ſame monarchs, which neither their editors, nor any of the *Portugueſe* miſſionaries, ever looked upon otherwiſe than authentic (37).

(36) *Lib.* i. *c.* 4. *p.* 23. *La Croze, Chriſtian. Abiſſin. p.* 286. (37) *De his, vide Ludolph. Comment. p.* 285, *& ſeq. Le Grand, Relat. p.* 451, *& ſeq.* 465, *& ſeq.* 470, *& ſeq. & alibi paſſ.*

learn-

Jesuit, sent into Ethiopia.

learning and courage, and a thorough master of all the eastern languages, and was then professor of the *Syriac* at *Malabar*, where he probably introduced the pronunciation of the western *Syrians*, which was afterwards followed in the pretended inscription of *Si-ngan-fu* [w]; of which an account hath been given in a former volume [x]. This great man set out accordingly from *Malabar*, and arrived at *Diu*, and thence at *Mazwa*, in a *Banian* vessel, *anno* 1595. But here being asked by the bashaw, whether he was a *Mohammedan* or a Christian, and he having made an open confession of his faith, and absolutely refusing to save his life by apostasy, was ordered by him to be beheaded. The next that was sent from *Goa* was Father *Sylva*, or, as some call him, *Sylvius*, whom we have mentioned in a former note [y]; and who, having embarked at *Goa*, arrived at *Mazwa* in the habit of a seaman, and passed thence to *Fremona*, where he succeeded Father *Lobo*, who died there the year before [z].

Discovered, and beheaded.

Sylva gets into Ethiopia.

Malac Segued *beset by the* Turks *and the* Gallas.

We return now to the affairs of *Abissinia*, which continued still in a bad plight. The *Turks*, having got footing into the empire ever since the year 1572, were still possessing themselves of some new territories, whilst the *Gallas* were ravaging whole provinces in some distant parts, prevented the emperor's driving them out, as he had often attempted to do. He was no less unfortunate in his marriage, his empress bringing him none but daughters, whilst he had several sons by his concubines; but, upon that account, excluded from succeeding him; so that he had, for some time, cast his eye upon a brother's son, named *Za-Denghil*, to be his successor: but, a little before his death, having set his affections upon one of his bastard sons, named *Jaacob*, then a minor, he bequeathed the crown to him, with the consent and approbation of all his nobles, though from no better motive than the hopes of governing that young prince, instead of being governed by his nephew, who was of age, and every way qualified to hold the reins of the empire, in such a perilous crisis. He was, however, no sooner returned from his wars against the *Gallas* of *Bachilo*, but finding his health decay, and repenting of his former choice, he assembled his nobles and chief officers, and declared to them, that though he had, from a fondness to his own offspring, thought fit to appoint his young son *Jaacob* for his successor, yet now finding himself drawing so near to his end, his love, care, and concern,

Appoints his successor, but alters his mind.

His speech in favour of his brother's eldest son.

[w] See La Croze, Christianisme des Indes. vol. viii. p. 78.

[y] See before, note (K).

[x] See before,

[z] Tellez, Lobo, Codign. Ludolph. & al.

for

for his country obliged him to alter his mind, and to ratify the preference he had formerly given to his nephew *Za-Denghil*, as a perſon, at this juncture, much fitter to mount the throne, both on account of his age, his bravery, and other princely qualities, which rendered him altogether worthy of it. He expired very ſoon after, about the middle of *Auguſt*[a]; but his rapacious courtiers, inſtead of complying with his choice, or conſulting the laudable inducements which led him to it, ſtiffly and unanimouſly adhered to his former declaration in favour of *Jaacob*, and refuſed to acknowlege any other monarch but him. *His death.* 1596. *His nobles declare for his baſtard ſon* Jaacob.

In conſequence of this reſolution, they ſent two bodies of armed men, the one to ſeize on *Za-Denghil*, and the other on *Suſneus*, or, as the *Portugueſe* writers, call him, *Socinios*, mother grandſon of the emperor *David*, before either of them were appriſed of the emperor's death, or of the perſon he had made choice of for his ſucceſſor. *Za-Denghil* was accordingly ſeized, and carried away to the lake of *Dembea*, where he was kept cloſe priſoner in one of the iſlands of it, formerly deſcribed [b], and from thence ſent ſome time afterwards upon one of their ſtrong mountains: but *Suſneus*, having got intelligence of their deſign, had the good fortune to make a timely eſcape to the frontiers of the empire, where, with a ſmall army, he kept himſelf ſafe, till he was raiſed to the throne. This did not prevent the nobles proclaiming the young *Jaacob*, then about ſeven years of age, and engroſſing the government into their hands, in conjunction with the empreſs *Mariam-Sma*, who readily ſided with them; and had two of her ſons-in-law for her aſſociates, the one called *Rus Athaneus*, and the other *Caſſuade*, then viceroy of *Tigre*; ſo that young *Jaacob* had only the bare name of emperor, during his minority: but when he had attained to his 14th year, and began to ſhew a deſire of ſharing the government with them, the alarmed empreſs, and her two ſons-in-law, conſcious of their tyrannical conduct, immediately altered their behaviour towards him; and, under pretence of remorſe for having deprived *Za-Denghil* of his right, ordered him to be fetched out of his confinement, and proclaimed him emperor even in the very camp where *Jaacob* ſtill was; who thereupon made his eſcape with all the haſte he could, and with only eight of his ſervants, towards the high mountains of *Semen*, where he might have been ſafe enough, had he not been betrayed by one of his own reti- *Za-Denghil ſent cloſe priſoner.* *The empreſs joins with them.* *Raiſed to the throne, and* Jaacob *ſent priſoner to* Enarea.

[a] Tellez, l. iii. c. 14. Lobo, Ludolph. l. ii. c. 6. §. 49, & ſeq. Le Grand, & al. [b] See before, p. 37.

nue.

nue. This traitor took an opportunity, whilſt the young prince was taking a little reſt, to go and alarm a neighbouring town, with the news of *Za-Denghil* being proclaimed emperor, and that *Jaacob* was fled thither for refuge; threatening them, at the ſame time, with the new emperor's diſpleaſure, if they did not apprehend and carry him priſoner to the imperial camp. He was accordingly ſeized, and conveyed thither; and, when brought before *Za-Denghil*, his nobles propoſed that his noſe and ears ſhould be cut off, in order to diſqualify him for the government; but the more generous emperor contented himſelf with ſending him cloſe priſoner to the diſtant kingdom of *Enarea*, where he was ſtrictly watched by the governor of it, till he found an opportunity of remounting the throne [c].

Father Pays's invitation and arrival at court.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the famed Jeſuit Father *Pays* had found means to penetrate into the borders of *Abiſſinia*, and had met with a joyful reception at the convent of *Fremona*, where he had ſpent ſome time in compoſing and diſtributing a catechiſm among their proſelytes, whilſt he was waiting for an anſwer to a letter he had ſent to the young emperor *Jaacob*, then on the throne. *Za-Denghil*, upon his acceſſion to it, was ſoon appriſed of his being at *Fremona*, and of his character as a learned man, a great traveller, politician, and zealous catechiſt; and, being naturally curious and affable, ſent him a preſſing invitation to come to his court, by an obliging letter, which, for its ſingularity, was thought worthy of being inſerted in the margin (M). The

[c] TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, & al.

(M) The letter of the emperor *Za-Denghil*, alias *Aznaf Segued*, to Father *Pays*.

"May the letter of the emperor *Aznaf Segued* come to the hands of the worthy father, who is maſter of the *Portugueſe*. How is your health? Hear what follows, and the good things which our Lord God hath done for us. We were ſeven years in priſon, and endured inumerable hardſhips: but our Lord God, taking compaſſion on our miſery, brought us out of it, and hath given us the empire, and hath made us heads of all; even as *David* ſays, *The ſtone which the builders rejected is become the head corner-ſtone*. Now may the ſame Lord end that well which he hath begun. Hear farther, that we are very deſirous that you ſhould come ſpeedily to us, and that you bring the books of juſtice of the kings of *Portugal*, if you have them; for we ſhall be glad to ſee them (38)."

(38) *Apud Tellez, ubi ſup. l.* iii.

father

father gladly accepted the favour; but the viceroy of *Tigre*, who was to conduct him to court, was obliged to delay his departure, on account of an irruption which the *Gallas* had lately made into three different parts of the empire; againſt the moſt conſiderable of which, the emperor was obliged to march in perſon, whilſt his viceroys had orders to ſtop the progreſs of the other two. The firſt of theſe was made into the kingdom of *Gojam*; the viceroy of which had orders from him not to attack the numerous barbarians, till he had joined him; but he, willing to put a ſtop to their cruel ravages, and venturing to fall upon them contrary to his inſtructions, was totally defeated; which obliged the emperor to double his ſpeed to go and attack them. By that time he was come within their reach, his forces were ſo fatigued with their march, as well as diſcouraged by the late defeat, that they would willingly have deferred fighting; but ſeeing themſelves attacked by the enemy in three different bodies, with their uſual fury, the right and left wing were quickly put to the route, and betook themſelves to flight; which as ſoon as the main body perceived, the chief officers came to perſuade the emperor to retire, before he was ſurrounded by the enemy; but were not a little ſurpriſed, when they beheld that undaunted young prince, inſtead of clapping ſpurs to his horſe, alight from him, and, taking his ſhield in one hand, and his ſword in the other, tell them, with an intrepid look, *Here I am reſolved to die; you may indeed eſcape the enemy's ſword, but never can the infamy of abandoning the emperor you have ſo lately proclaimed.* Theſe words had ſuch a ſudden effect upon his troops, that one would have thought he had at once transformed them from ſheep into lions: they gathered themſelves up with the utmoſt ſpeed, and fell with ſuch deſperate fury upon the enemy, that they forced them to turn their backs, and run with all the legs they had, whilſt the other two wings, obſerving their flight, purſued them with ſuch freſh vigour, that they did not give over killing till night obliged them to deſiſt [d].

The emperor defeats the Gallas with great ſlaughter.

On the next morning, the emperor leaving the field of battle all over ſtrewed with their dead bodies, marched immediately over craggy and high mountains to find out their ſecond army; whom his troops, now flushed with victory, charged with ſuch ſucceſs, that they defeated them with a freſh ſlaughter of the greater part. The news of which ſo alarmed the third body, that they all betook themſelves to a haſty flight, excepting 400, who were poſted on a high

Returns victorious to his camp.

[d] Tellez, ubi ſup. Ludolph, Lobo, &c.

moun-

mountain to guard some of their booty. These likewise the emperor caused to be attacked by some of his best climbers, which was executed with the same valour and success; the *Gallas*, after a stout defence, being for the most part cut in pieces. After which, the emperor led his victorious army to his usual residence; being no less beloved by his subjects, than dreaded by his enemies, for his singular valour and extraordinary success.

Father Pays is brought to court.

IT was not long, however, before he quite forfeited the affections of the former, by the arrival of Father *Pays* in the imperial camp, and the surprising ascendant which that politic and intriguing Jesuit gained over him: for no sooner had the *Tigrean* viceroy received the news of his victorious return, than he accompanied him, as he was ordered, to *Ondegere*, near the *Dembean* lake, where the court was, and where he was quickly admitted into the royal presence with great solemnity; and, after having had the honour to kiss his majesty's hand, was immediately ordered to sit down on the highest step on which his couch or throne stood, where they both conversed a considerable time, without any regard to the rest of the company; after which, the emperor ordered him to be handsomely entertained, and gave him leave to withdraw [e] (N).

His grand reception there.

Holds a conference about religion.

WHAT the subject of their conference was, *Tellez* leaves us to guess; which is no hard matter to do, since he sent for him again on the next day, to hold a public dispute with the *Abissinian* monks, and other persons of note; and among them, the viceroy of *Tigre*, who begged of the emperor, that, having heard the master, he would also his scholars, who were brought thither for that purpose; and, with whose answers to their catechism, the prince was so highly pleased, that he begged a copy of it; which was immediately presented to him. On the next *Sunday*, he sent for the father

[e] TELLEZ, ubi sup. c. 18, & seq. LOBO, LUDOLPH.

(N) The reader may not perhaps be displeased with the description of this prince, which father *Pays* hath been pleased to give us of him. He seemed to be about 26 years of age, tall, manly, and well shaped; his eyes large and beautiful, his nose sharp, and his lips thin; his complexion was somewhat tawny, and, were it not that that colour is reckoned in *Europe* less becoming, he would not have been inferior to the finest men among us: *in a word*, adds that father, *his person was worthy of the empire he held, and the majesty he represented* (39).

(39) *Apud Tellez, ubi sup. l.* iii. *c.* 18, *et seq.*

to ſay maſs, and preach before him; and profited ſo well under his new inſtructor, that he forthwith iſſued out a proclamation againſt obſerving the ſabbath, and went on ſo faſt in other reſpects, that the good father was forced to adviſe him to go more gently on. It is indeed very likely that all this pretended warmth was rather owing to the expectation he was in of receiving ſome conſiderable reinforcement from *Goa*, which that father made him hope for, than to any conviction in favour of the *Roman* church. This made him write two letters, the one to pope *Clement* VIII. and the other to *Philip* II. of *Spain*, filled with the greateſt expreſſions of zeal for their church and perſons. That, in particular, to the pontif contained the ſtrongeſt promiſes and engagements of univerſal obedience to his ſee, and the deepeſt ſentiments of gratitude to his holineſs, whoſe zeal, he was given to underſtand by Father *Pays*, for the ſalvation of ſouls was ſuch, that he was labouring at it even to the effuſion of his blood; he therefore deſires him, as the true vicar of Chriſt, and the ſucceſſor of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, to promote the alliance and friendſhip he was then negotiating with the king of *Spain*, and to prevail on him to diſpatch a ſufficient number of forces into *Abiſſinia*, to aſſiſt him in ſuppreſſing the barbarous *Galla*, and, at the ſame time, to ſend him ſome fathers to inſtruct his ſubjects in the true faith. He concludes with theſe words, *Let thoſe fathers you ſend us be virtuous and learned, that they may teach us what is requiſite for the good of our ſouls. Few words to the wiſe* [f].

The emperor favours the church of Rome.

Letters to the pope and king of Spain.

Sends for freſh miſſionaries and forces.

THESE letters Mr. *Ludolph* very much ſuſpects of being forged, and the reader may ſee his reaſons for his thinking them ſuch [g]: however that be, Father *Pays* ſent them into *Europe*, as delivered to him by the emperor's own hand, who calls himſelf in them *Aznaf Segued*, the name he had taken at his coronation. He adds, that he ordered him at the ſame time to write more explicitly to the pope, and to acquaint him, that the ſuccours which he aſked for were to ſecure him againſt ſuch of his ſubjects as ſhould oppoſe his eſtabliſhing the *Roman* faith in *Ethiopia*; and that he only mentioned them as deſigned againſt the *Gallas*, in order to amuſe his ſecretary, as he himſelf dared not write it with his own hand, leſt, if it ſhould be intercepted, his own ſubjects ſhould riſe up and murder him. The letter is dated *June* 26, 1604, and may be ſeen intire in *Tellez* [h]. The other, which was written to the king of *Spain*, was much in the ſame ſtrain; and, beſides

[f] Id. ibid. [g] Lib. iii. c. 16. [h] Ubi ſup. See alſo Guerreico. Codign. & al.

the above-mentioned ſupply of forces, deſired him to ſend one of his daughters to give in marriage to his ſon. Father *Pays* was moreover preſented with 300 ounces of gold, which he abſolutely refuſed, begging only of him the liberty of building a church; which being readily granted, he went in queſt of ſome proper perſon to ſend his letters by.

A rebellion raiſed againſt him:

THESE open proceedings ſoon alarmed the great officers of the empire; the Abuna *Peter* himſelf declared againſt them, and abſolved all the people from their allegiance to the emperor. At the ſame time, a turbulent fellow, named *Za Salaſſe*, whom that prince had recalled from his baniſhment in the kingdom of *Enarea*, during the reign of young *Jaacob*, put himſelf at the head of the revolted; who, perceiving the danger of their church, were now riſing up in arms in defence of it, and had reſolved to reſtore the crown to young *Jaacob*, then cloſe priſoner in *Enarea*. He was joined in this deſign by ſome of the greateſt officers in *Abiſſinia*, and particularly by *Ras Athenæus*, one of the empreſs's ſons-in-law; ſo that the conſpiracy was ſoon brought to too great a head, under thoſe great commanders, to be ſuppreſſed by *Za-Denghil*, eſpecially as the Abuna's interdict had cauſed ſuch a defection among his troops, that he had hardly any left to ſupport him, or that he could confide in, except his *Portugueſe*, about 200 in number, with their brave commander *John Gabriel* at their head. To theſe, and to Father *Pays*, he addreſſed himſelf in words to this effect: "This revolt is "raiſed againſt me, becauſe I was deſirous to bring my ſub-"jects into the true faith, and to deliver them from the op-"preſſion of tyrants;" meaning thoſe who held the reins during *Jaacob*'s minority. To which they replied, that he would do well to delay engaging the rebel army, which was ſo ſuperior in number, till he could ſo far increaſe his own as to be able to make head againſt them; which advice was ſo much the more reaſonable, as he had, in his march, augmented his own forces to about 10,000 men, and new ones came daily ſtill to him.

Abandon'd by his forces; and interdicted by the Abuna.

THEY came at length to the large plain of *Varcha*, almoſt in the very heart of the kingdom of *Dembea*, where they were ſoon alarmed with the noiſe of the enemy's trumpets and kettle-drums, who lay incamped at a ſmall diſtance from them. The traitor *Za-Salaſſe* no ſooner heard of their arrival, than he was for attacking them immediately, before any of his men had time to go over to the emperor: and, for the ſame reaſon, the *Portugueſe* general was for declining the battle for a while; but *Za-Denghil*, who could not bear to be braved by the rebels, confiding perhaps too much in the juſtice of his

his cauſe, ordered his army to be ranged in battle array. He placed his 200 *Portugueſe*, with ſome of his own men, on the right, whilſt he commanded the left himſelf. The *Portugueſe* fell immediately on the rebels with their uſual fury, and ſoon put them to flight, whilſt *Za-Denghil*, on his ſide, fought with no leſs eagerneſs and intrepidity; but being by degrees abandoned by the greateſt part of his puſillanimous troops, and ſupported only by a ſmall number of his faithful and braveſt friends, one *Humardin*, a *Moor*, who ſerved under the rebels, obſerving the confuſion they were in, made up directly towards the emperor, and with his lance gave him ſuch a deſperate wound on the neck, that he brought him to the ground. He quickly ſtarted up, and with his ſword defended himſelf for ſome time, till the traitor *Za-Salaſſe* came riding full-ſpeed, with his lance couched againſt him, and wounded him in the face; upon which, the reſt ſoon put an end to his life with their ſwords. *Attacks the rebels too ſoon.* *Defeated, and killed.*

THUS fell that noble emperor a ſacrifice to his untimely zeal, who might, in all probability, have reigned long and happily over his ſubjects, if he had not exaſperated them by his too open affection for a church, againſt which they profeſſed an irreconcileable diſlike. The battle was fought on the 13th of *October* of the year ſucceeding that of his coronation, after the ſhort reign of fifteen months. His death put an end to the rebellion, which had been chiefly raiſed in oppoſition to his too violent meaſures in favour of the church of *Rome*; whilſt the diſorders that followed ſoon after gave *Suſneus*, the next competitor for the crown, a fair opportunity of making a ſucceſsful attempt upon it [1]. 1604.

WE have already taken notice how this prince, whom the *Portugueſe* writers commonly call *Socinios*, made his eſcape to the diſtant frontier kingdom of *Amhara*, to eſcape the miniſters and partiſans of young *Jaacob*; and there, it ſeems, he maintained himſelf, though in great diſtreſs, yet with a reſolution and bravery worthy the ſon of the great *Baſilides*, or *Faciladas*, who loſt his life in fighting againſt the *Gallas*, and the grandſon of the noble emperor *David*. As ſoon, therefore, as he underſtood that the throne was become vacant by the death of his couſin *Za-Denghil*, and that the depoſed baſtard *Jaacob* was detained cloſe priſoner in the furthermoſt parts of the empire, he ſent immediately one of his faithful friends, named *Bella Chriſtos*, to meet *Athenæus* and *Za-Salaſſe*, the two chief leading men in the empire, to aſſiſt him in his rightful pretenſions to the *Suſneus revives his pretenſions.*

[1] TELLEZ, LOBO, LUDOLPH, LE GRAND, &c.

Proclaimed by Athenæus,

crown: to which the former consented, after some hesitation, and soon after joined him with his forces; at the head of whom he was proclaimed emperor, by the title of Soltan *Segued.* The same messenger came next to *Za-Salasse*, who answered, that though he thought the crown belonged to *Jaacob*, as he had been already crowned, yet if he did not come by *June* next, he would acknowlege *Susneus*. This answer not satisfying him, he sent another nobleman, and a monk, with a letter, importing, "that, as he was now pro-"claimed emperor, he would never resign his title to *Jaa-"cob*, nor even to his own father, if he was to rise from the "dead." Upon which, *Za-Salasse*, having secured the messenger, he marched with his whole army against him, resolving to deliver his own answer to him with sword in hand; which obliged him to retire again to *Amhara*, he being then sick: but when he perceived that the summer was almost spent, and *Jaacob* not yet come out of *Enarea*, he was easily persuaded to make his submission to the new emperor before he forced him to it. Upon which, *Susneus* sent a monk to administer the oath of allegiance to them, and then proclaimed him emperor. Immediately after which, *Za-Salasse* sent ten of his chief officers to compliment and pay homage to him in his name, with an additional protestation that he would stand by him against all opposers, and even *Jaacob* by name, should he now come from *Enarea* [k].

and Za-Salasse.

Za-Salasse's message to the emperor.

THESE were no sooner come to the kingdom of *Bagemder* or *Begameder*, where *Susneus* was already arrived, and when he was receiving them with feastings and other tokens of joy, than news was brought to *Za-Salasse*, that *Jaacob* was got near *Dembea*, and sent orders to come and join him; upon which, without the least hesitation at the oath he had taken to *Susneus*, he immediately complied, and led his army to him; sending, at the same time, a private message to the ten officers he had sent to *Susneus*, to hasten away and come to him. This obliged the emperor to withdraw once more to *Amhara*, as he was not in a condition to make head against them, whilst *Jaacob* was received with all demonstrations of joy; who immediately created the traitor general of all his forces. *Ras Athenæus* came next with all his troops, to pay his homage to him, and met with a no less gracious reception: but their treachery proved a serious warning to him against putting too great a confidence in them; so that, unwilling to depend on the instability of fortune, he chose rather to come to a composition with his rival; and sent him

They prove treacherous to him.

[k] Iid. ibid.

according

accordingly an offer of the kingdoms of *Amhara*, *Olear*, and *Xaxa*, with all the rich lands his father had in the kingdom of *Gojam*, provided he quitted his title to the empire to him. To this *Suſneus* anſwered, that he had a juſt claim to the throne, and would have all or none: upon which, *Jaacob*, finding himſelf ſtrong enough, marched directly againſt him, and incamped ſo near, that he was forced again to withdraw, and wait for a more favourable opportunity [1].

Jaacob's offers rejected by Suſneus.

FORTUNE ſoon offered him an advantageous one; for, whilſt *Jaacob* marched in purſuit of him, *Za-Salaſſe*, inſtead of following him, took a quite different road with his own army, without giving any reaſon for his ſo doing; the news of which being brought to *Suſneus* by his ſpies, he went and poſted himſelf in an ambuſh, at a paſs called *Monter Daffar*, where he ſuddenly fell upon and totally routed him. The traitor, with ſome difficulty, eſcaped to *Jaacob*, and left his army, camp, and treaſure, at the mercy of the conqueror; ſo that he met with but a very cold reception from *Jaacob* at his arrival. This ſlight exaſperated him the more againſt him, and made him abandon his party to go over to *Suſneus*. *Jaacob*, not leſs vexed at his treachery, marched directly againſt his competitor; fully reſolved to give him battle. He moved his camp from place to place, whilſt the more politic *Suſneus*, like another *Fabius Cunctator*, kept himſelf on the more elevated grounds, watching for a proper time to fall on him. At length, as he was decamping on *Saturday* the 30th of *March*, the enemy, who were thirty to one, believing that he fled, purſued him with loud ſhoutings; ſo that he was, againſt his inclination, obliged to engage them; and, having animated his handful of men with great promiſes of reward, he led them down the hill with ſuch impetuous bravery, that, to uſe the words of the *Ethiopic* hiſtorian Bahhu, the enemy fell down before him like autumn leaves before the wind. *Jaacob* himſelf was borne down in the hurly-burly, yet no man could boaſt that he had killed him. The Abuna *Peter*, who was of the ſame ſide, was ſlain likewiſe; which *Suſneus* no ſooner heard, than he put a ſtop to the purſuit, in order to ſpare the reſt; but they were all ſeized with ſuch a panic, that there was no poſſibility of ſtopping them; ſo much that, night overtaking them in their flight, a much greater number periſhed by their falling down the rocks and precipices, than by the ſword. Next morning they found above 600 horſes daſhed in pieces at the foot of a rock an hundred yards high, and the ground covered with the dead

Za-Salaſſe purſued, and defeated.

Suſneus amuſes Jaacob and his army.

Engages and defeats them with great ſlaughter.

[1] Iid. ibid.

bodies of their riders. *Ras Athenæus*, who had likewise gone over to *Jaacob*'s side, escaped, and took refuge in the monastery of *Duna*, and was afterwards pardoned by *Zela Christos*, *Susneus*'s brother. Thus ended *Jaacob*'s life and reign, after having been twice raised to the throne, from thence sent the first time into banishment, and the second into another world [m].

Clemency to them.

SUSNEUS, or Soltan *Segued*, by this unexpected victory, secured himself of the crown, and freely forgave all the revolters that had escaped, excepting only the *Mooriſh* officer *Mahardin*, or, as some call him, *Humardin*, who had formerly given the first wound to *Za-Denghil*, and whose head he caused to be struck off: so that he gained as great reputation by his clemency as he had for his valour (O), upon this occasion. He spent three whole days in distributing the spoil of the enemy among his soldiers, and, with a singular generosity, rewarded those who were most deserving: after which, he marched with them to *Coga*, a place situated between *Dembea* and *Bagameder*, where the late *Jaacob* usually kept his court. As for the traitor *Za-Salasse*, he soon drew upon himself, by his indiscretion, the punishment which he had deserved so often by his treachery: for being one day heard to brag, that some wise men had foretold him that he would be the death of three monarchs, and that he had destroyed two of them already, the words were immediately carried to *Susneus*, who caused him to be sent to the strong mountain of *Guzman*, in the kingdom of *Gojam*, of which he had been lately made viceroy by *Jaacob*. He thence made his escape, after a year's confinement, and put himself at

Generosity to his own men.

Za-Salasse's folly, and final punishment.

[m] Tellez, Ludolph, & al. ubi sup.

(O) *Susneus* was about thirty-three years of age when he gained this noble victory. He is described to us as a well-shaped genteel person, his visage long, but well proportioned, his head of hair well-spread, his eyes of a fine hazel-colour, very sparkling and amiable, seemingly obliging all men by his looks: his nose was sharp, his lips thin, his beard black, but broad, his stature above the middle size, well-set, and brawny, and, in all respects, much like an *European*, except the brownness of his complexion.

He was moreover an excellent horseman, bold, brave, and resolute, and well-read in the *Ethiopian* books. He was discrete, courteous, bountiful, and warlike, inured to martial hardship, as having been ten years successively in arms, without one day's intermission (40).

(40) *Pays, apud Tellez, ubi sup. lib.* iii. *c.* 30.

the

the head of a gang of banditti, in the province of *Oleca*, where the inhabitants, having caught him in an ambuſh, cut off his head, and ſent it ſtuck upon a ſpear to the emperor, who cauſed it to be ſet up before his own palace. *Athenæus*, or *Athanataeus*, fared not much better; for that prince cauſed him to be ſtripped of his ill-gotten lands, and ſoon after, his wife, according to the cuſtom of the *Abiſſinian* princeſſes, formerly taken notice of [n], abandoned him: ſo that he was reduced to the meaneſt condition, after having been formerly the firſt man in the empire, next to the emperor. *Suſneus* likewiſe cauſed the grants of lands formerly ſettled upon the Jeſuits to be confirmed to them for ever [o]; the publication of which was performed by proper officers, with the uſual ceremony, which the reader will find deſcribed in the margin (P). So fond was that monarch of the company of thoſe fathers, that finding upon his arrival at *Coga*, that they were retired to their monaſtery at *Fremona*, he ſent immediately for them; and, as it was then in the winter-ſeaſon, ordered them to come by the way of the *Dembean* lake; which they readily complied with, notwithſtanding the riſk they ran from the lightneſs of their tancons, or ſmall ruſh-boats, and the ſea-horſes which infeſt that lake; being no leſs ready to anſwer the ſummons of ſo kind a friend than he was to have them near him, to conſult them on every exigence, and eſpecially about getting, if not ſome freſh forces, at leaſt, a ſupply of workmen, to caſt him ſome new guns, bombs, *&c.* make gunpowder, and other neceſſary utenſils of war.

Athenæus's ſad catastrophe.

Jeſuits called to court.

[n] See before, p. 77, & ſeq.

[o] TELLEZ, & al. ubi ſup.

(P) This ceremony is uſually performed by an azagge, or lord, or a haumar, who is a kind of magiſtrate or judge, and takes a circuit round the border of the lands contained in the grant. He is generally accompanied by the emperor's muſicians, with their trumpets, kettle-drums, *&c.* which ſummon all the people of the neighbourhood to come and ſee the land-marks placed and fixed. They likewiſe ſometimes kill here and there a goat, and bury the head of it, to ſerve for another kind of land-mark; and the removing of any of either ſort is puniſhed with great ſeverity.

The lands thus granted enjoy conſiderable immunities, and are as perpetual as any thing of that kind can be in a country where the government is liable to ſuch frequent changes and revolutions (41).

(41) *Tellez, ubi ſup. Ludolph. et al.*

1608. *An impostor sets up for the emperor* Jaacob.

BUT whilst they were thus hatching their new projects, a strange report was spread about, which failed not to surprise and alarm them all: it was, that the late emperor *Jaacob*, whom they had supposed to have been slain in the late fight, was still alive, and had gained a considerable number of partisans in the kingdom of *Tigre*. There had been, in fact, a bold youth, whether the real *Jaacob*, or an upstart impostor, who assumed the title, appeared in and about the monastery of *Bizan* [p], a proper place for his purpose, on account of its vicinity to the port of *Mazwa*, especially as those monks, who were of the order of St. *Eustacius* [q], were very numerous, and dispersed through great part of that kingdom, where they served as curates, and bore a great sway among the populace, who came flocking about him accordingly, as to their emperor, whom God had miraculously preserved, and sent to them. The better to disguise the unlikeness there was between the countenance of that prince and his own, he wore a scarf over his head, which, in the coming down below his chin, covered the greater part of his face; pretending that he had received a stroke of a spear in the late battle, which had broke out his teeth, and sadly disfigured him; all which was believed without any further examination: insomuch that all, either out of pity to his misfortune, or in hopes of being amply rewarded, accommodated him with horses, mules, arms, and what other things they could spare to him. Many more, who lived by robbing, came over to him, in hopes of plunder; and he saw himself, in a short time, at the head of a powerful army, with whom he descended into the low lands, and committed the most cruel outrages and robberies. Having plundered a caravan of some gold, he caused it to be flatted, and made into the shape of the *Abissinian* crown, elsewhere described [r].

Followed by the monks and people.

Ravages the low lands.

HE was at length grown so powerful and formidable, that the emperor was obliged to send his brother *Sella Christos* with an army against him, composed of what forces he had, though much inferior in number, whilst *Ala Christos* was ordered to march with another body into *Bagameder*. However, the imperial forces, being better disciplined, easily routed those of the sham *Jaacob*, and forced him to fly back to the mountains beyond *Debaroa* more than once. But whilst the emperor thought of putting a stop to one evil, he brought a much greater one upon himself; for the restless *Gallas*, whom *Sella Christos*'s presence deterred from committing any hostility in his government, no sooner heard of

[p] De hoc, vide sup. p. 216. [q] Ibid. p. 361. [r] P. 164, sub not.

his

his being marched far enough off, than they entered the province with ſuch a numerous train, that *Suſneus* was obliged to collect what forces he had, and to march againſt them; and, being vaſtly inferior in number, was twice defeated by them. The news of this diſaſter rendering the counterfeit *Jaacob* more daring and inſolent, and *Sella Chriſtos* leſs able to make head againſt him, an expreſs was ſent to the emperor by the latter, deſiring him to march with all poſſible ſpeed with his whole army to *Axuma*, in order to be crowned there, as uſual; to which he the more readily conſented, as he had now taken his revenge of the *Gallas*, and gained a complete victory over them. *New revolts in other provinces.*

WHILST he was upon his march, the impoſtor, who had heard only of his two defeats, but not of his victory, was the more encouraged to come down from his high mountains, as a report had been perhaps deſignedly ſpread among his men, that *Sella Chriſtos* was fled, and had left all his tents behind. He was, however, ſoon undeceived, when the viceroy came ſuddenly upon him, and, after an obſtinate fight on both ſides, routed him with great ſlaughter, and drove him afreſh to his old ſhelter among the rocks, but without being able either to kill or take him; the king ſtill continuing his march over the high mountains of *Lamalmon*, formerly deſcribed [a], and arrived ſafe at the head of his army in the neighbourhood of *Axuma*; and was ſoon after crowned with the uſual ſolemnity in that metropolis, by the abuna, on *Sunday* the 23d of *March*; his brother *Sella Chriſtos* and Father *Pays* aſſiſting at the ceremony. *The ſham Jaacob defeated.* *The emperor crowned.*

As ſoon as the coronation was over, the king marched directly in ſearch of the impoſtor among the mountains of *Debarowa*; of which he having notice, diſmiſſed his men, and, with only four ſervants and a few goats, hid himſelf ſo cloſely, that the emperor could not get ſcent of him all the time he ſtaid in that neighbourhood. In the mean time, as one revolt is no ſooner quelled in one province than a new one is raiſed in another: a ſlave of the late emperor *Malac Segued*, named *Melchizedech*, came from the mountains of *Amhara*, and joined himſelf to one *Arſoo*, ſaid to have been a brother of the late *Za-Denghil*, and marched with him into the kingdom of *Dembea*. Againſt theſe he ſent his brother with a good force, who came time enough to ſtop their progreſs. The head rebels thinking themſelves ſtrong enough to engage him, the ſlave was ſlain in the fight, and *Arſoo* taken priſoner, and ſent to the emperor, who ordered him Jaacob *hides himſelf in a cave.* *Two revolters defeated, and killed.*

[a] See before, p. 95.

to

to be beheaded. *Susneus*, before his departure from these parts, was pleased to visit the monastery of *Fremona*, and made a present to the Jesuits of 300 pieces of eight, leaving the abuna *Simeon* there to be instructed by them in the *Romish* faith; after which he began his march homeward, accompanied by the viceroy *Sella Christos*, and left *Ampsala Christos*, a brave and prudent nobleman, governor of the kingdom of *Tigre* [t].

Jaacob appears again.

All this time *Jaacob* had continued in his cave, he and his four servants being only supported with the milk of a few goats; but, being now informed of the emperor's departure, he ventured himself out again, whilst the governor *Ampsala*, whom that monarch had left with a strict charge to ferret him out, had tried all the ways he could think of, though all in vain, and now lay sick at *Getopel* near *Fremona*, with only a handful of men. This encouraged a couple of banditti to join themselves with *Jaacob*, in hopes to surprise and murder the sick governor. They had 1500 men with them, and would infallibly have succeeded in their attempt, had not one of them, by taking a shorter cut, brought him timely notice of it. The viceroy, sick as he was, would have gone to meet them; but a *Portuguese* advised him to conceal a few of his musketeers in some convenient pass, who should fire upon them as soon as they approached. The plot succeeded to their wish, and the villains, at the first firing, fell flat upon their faces; then starting up, betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter; seventeen of them being taken prisoners. *Jaacob* escaped once more; but was at length taken by two *Abissine* officers, who beheaded him, and sent his head to the emperor (Q). This was the end of that

A plot to murder the viceroy defeated.

Jaacob beheaded.

[t] Tellez, Lobo, & al. ubi sup.

(Q) These were called *Amhara Georgis* and *Zarah Jaunez*, two relations of the late emperor *Jaacob*, who, believing this impostor to be the same person, had engaged to stand by him with their lives and fortunes: but coming to him, to be satisfied about it, they being well acquainted with the true one, the cheat was soon found out, tho' he shewed them but a small part of his face; and they resolved to secure him. He was, however, aware of their design, and timely gave them the slip, with his 600 men; which put them to the trouble of searching afresh among those high and rocky places where he usually skulked.

They caught him at last, and, upon pulling his muffler off, found that he had not the least scar upon his face; upon which, they took care to have him publicly exposed, to take off all suspicion of his being the real

that impostor, who had caused so much mischief and bloodshed in the empire; and yet there wanted not partisans, who, either out of dislike to the emperor and his Jesuits, or for some other views, gave out that he was escaped, and fled into *India*; insomuch that it was afterwards strongly reported, that there was a man in the kingdom of *Decan* so very like him, that he was believed to be the very same person [u].

HITHERTO we have only dwelt on matters of state; and it is probable enough that the disasters we have been speaking of, hindered Soltan *Segued*'s applying himself so closely to those of religion, as he was otherwise inclined to do; at the same time that they took off the eyes of the people from seeing the progress which the *Roman* missionaries made in several parts of the empire. One may say, their affairs had never been in so hopeful a condition as now; and the pope and king of *Spain*, though they seemed quite forgetful of the emperor's request, with respect to either forces or workmen, yet took care to send them fresh supplies of preachers, who were sure to meet with a gracious reception from him, especially as they came fraught with fresh promises with regard to the other two articles; though, in all likelihood, no such thing was designed. *Sultan Segued's favour to the missionaries.*

THE following year, the court being removed from the old station to *Deghana*, a place on the north-side of the *Dembean* lake, and in the neighbourhood of *Gorgora*, where the fathers resided, gave them frequent opportunities of conversing and disputing with *Sella Christos*, the emperor's bro- 1610.

[u] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, & al. ubi sup. Vide et LE GRAND, Dissert. ix. p. 300, & seq.

real *Jaacob*; after which, they caused his head to be struck off, and sent to the emperor, who ordered it to be carried about through the whole kingdom of *Tigre*, that they might be satisfied of their having been deluded. This soon allayed the confusion he had thrown the kingdom into, and all readily submitted to the emperor, who punished only some few of the ringleaders, but spared the rest. *Ambara Georgis* and *Zara Jaunez* threw themselves on the mercy of that monarch, and pleaded their having seized and dispatched the impostor as soon as they had discovered him to be such, as a motive for their siding with the true *Jaacob*; which was the more readily granted, as their request was backed by Father *Pays*, who was sent with them to court by the viceroy to be their intercessor (42).

(42) *Tellez, ubi sup. Ludolph. l.* ii. *c.* 7. *n.* 48, *et seq. Le Grand, Relat. Abissin.* ix. *p.* 300, *et seq.*

Sella Chriſtos *embraces the* Roman *faith.*

ther, during that and the following year. He is repreſented as a wiſe, learned, and affable prince; and whether really convinced in his mind, as they affirm, or out of a ſervile complaiſance to his brother, we will not take upon us to ſay; but it appears from their account, that, about the ſame time that he made public profeſſion of his converſion to the church of *Rome*, which was the very next year, the emperor removed his imperial camp from thence into the kingdom of

1612. *Gojam*, and created him viceroy of it; which was almoſt equivalent to the making him king of it, as he gave him the whole revenue of that country, and as he was to be obeyed in it like the emperor himſelf. From that time *Sella Chriſtos* became not only a zealous proſelyte, and main ſupport to the *Roman* church, both during the life and after the death of that monarch, but drew great numbers of the grandees and nobles of the empire, by his example and intereſt, into the ſame creed. He next cauſed a church and monaſtery to be built for the uſe and reſidence of the Jeſuits, which was the firſt they ever had in the kingdom of *Gojam*, and the third they now poſſeſſed in *Abiſſinia*; the firſt being at *Fremona*, in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and the ſecond that of *Gorgora*, near the lake of *Dembea* [w]. But this new one was moreover endowed with large revenues, and extenſive territories, by that viceroy, for the maintenance not only of the Jeſuits, but for the *Portugueſe* widows and orphans, which were diſperſed through the empire, and in great want of ſuch a charitable proviſion. The emperor, on his part, who had not yet ſent an anſwer to the obliging letter which Father *Pays* had brought him about five years before from *Philip* II. of *Spain*, was now more at leiſure to do it with more grandeur; and, to that end, made choice of one of his court, named *Takor*, or *Tagur Egzye*, a perſon of great prudence and experience, and a very great zealot for the *Romiſh* church, to go thither on an ambaſſy from him, accompanied by Father *Anthony Fernandez*; who, inſtead of going, as uſual, to *Mazwa*, were, for their greater ſafety, to make the beſt of their way through the kingdom of *Enarea* to the coaſt of *Melinda*. This road, which was contrived by *Sella Chriſtos*, in order to avoid the *Turks*, proved no leſs difficult and dangerous from another quarter, which he had not foreſeen. They ſet out

1613. of *Dembea* about the beginning of *March*, the following year, attended by ten *Portugueſe*, four of whom engaged to attend them to *India*, the other ſix only to the frontiers of *Enarea*; and, when they came to the kingdom of *Gojam*,

Builds a church and monaſtery for the Jeſuits.

An ambaſſy ſent by the emperor.

Takes the rout thro' Enarea.

[w] Id. ibid.

the

the viceroy furniſhed them with an eſcorte of *Gallas* and *Xates*, whom he had hired to conduct them, becauſe the way lay through both their territories. They ſet out again from *Ombrana*, where the viceroy's camp was, for the kingdom of *Enarea*, on the 15th of *April*, attended by forty men, armed with darts and targets. It would be too tedious here to tell our readers the many difficulties they met with in their croſſing the *Nile*, and vaſt ridges of mountains, and through ſome of the territories of the barbarous *Gallas*, *Caffres*, &c. before they reached the kingdom of *Enarea*, the laſt territory belonging to the *Abiſſinian* empire [x]. It will be ſufficient to ſay, that even the *Abiſſines* themſelves were ſo diſſatisfied with this expedition, which they looked upon, tho' diſguiſed under various falſe colours, as calculated to introduce the *Portugueſe*, in order to bring their nation under their power, and their church under that of the pope, did all they could to render their journey more difficult and dangerous. This was more plainly perceived by the cold reception which the ambaſſador met with from the ſuſpicious viceroy of *Enarea*, and from the various ſtratagems he uſed to find out the deſign of the ambaſſy, which they were, on their part, as careful to conceal from him. He diſcovered enough, however, to convince him, and the great men of his court, whom he conſulted upon it, that it was by no means expedient to let them continue the route that had been chalked out to them; ſeeing that was indeed the moſt ſafe and expeditious into *India*, and with which, if the *Portugueſe* were once acquainted, it would be eaſy for them to pour in their forces upon them, and ſubdue them both to their king and religion: wherefore they reſolved to ſend them a great and difficult way about, through the kingdom of *Balii*; to which the fathers, after much conteſting, were obliged to ſubmit. Upon which, having preſented them with thirty ounces of gold, to defray their charges, and ordered proper officers to conduct them on their way through the kingdom of *Gingiro*, along with an ambaſſador from that kingdom, who was then at his court, to whoſe care he committed the fathers, he gave them leave to depart.

The viceroy of Enarea *puts them out of their way.*

Sends them through the kingdom of Balii.

We ſhall follow them no farther, but obſerve, upon the whole, that an *Abiſſinian*, named *Markar*, who was diſpatched, as may be juſtly ſuppoſed, by ſome of thoſe grandees of *Suſneus*'s court, who were averſe to this ambaſſy, to put a ſtop to its going further, betrayed their whole deſign to the governor of *Amelmal*, in the kingdom of *Camale*, and, at the

Manker, an Ethiopian, *ſent to ſtop them.*

[x] De hoc, vide ſupra, p. 38.

fame

same time, incensed all the people against them; upon which, the governor caused them to be arrested, till he had sent to the *Abissinian* court for further instructions. Three months elapsed before an answer returned, with one *Babare*, a man well known in these parts, with express orders to that governor, accompanied with some rich presents, both for him and for the *Mooriſh* prince *Alico*, to help them forward on their journey, and to furnish them with all they wanted. It
1614. was in the month of *June* next year before these orders came; so that they had spent already fourteen months from their first setting out. The governor complied with the empe-
Imprisoned by the Moor Alico. ror's orders; but *Alico*, being instigated by *Manker*, caused them to be stopped afresh, and imprisoned, when they came into his territories. A strict search was made into all their cloaths and baggage, in order to find out the emperor's letters, which the father had providentially tied about the brawny part of his arm; so that they escaped a discovery. The father, who was confined apart from the rest, apprehending the danger of a second search might prove more fatal, resolved at any rate to prevent it; and calling for some fire, and a pipe of tobacco, found means to burn the letters undiscovered; which put an effectual end to all their fears and danger. *Alico*, having detained them for ten days in that confinement, released them without farther harm, though *Manker* was very pressing to have them put to death; only, at his instigation, he kept three of his four *Portuguese* prisoners,
Forced to go back. and, to prevent the governor of *Amelmal*'s assisting the ambassador to proceed on his journey by some other way, ordered him to return to the *Abissine* court by another route; where, after many fatigues and dangers, he at last safely
Arrive at court. arrived, with Father *Fernandez*, though not without great regret for their disappointment, and the loss of their three companions that were left behind [y].

THE emperor was no less vexed at their return, and the account they gave of their journey; from all which he could not but clearly perceive how odious all his measures were become to most of his subjects, and what a difficult task he
Conference betwixt the Portuguese *and* Abissines. was like to have to bring about his designs. To remove one of the main obstacles to it, he bethought himself of ordering sundry conferences and disputations to be held between the *Portuguese* and the *Abissines* on the controverted points between them [z]: the result of which was, that, becoming impatient at the obstinacy of the latter, he issued out a proclamation, forbidding, under the severest penalties, any of

[y] TELLEZ, LUD. & al. ubi sup. [z] Ubi sup. p. 142, & seq.

his

his ſubjects maintaining, that there was but one nature in Chriſt. This, and ſome others which followed in favour of the church of *Rome*, failed not of putting the whole empire, and eſpecially the clergy, into a grievous ferment. The abuna *Simon*, who was then abſent, immediately came to court, and threatened to excommunicate all that adhered to the *Romiſh* doctrine; and being ſupported by *Emana Chriſtos*, another of *Suſneus*'s uterine brothers, ventured ſo far as to do ſo, and to have his excommunication affixed on the gates of one of the churches of the imperial camp. In revenge of it, the emperor immediately cauſed another proclamation to come out, giving leave to all his ſubjects to embrace the faith which the *Portugueſe* fathers preached, and had ſo learnedly defended in their late diſputations againſt the *Abiſſinian* doctors. This was ſoon followed by a freſh anathema from the abuna, who, taking advantage of the emperor's being abſent, and forced to winter in the kingdom, to ſuppreſs the revolted *Agaus* [a], wrote circular letters to all his clergy, in defence of the old *Abiſſinian* faith, and condemning all that oppoſed it.

A proclamation againſt the Abiſſinian faith.

Abuna's excommunication of the Roman.

THIS laſt augmenting the general diſcontent againſt the *Roman* miſſionaries, a young nobleman, named *Julius*, or *Ælius*, or, as the *Abiſſinians* pronounce it, *Eulos*, ſon-in-law to the emperor, at that time viceroy of the kingdom of *Tigre*, and a great enemy of *Sella Chriſtos*, ventured to take up arms in defence of the old religion, and to perſecute the *Romiſh* fathers at *Fremona*, and all their converts throughout his government, women as well as men. The emperor was ſoon appriſed of it, who forthwith ſent orders to the abuna, and father *Pays*, to repair to the imperial camp, that the ſcruples of the one might be removed by the arguments of the other (R). They both readily obeyed; but the former came

Ælius takes up arms againſt the emperor.

[a] De his, vide ſup. p. 70.

(R) It may not here be amiſs to obſerve, that Father *Pays*, and others of his ſociety, had been very buſy in tranſlating and publiſhing ſeveral polemic treatiſes of their own church into the *Ethiopic* tongue, for the uſe of their converts, and more particularly ſuch as they thought entered moſt into the controverſy between the *Abiſſines* and them. Among theſe were *Maldonat*'s Comment on the Four Goſpels, *Toledo* on the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, *Reibera* on that to the *Hebrews*, and ſome others of the like ſtamp. All which were liked by ſome, but more generally diſliked by the reſt, on account of the many *Amharic* words and idioms that were intermixed with the *Ethiopic*, and were looked upon as ſo many ungrammatical barbariſms.

What ſtill more confounded them was, that in theſe books, they had written the Lord's prayer,

came attended with such a multitude of monks and nuns, that they out-numbered the army; and all of them protested, that they would sooner die than forsake the antient faith, and, on their knees, begged of him that he would not persist in his innovations. The manner in which that monarch rejected their request was such as put them out of all hopes of prevailing; whilst *Ælius* his son-in-law, *Emana Christos* his brother, and one *Casto*, who was his high steward, being grown out of all patience at his unnatural inflexibility, began to hatch a conspiracy both against him and his brother *Ras Sella Christos*, into which old *Simeon* the abuna was easily drawn.

Conspires against him and his brother.

THE better to pave the way to it, they agreed that the latter should thunder out a fresh excommunication against all who maintained the two natures of Christ; at which the emperor was so provoked, that he forthwith ordered him to take it off, or else he would order his head to be struck off. The pusillanimous prelate was obliged to obey; and the other three, finding no other way to compass their end, marched directly to the new palace built by Father *Pays*, where the emperor then was, and, leaving their men at the door, went up-stairs directly to him, with a full resolution to dispatch him. *Susneus*, who was just before apprised of their design by a kinswoman of his, named *Ileamata*, saw them enter the chamber with their swords in the scabbard in their hands, as is the custom at that court, without betraying either fear or mistrust; but rising from his seat, as it were to walk, laid his hand, in a familiar manner, on *Ælius*'s sword, and went with them to the stair-case that led to the top of the house.

Disappointed in his design.

The others followed him, thinking that a more proper place to execute their design; but, as we formerly observed, the door being purposely contrived by that Jesuit to shut with a spring-lock [b], the king pulling it after him, left them on

[b] See before, p. 106.

prayer, and *Ave Maria*, in the *Ethiopic* character, but had left them untranslated from the *Latin* tongue; so that they look upon them with horror, and as on some pieces of conjuration (43). In the same absurd manner the congregation *de propaganda fide*, at *Rome*, caused the *Pater Noster*, and *Ave Maria*, to be printed in the vulgate *Latin*, but in the *Ethiopic* character (44); which plainly shewed, that they did not design to allow them to perform the divine service in their own tongue, and could not but add to the other prejudices they had justly conceived against their church.

(43) *Tellez, lib.* iv. *c.* 14. *Ludolph. l.* iii. *c.* 10. *n.* 56, *& seq.* (44) *Id. in Indic. capit. p.* 17.

the

the outſide, and diſappointed their treacherous intent, without noiſe or diſturbance; which reminded him of what *Payz* had formerly told him, that that door might prove of ſingular ſervice to him [c].

Purſues it with more vigour.

ÆLIUS was, however, ſo far from being diſcouraged by this diſappointment, or from purſuing his former views, that he iſſued out an edict, enjoining all the *Portugueſe*, and their adherents, to depart out of the kingdom of *Tigre*, and all thoſe that wiſhed well to the *Alexandrian* church to follow him. At the ſame time, the abuna publiſhed another, in which he excommunicated all the oppoſers of the *Abiſſine* church, and poured out ſhowers of bleſſings on the defenders of it, and more eſpecially on *Ælius*, who had taken up arms in its defence. This laſt it was, in all probability, which ſo highly encouraged that young and raſh nobleman to attack the emperor, who was returning to *Dembea* at the head of a powerful army, and, in ſpite of all the earneſt prayers and tears of his wife, to run the riſk of a battle rather than be reconciled to him.

Supported by the abuna.

Marches againſt the emperor.

HE was indeed ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed by thoſe of his party, that, if he bent his whole force againſt his father-in-law, he could hardly fail of gaining the victory, becauſe part of his commanders, who diſliked all his meaſures, would be eaſily induced to abandon him. Fluſhed with thoſe hopes, and impatient to put an end to the war, he rode up directly towards the emperor, accompanied with only ſix or ſeven volunteers, and, marching ſternly thro' the ranks, aſked aloud, *Where is the emperor?* In this manner did he paſs through them unmoleſted quite to the emperor's tent, near which ſtood poſted a battalion of troops, who knew nothing of his deſign; between whom and him a ſcuffle aroſe, in which he was knocked on the head with a ſtone; ſoon after which, another ſoldier came and run him through, and, having cut off his head, carried it to the emperor. His few followers were immediately cut in pieces; at the ſight of which, his army betook themſelves to flight, but were purſued with great ſlaughter, till the emperor commanded a retreat. The old abuna, who had beheld theſe tranſactions from an eminence, ſtood like one thunder-ſtruck, and either had not power to fly, or hoped that his character would have proved a ſafeguard to him. It did ſo accordingly for ſome time, and the imperialiſts paſſed by him without any notice or inſult, till at length *hum valente catholico*, a valiant catholic, as one

Slain with a ſtone.

His army diſperſed.

[c] PAYS, apud TELLEZ, lib. iv. c. 14. LUDOLPH, lib. iii. c. 10. n. 54.

The abuna murdered. of their authors ſtyles him, laid him proſtrate on the ground with a ſtroke of his lance; after which, he was ſoon diſpatched by his followers, his head cut off, and brought to the emperor. Some others of the revolters underwent the ſame fate, particularly the eunuch *Caſlo*, whoſe heads, with thoſe of *Ælius* and the abuna, were expoſed to public view; which put an effectual end to the rebellion, and gave *Suſneus* a breathing-time to reſume his religious projects in favour of the church of *Rome* [c].

THEY were at this time in great expectation of the patriarch from *Rome*, whom that monarch had deſired the pope to ſend to him, to aſſiſt him to complete the good work, which he looked upon now as more likely than ever to ſucceed to both their wiſhes. He had by this time ſuppreſſed the *Agaus*, and reconciled them ſo far to Chriſtianity, that they had agreed that Father *Pays*, who had done them ſome ſignal ſervices, and obtained for them ſome better terms from the emperor than they could otherwiſe have hoped for, ſhould come among and inſtruct them: but as that father was more uſefully employed at court, they accepted of Father *Fr. Antony de Angelis* in his ſtead. The emperor had likewiſe taken care to ſecure an eaſy entrance to the Jeſuits that ſhould come from *Europe*, and more particularly for the promiſed patriarch, by obliging the baſhaw of *Swakem*, with dint of preſents, to let them go to and from *Fremona* unmoleſted. Accordingly there arrived two of them from *Goa*, who came, as it were, as forerunners of the patriarch *Mendez*; but, by reaſon of the badneſs of the roads and great rains, were obliged to winter at the monaſtery of *Fremona*. Their names were *James de Mattos*, a *Portugueſe*, and *Antony Bruno*, a *Sicilian*; the former of whom met with a gracious reception at court the ſummer following, and the other ſtaid there to ſupply the place of Father *Laurence*, who died about that time. The emperor growing ſtill more zealous againſt the *Abiſſinian* rites, iſſued out a proclamation againſt the obſervation of the ſabbath, or ſeventh day, which cauſed a freſh ferment, and ſome ſevere expoſtulations to be conveyed to him by an anonymous hand. Notwithſtanding which, he ordered it to be followed by a ſecond; by which he obliged his ſubjects to work on *Saturdays*, under the ſmall forfeiture of a piece of cloth, worth a crown, for the firſt, and confiſcation of all for the ſecond offence; and this laſt occaſioned a new revolt, which was like to have had fatal conſequences, and to have unhinged all his projects [d].

The Agaus converted.

The Turkiſh baſhaw bribed.

Two Jeſuits arrive.

A proclamation againſt the Abiſſines.

[c] TELLEZ, & al. ubi ſup. [d] TELLEZ, lib. iv. c. 20. LUDOLPH, lib. iii. c. 10. n. 65, & ſeq.

It was raiſed by *Jonael*, viceroy of *Bagameder*, and one of the greateſt men in the empire, and who had publiſhed that proclamation, not ſo much out of obedience to the emperor, as with a view of ſtirring up the people to a general rebellion: ſo that, by the latter end of the ſame year, he found himſelf at the head of a conſiderable body, who followed him to ſome of the high mountains on the frontiers, where he was to be joined by the *Gallas*, whom he had engaged to come to his aſſiſtance. The emperor, perplexed and exaſperated at the many obſtacles laid in his way, and to find ſo many traitors, as he called them, about him, retired to have recourſe to ſevere means, and cauſed ſome to be beheaded, others hanged, and others baniſhed; which, however, rather heightened than allayed the general diſcontent; inſomuch that many noble perſons of both ſexes, ſome of them his near relations, beſought him with tears, "that he would not expoſe his empire to the danger of a general revolt, but rather take pity of thoſe multitudes of his ſubjects, who offended more through ignorance than wilfulneſs, than to drive them by his rigour into deſpair." He grew ſo much the warmer at their intreaties, as he found ſo great a number of them in the ſame mind. To give them, therefore, ſuch an anſwer as ſhould, he thought, at once confirm the unſteady, and deter the obſtinate, he convened the chiefs of his council and army, and ſuch other learned prieſts and monks as followed the court, and, in a ſet and determinate ſpeech, upbraided them with *having deprived the* Za-Denghil *of his life and crown, for having forſaken the* Alexandrian *faith, and embraced that of the* Portugueſe: *notwithſtanding which, when he himſelf came to the crown, after the defeat of the late* Jacob, *inſtead of uſing any ſeverity againſt them, he had forgiven them all; in return for which lenity he had met with nothing but ſeditions and revolts, under pretence of his introducing innovations into the* Abiſſinian *church, when, in fact, he was only reforming it; ſeeing he reformed no more than they all did, that* CHRIST OUR LORD WAS PERFECT GOD AND PERFECT MAN; which he could not be, unleſs he was inveſted with the human as well as with the divine nature; which two natures being diſtinct from each other, it neceſſarily followed, that they both muſt be hypoſtatically united in him; *which*, he ſaid, *was not a forſaking, but profeſſing, the true religion. And as to his forbidding the obſervance of the ſeventh day, he had done it, becauſe he judged it unbecoming a Chriſtian to obſerve the* Jewiſh *ſabbath*: that theſe he firmly believed, not out of regard to the *Portugueſe*, but becauſe they were the genuine decrees of the

Jonael raiſes a revolt.

The emperor's ſeverity complained againſt.

His ſpeech to his nobles.

the *Chalcedonian* council, and were confirmed by the practice of all Christian churches from the time of the apostles; for which, he added, he was ready to lay down his life, if there was occasion; but hoped that would rather prove the fate of his opposers.

He had scarce done speaking, when a letter was brought to him from the revolted *Jonael*; in which, we are told, that viceroy insisted upon very high terms, and particularly on the total expulsion of the Jesuits [e]. The emperor was not long debating about it; but, resolving to answer him sword in hand, marched at the head of his choicest troops directly towards him; but finding the mountains, on which he was posted, too difficult of access, he encamped about the foot of them, not doubting but some of the revolters would come quickly down to him, as they actually did, and in such numbers, that *Jonael*, finding himself in a great measure abandoned, fled to the *Gallas*, his confederates, where, instead of a refuge, he met with his death; they having been bribed by the emperor to dispatch him.

Gets him murdered by the Gallas.

In the same year, another such revolt was quelled in the frontiers of the kingdom of *Gojam*, which had been raised on the same account at the instigation of the monks and *Batavil*, a kind of hermits, of the kingdom of *Damot*. These *Ras Sella Christos* at first endeavoured to reduce by fair means; but, upon their answering him, that they would not submit unless he delivered to them the books translated by the *Latin* fathers, to be committed to the flames, and the writers to be hanged, he attacked them with such fury that above 300 of them were cut in pieces, and, amongst them, 188 out of 400 of those monks, after a most desperate defence. All this while, Father *Pays* had been employed in building a sumptuous church of square stone, after the *European* manner, near the lake of *Dembea*. This structure had a very stately arch over the high altar, supported by curious columns, whilst six others of the *Ionic* order supported the frontispiece; over which was a high steeple for the bells. A winding stair-case led to the top, which was flat, and fenced by a parapet; whence one had a delightful prospect over the lake and adjacent plains. The building being now finished, the emperor went two days journey to view it, and entered it bare-footed; and, at his departure, left a very considerable present to it [f].

Another revolt quelled in Gojam.

A stately church built by Father Pays.

[e] Tellez, lib. iv. c. 22. Ludolph, ubi sup. p. 71, & seq.
[f] Tellez, ubi sup.

Having

HAVING by this time quelled the most considerable revolts, though not the ferment that still reigned in the hearts of his subjects, he thought fit, the following year, to make a most public profession of his religion; an act which he had still delayed, partly on account of those frequent seditions, and partly through the reluctance he found to cast off all his wives and concubines, except his empress; a great number of whom he had taken, and had children by; and without which the fathers refused to admit him into their church. He was at length prevailed upon to comply; which done, he publicly abjured the *Alexandrine* church, made a general confession of his sins, in the *Romish* form, at the feet of Father *Pays*, and afterwards made a public profession of his faith in terms to this effect: "That he renounced all obedience and "communion with the *Alexandrian* see, and acknowleged "that of *Rome* alone; the pope of which was the only true "successor of St. *Peter*, the chief of the apostles; to whose "authority he intirely submitted, being fully perswaded that "he is incapable of erring in any points, either of faith or "practice." This confession and submission was afterwards published at full length through most parts of the empire, and concluded with an exhortation to his good subjects to follow his example, and with some severe censures against the errors of the *Alexandrian* church and patriarchs; as may be seen at full length in the authors quoted in the margin [s], as well as their annual letters of 1624. We shall only add, that he both not spare in it the abunas, especially the later ones, whose vices and ill conduct are by him painted in the vilest colours, and with such a zealous warmth, as he imagined would not fail of recommending him to the patriarch *Mendez*, who was daily expected, as well as to his two principals at *Rome* and *Madrid*. And this was the prevailing motive which hastened this his recantation, and induced him, tho' much against his will, to discard all his wives and concubines, together with their children; not doubting but that his example would excite many of his nobles and courtiers to follow it, whom nothing but that strong tie of nature deterred from so doing.

Susneus abjures the Abissine, and embraces the Roman church.

Publishes his confession thro' the empire.

Lashes the abunas vices.

BUT though some of them did actually do so, yet they were but few in comparison of those who dared still shew a public dislike against all his measures. Accordingly a new insurrection was raised much about the same time by the son

A new revolt raised.

[s] TELLEZ, ibid. c. 27, & seq. LUDOLPH, ubi sup. & Comment. p. 509, & seq. ALVAREZ, c. 59. LOBO, Relat. i. p. 14, & seq. LE GRAND, ibid. p. 309, 498, & alib.

Quelled by his brother Sella Christos.

of *Gabrael*; which was, however, soon quelled by the artful *Sella Christos*, who immediately marched against him, and forced him to retire into some of the most inaccessible mountains of the kingdom of *Sheva*, or *Xaoa*; where, unable to follow him, he quickly bribed some of the *Gallas*, under pretence of siding with him, to apprehend and send him either alive or dead to him. They chose the latter, and dispatched him with such zeal and fury with their clubs, that they could only send his jaw-bone and beard, which was all that remained of him unbroken. *Ras Sella Christos*, however, ventured over the mountains with some of his expert climbers, and there found the treasure which had belonged to the revolters, which he distributed amongst his troops, reserving to himself only some rich utensils, of which they had plundered a church, with a design to restore them to it. The misfortune was, that some of his enemies had by this time so far misrepresented him to the emperor, that, when the news of this defeat was brought to him, instead of rewarding or commending him for it, he stripped him of his viceroyship of *Gojam*; and though he quickly after restored him to it, yet his jealousy of him still increased, and proved the occasion of farther disasters, as the sequel will soon shew [h].

The emperor grows jealous of him.

Father Pays *dies.*

In this year, Father *Pays*, who had the greatest hand in bringing the emperor over to the *Roman* church, ended his days in the monastery of *Gorgorra*, after having spent nineteen years in that mission, besides his seven years captivity in *Arabia*, lately mentioned [i]. He was soon after followed by another of his society, named *Antony de Angelis*, who had been sent in his stead to convert the *Agaus*, as was likewise hinted above, and was famous for his skill in the *Amharan* or court-language. We mention them both more particularly, as they had lived so long, and travelled through so great a part of the empire; and as it is from the relations they have left behind of the *Abissinian* affairs, that Father *Tellez* hath taken the greatest part of the transactions of this epocha.

Succeeded by four other Jesuits.

These were soon after succeeded by four others, among whom was Father *Emanuel d'Almeyda*, often quoted through this history, who was the chief of them. The other three were called *Emanuel Barradas*, *Lewis Cardeyra*, and *Francis Carvatho*; all of whom had embarked at *Goa* in an *Indian* vessel, and in the month of *November* the same year, after many difficulties and hazards, arrived at *Suagem* on the 4th

1623.

[h] Tellez, ubi sup. c. 31, Ludolph, & al. ubi sup. [i] See before, p. 267, & seq.

of

of *December* the year following, where their rich preſents procured them a kind reception from the *Turkiſh* baſhaw. From thence they departed for *Fremona*, and arrived there about the beginning of next *February*, accompanied by ſome others of that ſociety, who had joined them in the way. There they ſtaid till they received orders from the emperor to proceed to *Dembea*, where the court then was; to which they were ſoon after conveyed by a very good eſcorte, and where they met with a moſt gracious reception from that monarch. 1624.

In the mean while, the news of the emperor's abjuration, profeſſion, and extraordinary zeal, had long ere now reached the courts of *Rome* and *Madrid*, and encouraged them to ſend the patriarch which he had ſo earneſtly requeſted of them in his former letters, though the two firſt, *Bermudez* and *Ovido*, had been ſo ſeverely treated by his predeceſſors. The perſon pitched upon was *Alphonſo Mendez*, a Jeſuit, and doctor of divinity, and a perſon every way qualified for ſuch an expedition: to ſupply whoſe place, in caſe of death (a thing ſo common in thoſe long and dangerous voyages) as well as for the greater grandeur and pomp, they appointed him two ſucceſſors; the firſt of whom was Father *James Seco*, with the title of biſhop of *Nice*, and the other Father *John de Rocha*, with that of biſhop of *Hierapolis*. All three having been conſecrated for that purpoſe, the foregoing year, in the cathedral of *Liſbon*, ſet ſail immediately for *Goa*, with ſeventeen others of the ſame ſociety. We ſhall not enter into a detail of their voyage thither, and from thence to *Fremona*, but only obſerve, that they loſt the biſhop of *Nice*, who died on the way, whilſt the patriarch and his retinue continued their route thither through the kingdom of *Dancali*, joining to the frontiers of that of *Angot*, and, after a tedious and fatiguing journey, arrived ſafely, with his company, at the monaſtery of *Fremona*, on the 21ſt of *June* of the current year 1724 [l].

Alfonſo Mendez ſent patriarch into Abiſſinia.

Two Jeſuits appointed his ſucceſſors.

One of them dies by the way.

The reſt arrive ſafely.

We have already obſerved, that the winter, in that country, begins on that day of this month, and ends on the ſame day in *September* [m]; ſo that he was obliged to ſtay there till *October* following, on account of the dangerous travelling through *Tigre* and *Dembea* at that ſeaſon, occaſioned by the corruption of the air, and noxious vapours, which are frequently fatal to the inhabitants, and much more ſo to ſtran-

[l] Tellez, ubi ſup. c. 35, & ſeq. Ludolph, ubi ſup. c. 11. Lobo, Relat. i. p. 27, & ſeq. Le Grand, &al. [m] See before, p. 51, & ſeq.

Mendez ordains 20 new converts.

gers. He set out in *October* for the new monastery at *Gorgorra*, on the lake of *Dembea*, and, during his short stay there, ordained conditionally about twenty monkish converts, who had been so before by the abuna, and allowed such of them as had wives to keep them still, to prevent the want of curates.

His grand reception at court.

When he went to wait upon the emperor for the first time, which he did in his pontifical habit, he was met about half a league from the imperial camp by the grandees and nobles of the court, at the head of 15 or 16,000 armed men, of horse and foot, officers and soldiers, in their best attire, the horses richly caparisoned, and the whole procession making a magnificent show. The horsemen first coming up to the patriarch, made him a low bow; then, opening to the right and left, received him in their centre, with sound of trumpets, kettle-drums, and other warlike instruments, and with loud shouts and acclamations. A stately pavilion having been reared for him to go and put on his cope, mitre, and pontifical ornaments, at his coming out he was mounted on a stately pyed horse, richly covered and trapped, which had been sent to him from the emperor; a sumptuous canopy was held up over him by six viceroys; *Ras Sella Christos* leading his horse by the bridle, and variety of vocal and instrumental music marching before him. At his entrance into the church, he was saluted by the discharge of some cannon, and all the small arms of the horse and foot. The emperor was seated on his throne in the chancel, magnificently cloathed, with the crown on his head: a hymn, called the *Benedictus*, or song of *Zachary*, was sung by the best voices; the patriarch was conducted to the emperor, who tenderly embraced him; after which, he went up to the altar, and made a short speech, with which his majesty was highly pleased; and then they all withdrew in the same grand manner [n].

First audience.

At his first audience with the emperor, in which he was seated on a chair equal with the throne, they appointed the day on which that monarch and all his nobles, clergy, and laity, were to make their public submission, and take the solemn oaths of obedience to the church and see of *Rome*, which was to be on the eleventh of *February* the following year. The day being come, the palace magnificently adorned, and the emperor, his eldest son *Basilides*, his brother's relations, viceroys, governors, and officers, cloathed in the richest apparel, the patriarch in his pontificals entered the

[n] Tellez, ubi sup. lib. v. c. 2, & seq. Ludolph, lib. iii. c. 11. n. 17, & seq.

grand

grand hall, and being ſeated, as at his firſt audience, on his chair at the emperor's left hand, began the ceremony with an elaborate diſcourſe on the ſupremacy of the church and pontif of *Rome*, intermixed with ſevere reflections on the paſt ages, in which the *Abiſſinian* monarchs had revolted from their allegiance to him: but now the time was come, he ſaid, in which they were again to be reduced and re-united to their great and only paſtor and fold, and make amends for the defection of their anceſtors. This ſpeech was, by the emperor's orders, anſwered by *Melcha Chriſtos*, his couſin and lord high ſteward, with great encomiums on the *Portugueſe*, and with a declaration that it was his preſent majeſty's ſincere intention to perform all his promiſes and obligations to the pope of *Rome*. The king now-and-then prompting him what to ſay next, and obſerving, among other things, *that this was not the firſt time that he had promiſed obedience to the pope, ſeeing he had done it once before in the preſence of one of the fathers of the ſociety of Jeſus*. To this the patriarch having given a ſhort reply, by way of aſſent, ordered the holy goſpel to be delivered to him; upon which, falling upon his knees, he took the oath of ſupremacy to the pope, in words to this effect [o]: "We, Soltan *Segued*, emperor of *Ethiopia*, acknowlege and confeſs, that St. *Peter*, the chief of the apoſtles, hath been appointed by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt head of the whole Chriſtian church; and that he gave him plenary power and authority over the whole world, when he ſaid to him, THOU ART PETER, AND UPON THIS ROCK WILL I BUILD MY CHURCH, AND I WILL GIVE THEE THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, *&c.*; and when, on another occaſion, he commanded him TO FEED HIS SHEEP. And we likewiſe believe that the pope of *Rome*, duly elected, is the true ſucceſſor of St. *Peter*, and is inveſted with the ſame dignity and power over the whole Chriſtian church. Wherefore we do here promiſe and ſwear to our lord and holy father *Urban* VIII. and to his ſucceſſors, a true and ſincere obedience, moſt humbly laying our perſon and empire at his feet. So help us GOD and his holy Goſpels [p]."

Emperor ſwears ſubmiſſion to the pope.

The purport of the oath.

His example was followed by prince *Baſilides*, his eldeſt ſon, and by all the other princes of the blood, as well as all the other viceroys and grandees, and the whole clergy and laity of the empire; at the end of which, the ceremony was cloſed with a ſpeech by *Ras Sella Chriſtos*, which he pronounced, with his drawn ſword in his hand, to this effect:

Taken by his heir, nobles, &c.

[o] Id. ibid. [p] TELLEZ, l. v. c. 3, & ſeq. LUD. ubi ſup.

What

What is past, is past; as for those who shall be deficient in their duty, let this (sword) *be their punishment.* Which words were thought to have been meant to intimidate those who had joined *Gabrael*'s son in the last revolt. After this, they all took the oaths to prince *Basilides*, as the immediate heir to the crown; upon which occasion, the same *Ras Sella Christos*, like a true son of the *Roman* church, to use Father *Tellez*'s own words, tacked to his oath a condition worthy of his noble heart and zeal for Christianity, in words to this effect: *I swear and promise to acknowlege him* (the prince *Basilides*) *as the lawful heir and successor of his present majesty, and to obey him like a faithful subject as long as he shall protect, favour, and maintain, the true catholic faith; otherwise to become his first and most irreconcileable enemy* [q].

Ras Sella Christos's bold declaration.

This bold declaration, which neither the emperor nor his presumptive heir thought proper to take notice of at present, was so far from inspiring that monarch with a more favourable opinion of him, that it rather inflamed his jealousy, and much more that of young *Basilides*; so that, instead of proving of any advantage to the *Roman* church and her missionaries, it rather accelerated their ruin and subversion, as the sequel will soon shew [r].

A proclamation for re-ordination.

This grand ceremony was immediately followed by a proclamation, expressly forbidding any of the *Abissine* clergy, monks, and priests, to perform any priestly functions till they were previously examined and approved by the patriarch: there being some reason to doubt whether they had been lawfully examined (S). What was still more insupportable, was an-

[q] Tellez, & al. ubi sup. [r] Id. ibid.

(S) If *Tellez* and his brethren may be believed, there was more occasion for such an examination than a reader would at first imagine; witness what we have had occasion to observe on that subject in a foregoing section (44): for, besides that they did not confer any of the lesser orders, the ordination of deacons consisted, it seems, only in anointing their heads, and shaving some parts thereof; and that of the priests, in taking a loaf of bread off the church-window with their own hand: insomuch that, on a certain time, almost 3000 resorting to the abuna of *Alexandria*, to be ordained, he not being at leisure to perform the ceremony, bid them all go and take what orders they would, and go about their business (45). But there is something so improbable in this account, that one would wish for a more impartial authority than those writers, before he can give credit to it (46).

(44) *See before*, p. 247, *& seq.* (45) *Alvarez, Tellez, ubi sup.* (46) *Vide Le Grand, Dissert. de Ordinat.* p. 342, *& seq.*

other

other edict, which was issued out quickly after, expressly enjoining all the subjects of the empire to embrace the *Roman* faith under pain of death, and to conform in all the injunctions of that church, with respect to the keeping of Lent, Easter, &c. By this last, all the ladies of the court were likewise obliged to go and take the same oaths of supremacy above-mentioned; which they actually complied with: so that there seemed now to be nothing wanting to complete the wishes of the prince and his missionaries, and bring the whole realm under the obedience of the Pope. They found however a greater obstacle to it than they imagined from the clergy and laity, and especially the monks, whom neither threats nor punishments could deter, nor fair promises and caresses induce into a compliance with the edict, but rather drove them away into the mountainous parts for refuge; where they were, nevertheless, punished with the utmost severity when caught.

to oblige all to turn papists.

WHILST the patriarch and his agents were carrying on these forced conversions with a high hand, the emperor was no less sollicitous to settle them at their ease. He built him a good house, and gave him large lands for his maintenance, on the borders of *Dembea* and *Begamedder*, and added to it a seminary for sixty *Abissinian* and *Portuguese* youths, to be instructed in both languages, and in the *Roman* faith. Besides these, he caused other houses to be built in several parts of the empire, for the residence of the missionaries, and another edifice near the camp of *Dancaz*, where he resided usually in the winter, that the patriarch might be always nigh his person, and preach to him every *Sunday* on such subjects as were most likely to reconcile his subjects to the *Romish* church. Yet all these pains and precautions brought as few sincere proselytes into it as their other severities. Still the people found something to dislike and complain against in their worship; such as kneeling at church, fixed altars, crucifixes, auricular confessions, and many other such; particularly the structure of their churches, one of which was built at *Gorgoras*, of lime and stone, with a stately roof, and a great deal of carving in it and in the choir and vestry, all which appeared strange and irregular to them. It was, however, dedicated this year, with great solemnity, after the *Romish* manner, which pleased them no better than the building. About the same time two missionaries, who had made a great number of converts in the province of *Cegued*, in the extreme parts of the kingdom of *Tigre*, were massacred by that people: soon after which, that kingdom was visited with a plague of locusts, (such as we have elsewhere

The emperor settles great revenues on the patriarch.

The people dislike the popish worship.

1626.

Kill two of their priests.

The locusts ravages in Tigre. where obſerved, is very common in this empire [a]) which did ſuch damage to it, that above 5000 families were obliged to ſeek for ſuſtenance in other provinces. This judgment was, according to their natural ſuperſtition, attributed by the *Portugueſe* to the murder of the two miſſionaries above-mentioned; and by the *Abiſſinians*, to the perſecutions raiſed againſt them by the *Romaniſts*.

1627. *The Gallas overrun Gojam.* On the following year, that of *Gojam* was over-run with the neighbouring *Gallas*, where, among other cruelties and ravages, they ſurpriſed the viceroy *Buco*, and murdered him. They would probably have done more miſchief, had not *Ras Sella Chriſtos* come upon them ſuddenly, and obliged them to re-croſs the *Nile* in the dead of the night, and return to

1628. their own mountains. The next year, in which five more Jeſuits, with ſome difficulty, arrived at *Fremona*, a new ſedition was hatched by one of the emperor's ſons-in-law, named *Tekla Guergis*, or *Georgios*, then viceroy of *Tigre*, in which he was joined by two famous nobles, *Gebra Mariam*, and *John Acayo*. Theſe immediately declared for the *Alexandrian* church, in oppoſition to that of *Rome*; and, to ſhew they were in earneſt, he ordered ſome crucifixes, roſaries, beads, and other popiſh trinkets, to be thrown into the fire; and one of the new ordained prieſts, whom the Jeſuits had recommended to be his chaplain, to be ſtripped of his prieſtly dreſs, and ſtrangled. Againſt him the emperor ſent *Kebaxos*, al. *Keba Chriſtos*, who had lately been viceroy of that kingdom, at the head of 500 targeteers, 100 horſe, and 1000 men, whom he drew out of that of *Gojam*, and with whom he marched againſt the revolters with ſuch ſwiftneſs, that though they were above a hundred leagues from them, he overtook and defeated them, and put an end to the rebellion in leſs than a month. *Tekla Guergis*, the ringleader of it, being taken, and ſent priſoner to the imperial court, was condemned by the emperor, (though he was doubly his ſon-in-law, as having married two of his daughters, one after the other) not only to loſe his life, but to be hanged like a common malefactor at the head of his camp. What muſt appear ſtill more rigorous, he ordered a ſiſter of his to undergo the ſame ſhameful death, for having, as he pretended, favoured that revolt under-hand: and this, in ſpite of all the prayers and entreaties of his court, of both ſexes, in her behalf; it being, till then, an unheard-of thing in *Ethiopia* to condemn a woman, much more a lady of rank, to ſuch a death. No wonder if the whole court was ſeized

Tekla Guergis *raiſes a revolt;*

is taken and hanged,

with his own ſiſter.

[a] See before, p. 65, & ſeq.

with

with dread and horror at ſuch an unuſual inſtance of inflexibility [t].

By this time the *Romiſh* religion ſeemed to have reached the higheſt pitch of ſucceſs that it ever had in this country. They had, beſides nineteen Jeſuits, many natives who had been ordained by the patriarch, and a prodigious number of converts. They were now laying the foundation for a new cathedral; other churches were beautified and ornamented in the *Romiſh* way. The proud patriarch had got ſuch an aſcendant over the monarch, that he was above paying any regard to the laws and cuſtoms of the country, aſſuming to himſelf an authority vaſtly ſuperior to what any of their abunas had ever pretended, or dared to have aimed at: he thundered out the moſt dreadful excommunications, for the leaſt offences, againſt even ſome of the chief officers of the court, and could hardly be prevailed upon by the ſovereign to recall them. An Ieege, or chief of the monks, a man of great ſanctity, dying in the *Abiſſinian* faith, had been buried at the foot of the altar of their church: of which *Mendez* being appriſed, he ordered his body to be taken up and thrown on a dunghill; which was accordingly done; inſomuch that the *Abiſſinians* could not forbear complaining aloud, that the *Portugueſe* exerciſed their cruelties and reſentment, not only againſt the living, but againſt the dead [u]. *A new cathedral built by the patriarch.*

But whilſt every thing ſeemed to go on according to their wiſhes, the ſeeds of all the diſaſters that befel them ſoon after, had been for ſome time ſowing underhand by *Melchæ Chriſtos*, a rank ſchiſmatic, as *Tellez* ſtyles him; but, in good truth, an enemy to all *Roman* innovations, and their authors and favourers: and one who plainly foreſaw how impoſſible it would be to ſtop their ſurpriſing progreſs, as long as two ſuch powerful friends as the emperor and his brother *Ras Sella Chriſtos*, went ſo unanimouſly hand in hand to ſupport them: ſo that there could be no other means found to ſtop the career of the former, but by ſowing the ſeeds of jealouſy between the latter (T). We have already taken *The emperor grows jealous of his brother.*

[t] Iid. ub. ſup, Ludolph, & al.

[u] Tellez, ub. ſup. c. 14, & ſeq.

(T) This was done, it ſeems, by inſpiring the emperor with a ſtrong ſuſpicion that there was a private underſtanding between the *Portugueſe* and *Ras Sella Chriſtos*; and, that notwithſtanding the ſpecious pretences of gratitude and zeal for him and his ſucceſſor, they had united their intereſts with no other view than

taken notice of the one being deprived of his viceroyship of *Gojam*, the beſt and richeſt in the whole empire, by the other; and this it was that laid the foundation for all the diſturbances and revolts which we are now going to relate.

1629. *The Agaus revolt, defeated.* ONE of the firſt of theſe ſeditions was raiſed in the next year among the *Agaus* of *Begameder*, whoſe dwelling is amongſt ſome of the higheſt mountains in the empire; againſt whom the emperor marched at the head of 25,000 foot and 2000 horſe; but attacking them too indiſcretely among their high rocks, was repulſed with great loſs. He next ordered his brother *Ras Sella Chriſtos* to lead another army againſt them; who, though lately ſtripped of his government and rich territories, readily obeyed; and, falling upon ſuch of them as had ventured down from the mountains, and prevented the reſt from doing any more miſchief. He was ſoon after obliged to march into the kingdom of *Ambara*, where another revolt had been raiſed by one *Lacu Mariam*, when he came ſo ſuddenly upon them, that the greateſt part were either ſlain, or periſhed in their flight, by their fall into thoſe deep precipices. This was no ſooner quelled than another began on the mountains of *Laſta*; againſt whom the emperor diſpatched *Keba Chriſtos*, viceroy of *Tigre*; who, venturing too far with his ſmall force, was ſlain by thoſe mountaineers, and his men put to the route. About the ſame time the *Gallas* made a freſh irruption into the kingdom of *Gojam*, whom *Zegur Egzi*, lieutenant to *Ras Sella Chriſtos*, venturing to oppoſe with too ſmall a force, was himſelf ſlain, and his troops utterly defeated. By the death of theſe two laſt commanders, the *Romiſh* religion loſt two of its moſt principal props, next to the emperor and his brother: and theſe two laſt coming at length to an open rup-

A new revolt quelled.

Keba Chriſtos ſlain.

Zegur Egzi ſlain.

The Romiſh reli-

than to deprive him and *Baſilides* of the crown; and, by their aſſiſtance, to ſeize upon the empire. To this end, they aſſured his majeſty, that the patriarch and his miſſionaries had ſent preſſing inſtances into *Europe*, for a freſh ſupply of forces and artillery from thence, and that they only waited for their arrival before they ventured to declare for that falſe brother of his; who, on his part, had engaged to make them ſuch large conceſſions, as he well knew could not fail of engaging that haughty and ambitious nation to his intereſt (47). This was a double piece of *Machiavilian* policy, and raiſed an equal jealouſy in that monarch againſt *Ras Sella Chriſtos*, and the whole *Portugueſe* tribe. We ſhall ſoon ſee how well it ſucceeded.

(47) *Tellez, Ludolph, & al. ſup. citat.*

ture,

ture, ſoon occaſioned an extraordinary change; and thoſe who diſapproved of that monarch's meaſures in favour of it, ceaſed not filling his mind with fears and jealouſies, both againſt him and the *Portugueſe*; ſo that matters quickly put on a different face; and thoſe who had, for fear of puniſhment, complied with his edict, and embraced his new religion, only conceived the greater diſlike to it, and miſſed no opportunity of ſhewing it [w], whilſt the patriarch was ſtill giving them freſh occaſions for it. *gion loſes two friends in them.*

For beſides his excommunications, and other violent proceedings, already mentioned, he had lately taken it into his head to have a woman arreſted and puniſhed for a witch; which he ſoon found gave univerſal diſguſt to the people, who abhor the ſuppoſition of any ſuch contract between men and devils, as implying, in their opinion, two Gods, or firſt cauſes; one of good, the other of evil. In this they ſeem much more judicious than the *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards*, who greedily ſwallow every abſurd ſtory of witchcrafts, poſſeſſions, and diabolical works: and when theſe have urged the Scriptures againſt them in favour of wizards, witches, &c. their anſwer was, if there ever were any in other countries, they never had any in *Ethiopia*. But it is not unlikely that the patriarch intended to introduce the inquiſition, with other innovations, among them; witches and wizards commonly affording a plentiful, as was as gainful, exerciſe, to the greedy inquiſitors; as one may judge by their *acts de fe*: and it is the more probable that this woman was pitched upon to lead the dance, as *Tellez* himſelf ſays, that ſhe had been convicted of, and had herſelf confeſſed, the crime. However that be, the patriarch was obliged to let her go unpuniſhed. Mendez *tries a woman for a witch.* *That notion not known in Ethiopia.*

He behaved, indeed, much more becoming his character with regard to one of the emperor's daughters, a light princeſs, (as moſt of that rank are ſaid to be [x]) who had two huſbands living, yet cohabited with a third in open adultery, and was deſirous to be married to him. She ſollicited the patriarch for ſome time in the moſt preſſing manner, to conſent to, and to grant her a diſpenſation for it; which he as ſtrenuouſly refuſing, exaſperated her to that degree, that to be revenged of him, ſhe ſet all the men over whom ſhe had any influence, againſt him. Thus, by one means or other, both he and his church became daily more odious to the people; and the emperor, who in this laſt caſe acted ſo much *A lewd princeſs eſpouſes the papiſts.*

[w] Tellez, ibid. c. 15, & ſeq. Ludolph, & al. ub. ſup.
[x] See before, p. 77.

below

below the character of a pious prince, as he would be thought, with reſpect to his lewd daughter, loſt daily more the love and eſteem of his ſubjects, and gave them new occaſion and encouragement for freſh revolts.

1630. *A new revolt quelled.*

ACCORDINGLY, on the next year, the revolters in the kingdom of *Ambara* took up their arms again, and having made choice of a new chief, to whom they gave the title of viceroy, ſent him, at the head of a powerful force, to poſſeſs himſelf of the kingdom of *Tigre*. Unfortunately for him, he kept himſelf ſo little upon his guard, that he was ſurpriſed by the viceroy of that province, as he was carouſing on a *Saturday*, which they ſtill obſerved as the ſabbath, that he was entirely defeated, with the loſs of 4000 men and 30 pair of kettle-drums. About the ſame time another part of the *Agaus* was totally cut off on the mountains by *Ras Sella Chriſtos*; yet did not this, nor his other late ſervices diminiſh in the leaſt the ſuſpicion which the emperor entertained againſt him. Towards the latter end of the year arrived a new biſhop of *Nice* from *Goa*, and laſt from *Suaken* in the room of *James Seco*, who, as was hinted a little higher, died at ſea in his way hither. This new prelate was called Don *Apollinaris d'Almeyda*; and arriving at *Fremona* about the middle of *Auguſt*, (their winter) could not come to court till that ſeaſon was over: but upon his reaching the imperial camp on the 16th of *December*, met with a moſt gracious reception there; and after a fortnight's ſtay, retired to the patriarch's palace at *Depſau*, four leagues diſtant from *Dencaz*[y].

Agaus *defeated.*

A new biſhop arrives at court.

Serca Chriſtos *raiſes a*

ON the next year, the emperor having ſent the new viceroy of *Gojam*, named *Serca Chriſtos*, with a ſmall army, to convoy the tribute of gold that was coming from the kingdom of *Enarea* (V), againſt the *Gaffates*; as ſoon as he entered

[y] Vid. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 14. & al. ſup. citat.

(V) We have elſewhere obſerved, that this new-conquered kingdom paid rather a free-will-offering, than a tribute, to the *Abiſſinian* monarchs; they being in no condition to oblige them to it by reaſon of their vaſt diſtance, and the country of the *Gaffates* lying for the moſt part between them. For this reaſon, though it conſiſted only of 1000 ounces of gold, or about 10,000 crowns, yet ſuch was the indigence of thoſe monarchs, that they were glad to ſend a caravan, under a ſtrong convoy, to fetch it from thence, and to prevent its being intercepted by thoſe free booters (48).

(48) *See before, p.* 38.

Theſe

he territories of thoſe free-booters, and ſaw them with multitudes of large cattle, he ſet aſide the s of eſcorting the tribute, of which he knew he had re, and ſeized upon ſuch a large number of their cows, judged would yield him a much richer booty; and ac- gly was driving near 100,000 of them towards *Dan-*

The emperor, highly incenſed at this inſult, ſent him ſs orders to reſtore the cattle to the owners, and to der himſelf priſoner: but he, inſtead of obeying, if- out a proclamation, declaring prince *Baſilides* emperor; ommanding all that embraced the *Romiſh* faith to abjure t of hand, and return to that of *Alexandria*. This was without the young prince's conſent, or even knowlege; id no leſs exaſperate him againſt him, than it did his r; and having obtained his leave, marched directly ſt him at the head of his army. The rebel was no r appriſed of his approach, than he ſent an expreſs to a g prince of the race of ſome of the ancient emperors, in- him to come and accept of the crown, and aſſiſt him toring the old *Abiſſinian* church, and driving all the ts and *Portugueſe* out of the empire; aſſuring him, that uld not fail of being ſupported in it by all the monks, and r greater part of the grandees and people.

new ſedition;

proclaims Baſilides *emperor.*

His declaration gains him a great party.

HIS prince, whoſe name was *Melcha Chriſtos*, readily ted the offer; and raiſed what forces he could get, in , if poſſible, to join thoſe of *Serca Chriſtos*. In the time he cauſed a manifeſto to be publiſhed, importing, he did not take up arms with any intent of ſeizing on the eign power, but only to extirpate the *Roman* religion, reſtore the old *Alexandrian* faith through the empire. declaration failed not to draw great numbers of monks, ther people who had retired into the mountains, to his . But upon information that young *Baſilides* was ad- ng towards *Serca Chriſtos*, he thought it more expedient rtify himſelf among thoſe almoſt inacceſſible rocks, and

eſe *Gaffates* ſpread them- along the banks of the on the ſouth ſide of the re, between the kingdoms *jam* and *Damot*, and their try ſo abounds with graſs, hey breed an innumerable itude of black cattle; h being of a large ſize, and very fat and fleſhy, bear a great price through all the neighbouring kingdoms and provinces: ſo that we need not wonder at the preference which this revolted viceroy gave to 100,000 of them, before 1000 ounces of gold (49).

(49) *Tellez, Ludolph, Lobo, et al. ſup. citat.*

wait for a more favourable opportunity. On the other hand, the emperor seeing himself threatened by those two revolts in different parts of his dominions, was obliged to send for his brother again, and to be reconciled to him, in order to advise with him what course to steer against them: whereupon *Ras Sella Christos* counselled him to send a new reinforcement to his son, together with express orders to go and attack the rebel *Serca Christos*: of which he acquitted himself with such diligence and success, that he was forced to retire with all speed over the *Nile*; whither he still closely pursuing him, obliged him to come to a sharp engagement, in which his forces were totally routed: upon which he fled to the neighbouring mountains; but before three days were over, he surrendered himself to the prince; by whom he was sent prisoner to the imperial camp, and there bastinadoed to death. Seven of his companions being likewise conducted thither in chains, had their heads cut off. One of his chief officers, who was of the number, and had the boldness to vent his dire blasphemies, as *Tellez* stiles them [a], against the church of *Rome*, as he hung suspended to a hook, had his tongue cut out, and, towards night, was dispatched by a volley of darts [b].

Serca Christos defeated by Basilides:

cudgelled to death.

Seven of his accomplices beheaded.

THIS success encouraged the emperor to march at the head of his whole army against the other revolters, who lay encamped on the high mountains of *Lasta*: for by this time he was relapsed into his old suspicions against his brother, and obliged him to retire to his own house. He therefore divided his army into three bodies, in order to enter those mountains by as many ways; and had the good luck at first to surprise and kill some of the revolters: but one of his bodies having met with a more warm reception, and been repulsed with great loss, he thought fit to withdraw with more haste than honour, before the rebels had stopped his way through those passes, which would have cut off his provisions, and reduced his army by famine, as well as prevented his retreat: and he had the good fortune to time it so well, that he gained the imperial camp at *Dancaz*, without any farther damage than the dishonour of leaving the kingdom of *Begameder* exposed to the fury and resentment of the revolters: the consequence of which ill-concerted expedition was, that it greatly tarnished his fame, and disheartened his friends, at the same time that it raised the

The emperor's success against the revolters.

Forced to slink back with shame.

[a] Ub. sup. c. 25. n. 30, & seq.

[b] Id. ibid. LUDOLPH. l. iii. c. 11.

spirits

ſpirits of his enemies [c]. The patriarch was very diligent in making his viſitations in the kingdom of *Dembea*, and others about it, whilſt the new biſhop of *Nice* did the ſame in other parts; and the Jeſuits, in their reſpective cantons; and all of them ſucceſsfully enough, by their own accounts, to make daily a great number of proſelytes. But notwithſtanding all theſe boaſted converſions, the *Alexandrians* gained ſo much ground at court, that they now made no ſcruple to tell the emperor, *That all theſe diſaſters were wholly owing to the change of religion he had occaſioned in his dominions, and that neither he nor the people muſt expect peace or tranquility as long as he upheld and promoted the* Romiſh *religion; which, how right ſoever it might be, could never appear ſo to his ſubjects, as long as it condemned that in which they had been brought up: that it was next to impoſſible ever to perſuade them that circumciſion, or the obſervance of the ſabbath, could be offenſive to God, or that the* Alexandrian *liturgy, calendar of faſts and feſtivals, ought to give place to that of* Rome. *That it would therefore be more ſafe if he would relax his ſeverity in thoſe points, which did in no-wiſe attaint the eſſentials of Chriſtianity, and grant them a full liberty to go on in their ancient rites and cuſtoms, ſeeing all the efforts of* Ras Sella Chriſtos, *and his partiſans, to the contrary, were chiefly levelled againſt his and his kingdom's ſafety* [d].

The patriarch and biſhop hold their viſitation.

Repreſentations made to the emperor:

THESE repreſentations, joined to the danger he was in from the revolters in *Laſta*, lately mentioned, made ſuch an impreſſion on the emperor, that he communicated them to the patriarch, who, on his part, though very loth to relax, yet at ſuch a juncture, being glad to lower his ſails, and rather remit a little, than loſe all, conſented that ſome ſmall conceſſions ſhould be made to the people, provided they were not repugnant to the *Roman* faith. Accordingly, before he went afreſh againſt the revolters, he iſſued out a proclamation in his army, That they ſhould be allowed the uſe of their old books and rites in the divine ſervice, provided they were reviſed by the patriarch. 2*dly*, That they ſhould obſerve all their feſtivals according to the old *Alexandrian* calendar, except that of *Eaſter*, and thoſe that immediately depended upon it: And, 3*dly*, That thoſe who cared not to faſt on *Saturday*, ſhould do it on *Wedneſday*. Theſe were indeed very trifling conceſſions at the beſt, and conſequently ſuch as neither could ſatisfy the *Abiſſinian*

who relaxes his ſeverer edicts.

[c] TELLEZ, ibid. c. 26, & ſeq. LUDOLPH, ub. ſup. [d] TELLEZ, c. 28. LUDOLPH, ub. ſup.

and is severely censured by the patriarch.

clergy nor laity. But what more surprised the emperor, was, that they highly displeased the patriarch himself; who thereupon took the liberty to expostulate with him in very unbecoming terms; telling him, that he might as well have given them free liberty to return to their old *Alexandrian* faith, seeing they would of course take his proclamation in that sense. Yea, he went so far as to remind him of the fate of the *Jewish* king *Uzziah*[e], *who was smitten by God with a leprosy for having presumed to infringe on the priestly office*; intimating thereby, that it belonged solely to the Pope, and to himself, his vicar, to grant such licences; and that he had in that usurped a power which did not belong to him. This bold epistle could not but nettle the emperor to a great degree, and could not fail of making him sensible how much too generous he had been in his vast concessions to those pretended successors of St. *Peter*, and what advantage they took now of his too great weakness. Nevertheless, as he was now going on such a dangerous expedition, he contented himself with sending him a suitable answer; in which, among other things, he reminds him, *That when the* Romish *religion first began in his dominions, it did not owe its establishment to the preaching of the Jesuits, nor to any miracles they wrought in confirmation of it, nor to the good liking of his subjects, but merely to his own approbation and free good-will, inasmuch as we found that the doctrines of our* (Alexandrian) *books were quite conformable to it*; and consequently could not see that he had given the patriarch any occasion of complaint. We shall beg leave here to subjoin a remark or two upon this answer: the one is, that the *Abissinians*, whom the *Portuguese* writers represent as ignorant, illiterate, and untractable, were yet able enough to perceive, that the dispute about the incarnation was founded on mere words, ill understood and explained; and, 2*dly*, that all the miracles which are related by those writers, particularly by father *Guerreiro*, are no better than mere invented fables, seeing that monarch, though so zealous for their religion, did not know of any such having been wrought. All this did not put an end to the contention between him and the haughty patriarch, whose savage behaviour on this occasion is justly blamed, even by those of his own church, and looked upon as the chief cause both of the total expulsion of all the missionaries and *Portuguese* out of that empire, and likewise of that of the irreconcileable hatred which the whole *Abissinian* nation hath borne ever

1631.

His just answer to him.

Two remarks upon it.

The patriarch's strange behaviour.

[e] Tellez, ub. sup. c. 19. p. 482, & seq.

since,

ſince, and doth to this day, not only to the *Portugueſe*, but to all the *Franks* or *Europeans*.

BUT it is time now to come to the emperor's new expedition againſt the *Laſtan* revolters, in which he once more thought fit to recall his brother *Ras Sella Chriſtos* to take the command; and, in ſpite of all his remonſtrances, obliged him to go and attack them with only 3000 men. Whether this was done with a deſign to ſacrifice him to his ſtill corroding jealouſy or not, we are not told, neither will pretend to affirm; but that brave general was preſently beſet with 20,000 rebels, and though he defended himſelf with the utmoſt bravery, as well as did at the ſame time *Keba Chriſtos*, viceroy of *Begameder*, who lay at a ſmall diſtance with his forces, yet being abandoned at length by their men, in the night, they were both forced to ſave themſelves by flight. This diſaſter ſo alarmed the emperor, that he retired to the kingdom of *Gojam*, whilſt the elated revolters were taking their meaſures to go and make themſelves maſters of *Dancaz*, the uſual place of his reſidence; and a great part of his forces were plotting to go over to them. The fear he was in leſt if the rebels ſeized on his court, the reſt of the empire ſhould declare for them, obliged him to try his fortune once more; ſo that leaving his baggage behind him, he marched directly towards them, all night, at the head of 30,000 men [f]; in which attempt he ſucceeded much better than ever he had done.

The emperor marches againſt the rebels.

Ras Sella Chriſtos put to flight by them.

HE was then encamped advantageouſly for the ſeaſon, which was the beginning of winter, when on the 27th of *June* news was brought to him by his ſcouts that the enemy was advancing towards him with 25,000 men, but moſt of them ill diſciplined and armed. They arrived accordingly about noon within ſight of his camp, upon which, the imperial horſe leading the van, the emperor himſelf clapping ſpurs to his horſe, and being followed by the reſt of his cavalry, they charged the rebels with ſuch fury, that they fled at the very firſt onſet like ſo many ſheep before the wolf, and yielded them a complete victory. Night coming on, many of theſe mountaineers endeavouring to ſave themſelves by flight during the darkneſs, daſhed themſelves in pieces among the rocks; the others were either ſlain or taken by the purſuing imperialiſts; inſomuch that, by the next day, the ſlain were found to amount to 8000: the reſt endeavoured to regain their high receſſes, and abandoned their camp to the victors.

1632. Suſneus *engages and defeats them.*

[f] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, &c. ibid.

THIS signal defeat, which filled the *Portugueſe* with joy and triumph, and made them imagine now that none would be ſo bold as to oppoſe the progreſs of their religion, had, however, a quite contrary effect, as it drove both the *Alexandrians* and imperialiſts into the utmoſt conſternation. The chief officers of the court, in particular, accompanied the emperor in a mournful guiſe to the field of battle, and there addreſſed themſelves to him in words to this effect[z]. "You "ſee here, Sir, many thouſands of your ſubjects ſlain be- "fore your eyes, and by your arms; they were neither "*Mohammedans*, nor Gentiles, nor enemies of the Chriſtian "name, but unhappy vaſſals of yours and our relations, "and our own fleſh and blood; ſo that whether you con- "quer or be conquered, you ſtill are ſure to ſheath your "ſword into your own bowels. Thoſe who took up arms "againſt you, did not do it out of any diſlike to your perſon "or government, but in defence of their ancient religion, "which you would force them to renounce, and exchange "for one to which they can by no means be perſuaded to "conform. What a deal of blood-ſhed hath this unhappy "change already cauſed, and what a deal more is it likely "to cauſe, unleſs you will ſuffer them to continue in that "old way of worſhip, which they received from their an- "ceſtors? Without this, we ſhall never enjoy any reſt, and "you will find yourſelf ſhortly without empire or ſubjects. "Add to this, that our worſt enemies, the *Gallas* and "*Turks*, againſt whom your arms might have been more "ſucceſsfully and glorioufly employed, do hate and deſpiſe "us ſtill the more, and brand us with the name of re- "negados, for having thus deviated from our ancient "faith (U)."

His officers pathetic remonſtrance to him;

[z] TELLEZ, ibid. c. 32. p. 488, & ſeq. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 12. n. 13, & ſeq.

(U) This laſt was ſo far true, that *Tellez* tells us in another place, that the king of *Adel*, his neighbour, and a *Mohammedan*, who had cauſed two jeſuits, then going into *Abiſſinia*, to be apprehended and put to death, afterwards wrote a haughty reproachful letter, in which he ſtyles him the apoſtate *Suſneus* (48).

Neither need we wonder that *Jews*, *Turks*, and Heathens ſhould be ſo exaſperated at his defection, not indeed out of any particular regard they could have for the *Abiſſinian* church, but out of downright hatred againſt that of *Rome*, and the *Portugueſe* nation, whoſe growing power in his dominions had juſtly alarmed them (49).

(48) *Tellez, hb.* iv. *c.* 29.

(49) *Ludolph, l.* iii. *c.* 12. *n.* 16.

THIS

THIS pathetic remonſtrance made ſo much the deeper impreſſion on the emperor's mind, as he was by this time much worn with age, fatigues, frequent wars, and revels, to ſay nothing of his ſuſpicions againſt his brother and all the *Portugueſe*: but what ſtill helped to ſink it ſtill deeper, was, that the prince, his ſon, the empreſs, and all the great ones of his court, were daily making preſſing inſtances to him to reſtore the old religion, inſomuch that he fell into a deep melancholy and took to his bed; during which time the courtiers took that opportunity to publiſh an edict as from him, that the people might all return to the ancient faith, or embrace which church they liked beſt. The patriarch failed not, according to cuſtom, to cenſure this conduct in the ſevereſt terms, and to exhort him to make a better advantage of the victory which God had granted to him, and to finiſh what he had ſo nobly begun. The emperor anſwered, that he had done all that was in his power, till he ſaw himſelf on the brink of being abandoned by all his ſubjects; and ſo without any farther regard to his cenſures, or the ſollicitations of the biſhop and his jeſuits, ſuffered the proclamation to come out; which was to this effect: "Hear ye, hear: we gave you this faith becauſe we believed it good; but as innumerable have loſt their lives on account of it, which *Elus* (*Ælius*, or *Julius*) *Gabrael*, *Tekla*, *Gerguis*, *Serca Chriſtos*, and now lately the *Laſtan* mountaineers, we do now reſtore to you the faith of your forefathers. The former clergy may return to their churches, perform the divine ſervice after their ancient ritual, reſtore their tabots (ſmall portable altars) and other branches of their function. Farewell, and do ye rejoice."

backed by his ſon, empreſs, and court.

Iſſues out a proclamation for liberty of conſcience;

THIS edict (which *Tellez* ſcruples not to ſtyle impious, ſacrilegious, and the ſource of many dangerous errors, which crept in, in conſequence of it, through the perverſeneſs of the *Abiſſinian* clergy [i]) cauſed an inexpreſſible joy among not only all the monks and prieſts, but among the army and laity. Theſe laſt expreſſed it more particularly by flinging the beads, and other popiſh trinkets which the miſſionaries had given them, into the fire. The clergy began to perform their functions as uſual, to adminiſter the communion in both kinds, the ceremony of circumciſion, together with that of the general ablution on the feſtival of epiphany, and by the *Portugueſe* falſly ſtyled rebaptiſation [k], were renewed

[i] Ub. ſup. c. 35. LUDOLPH, ub. ſup. vid. ſup. p. 187, & ſeq.

[k] De hoc,

every-where with extraordinary zeal and exultation; a ſhort hymn having been compoſed on that occaſion, and ſung at the revival of the old worſhip, to this effect.

Canticle ſung in memory of it.

THE Ethiopian *ſheep are now delivered*
From weſtern wolves, by the doctrine of the apoſtle St. Mark,
And of Cyril, *the two pillars of the* Alexandrian *church.*
Rejoice and be glad, and ſing hallelujahs;
Ethiopia *hath eſcaped from the wolves of the Weſt* [l].

IT may be proper to obſerve, that though the proclamation above-mentioned reſtored the *Abiſſinian* church in *ſtatu quo*, yet it did not exclude the *Roman* prieſts from the free exerciſe of their own. But by this time the latter were become ſo odious through the whole empire, and the emperor ſo little able, if he had been ſtill inclined, to ſupport them, as he was now languiſhing under a deep melancholy and a broken conſtitution, that the *Abiſſinian* clergy made no difficulty to ſeize on ſeveral of their new churches, ſuch eſpecially as came neareſt to the *Alexandrian* model; ſome of which more reſembled ſtrong fortreſſes than Chriſtian churches. Here the patriarch tried once more to rouſe up the drooping zeal of the deſponding monarch, by repreſenting to him, that his forbearance and inactivity was going to bring a civil war into his dominions between the *Alexandrians* and the *Romaniſts*. An indiſcrete and ill-timed intimation this at ſuch a juncture! but to which he could only anſwer, *What can I do? I, who have now neither empire nor authority left.* His brother, *Ras Sella Chriſtos*, wrote a preſſing letter to him, which is ſtill preſerved by the *Portugueſe* writers; but which, if genuine, ſhews more zeal and prejudice, than either reaſoning, or even common-ſenſe; nor was it then a proper time to apply to him in the bad ſtate he was in [m].

The Abiſſinians *ſeize on their churches.*

The emperor's low condition.

Death.

THE emperor, unable to ſupport himſelf longer under ſuch a load and variety of diſeaſes and calamities, expired on the 16th of *September* of the ſame year, in the ſixty-firſt of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign, not without ſome ſuſpicion of his having been diſpatched before his time by poiſon; though by what appears from all accounts we have from thence, he really died of exceſs of grief and a worn-out conſtitution, occaſioned through a long ſeries of rebellions within, and wars from without, and other murmurs

1633.

[l] Vid. LUDOLPH, ub. ſup. num. 51.

[m] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, LOBO, &c.

and

and diſaſters which followed him cloſely during his whole unhappy reign; which might have proved a glorious and proſperous one, had the miſſionaries never ſet foot within his dominions. He died, we are told, in the *Romiſh* faith, and ſtill kept two of thoſe fathers about him to his dying hour. His body was buried with great pomp in the church of *Ganeta Jeſu*, about four leagues from *Dancaz*, the place where he uſually reſided, and now died. We have elſewhere deſcribed the ceremony of his interrment, and of his ſon's inſtallation to the throne, and need not repeat it here [n]. *Funeral.*

BASILIDES, al. *Faciladas*, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded him (who took the name of Soltan *Segued)*; and, from the very beginning of his reign, ſhewed himſelf a mortal enemy to the church of *Rome*, to her miſſionaries, and to all her friends and converts. The very firſt perſon on whom he wreaked his reſentment, was his uncle *Ras Sella Chriſtos*, whom he ſtripped of the few lands and dignities which the late emperor had left him, and ordered him to be conducted into baniſhment, in chains, to the kingdom of *Samen*, or *Cemen*, where he lived like a common criminal under a guard; which ſevere treatment was probably leſs owing to the extraordinary zeal which he had always ſhewn for that church, than for the threatening words he uttered as he was taking the oath of allegiance to him [o]. Several other great men underwent the ſame baniſhment; particularly *Azag-Tino*, the late emperor's ſecretary, and the princeſs *Vatatta Georgiſſa*, his firſt couſin; and others were put to death for having ſpoken too vehemently againſt the *Alexandrian* church, and called that faith the religion of dogs. The fathers *Mattos* and *Giroko*, two Jeſuits who had continued with the emperor till his death, were ordered to depart from *Dancaz*, and repair to *Ganeta Jeſu*, whence they were again turned out with four, and ſent with eight more out of the monaſtery of *Gorgorra* to *Cottela*, where twelve of them lived for ſome time very hardily. *Succeeded by* Baſilides, *who perſecutes the popiſh partiſans.* Ras Sella Chriſtos *baniſhed.*

AMONG all theſe delinquents, one may eaſily imagine that the haughty patriarch was not treated more favourably than his inferior brethren. This prelate had taken the liberty to write to the emperor in favour of theſe fathers, whom he had ſtripped of all their lands, and deſigned to confine them at *Fremona*; but having now received an order from him, by two of his officers, to ſurrender into their hands all the *The patriarch ordered to retire to* Fremona.

[n] See before, p. 115, & ſeq. & auct. ſup. citat. [o] See before, p. 189, 298.

fire-

fire-arms which were in his poſſeſſion, and to retire immediately to the ſame place, he now reſolved to expoſtulate with him in a ſecond letter; in which, among other things, he ſaid, "That it was not of his own accord that he was ſent patriarch into *Abiſſinia*, but at the command of the Pope "and king of *Portugal*, and at the requeſt of the emperor "his father; and now he begs of him, ſince he is going to "diſmiſs him out of his dominions, to let him and the "world know his motives for ſo doing; and whether he and "his brethren are condemned to baniſhment on account of "their faith or morals. I have, "continued he," in complaiſance "to your father, remitted all our peculiar rites, except that "of the communion in both kinds, which the Pope alone "can diſpenſe with; and now make you the ſame offers, "provided you and your ſubjects do ſubmit yourſelves to "the *Roman* church, as to the mother of all churches; and "laſtly, I beg that we may again, as at the beginning, be "allowed to have the matter debated in a proper aſſembly "of both parties, that it may be made plainly to appear "which ſide is moſt in the right."

His letter to that monarch.

To this letter, which *Tellez* hath inſerted at full length in *Portugueſe* [p], the emperor was pleaſed to anſwer in a calm and judicious manner, by reminding him, *That the breach between him and the* Abiſſinians, *was not ſo much owing to the diſpute about the two natures of Chriſt, but to their denying them the cup in the communion; to their altering of the faſts and feſtivals; to their preſuming to rebaptize their proſelytes; and to re-ordain their prieſts and deacons, as if the former had not been true Chriſtians, nor the others lawfully ordained before the arrival of the* Portugueſe. *As to having any farther conferences about theſe matters,* he plainly tells him, *that it was not by dint of arguments that they got their doctrines and rites eſtabliſhed among them, but rather by perſecution and tyranny, and that there was no good to be expected from any ſuch diſputes.* He concluded with telling him, *that he expected a new Abuna from* Alexandria, *and laſt, from the kingdom of* Enarea, *where he was now waiting only for his departure for* Fremona; *he having ſignified to him, that he could never conſent to appear in any country where there was a* Roman *patriarch* [q] (W).

The emperor's anſwer to it.

SOME

[p] Hiſtor. Ethiop. lib. v. c. 3. p. 517, & ſeq. [q] Id. ibid. c. 4, & ſeq. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 13. n. 27, & ſeq. LOBO, LE GRAND, & al.

(W) The patriarch *Mendez* in much harſher terms, in his letter to the king of *Spain*; and touches this laſt circumſtance tells

SOME other meſſages paſſed to and fro after the receipt of this letter, but which had no other effect, than to haſten the delivery of all the fire-arms, and the departure of the patriarch and his brethren to their college at *Fremona*; for which place they ſet out, without farther demur, accompanied by one *Paul*, the emperor's nephew, who was ordered to guard them through the deſerts, which ſwarm with robbers; tho' inſtead of protecting, he was the firſt that fell foul upon them, and would have ſtripped them of all their baggage and valuables, had not ſome of the patriarch's *Portugueſe* killed two or three of his men, and ſcared the reſt away. Neither would it have been poſſible for them to have ſaved any thing that was left them, or even their lives, had not the two other governors, *Tekla Salus* and *Azma Gerguis*, who were to eſcort them through their own territories, proved more faithful to them. So dreadfully were they way-laid and aſſaulted through every place they came to; till at length, with much fatigue, loſs, and danger, they ſafely arrived at *Fremona*, on the 24th of *April* of the following year, though in a very miſerable plight. We ſhall follow them no farther than to this place, where they were hardly allowed a ſmall time to refreſh and recover themſelves, before they received a freſh order from the emperor, expreſsly enjoining them to leave it, and to depart inſtantly out of his dominions, and embark for the *Indies*. They ſtaid, however, ſome time, to try to ſoften

The patriarch obliged to depart:

robbed by his eſcort.

1633. *Arrives ſafe at* Fremona.

Ordered to depart out of the empire.

tells him, "That the new Abuna ſtaid ſome years *incognito* "in the kingdom of *Enarea*: "but that upon the news of "*Mendez*'s abdication, he had "ſent the emperor word, that "he could not perform the "functions of his dignity, unleſs the *Latin* patriarch, and "his Jeſuits, were either killed, "or baniſhed far enough off "(50)." It muſt be owned, however, that the emperor ſeems here to have uſed them with an unbecoming cruelty, in ſending them to ſo diſtant a place, through deſerts, which he knew ſwarmed with banditti, and not leaving them any fire-arms to defend themſelves againſt them. To which we can only anſwer, that it was not without good grounds that he feared to truſt the *Portugueſe* with ſuch dangerous weapons, which they knew ſo well how to uſe upon all occaſions, and might be eaſily induced to have turned againſt himſelf; and therefore choſe a leſs hazardous way to ſecure their retreat, by ordering them a ſufficient eſcort thro' every place of his dominions which they were to paſs; and which, as the ſequel ſhews, actually conducted them ſafe to that place.

(50) *Tellez, l. v. c. 4. Ludolph, Lobo, &c.*

the

the *Abiſſinian* monarch in their behalf, and uſed what friends they had left to repreſent to him the imminent danger they muſt run from the *Turks*, *Moors*, and other enemies to their religion; and that it was in effect to ſend them as ſheep to the ſlaughter; or, what was much more dreadful, as poor naked men into a miſerable ſtate of ſlavery. The emperor, though he knew all this perfectly well, was yet ſo exaſperated by his clergy, and others of his court, that he proved inexorable to all theſe ſollicitations, and they found themſelves obliged to comply with his ſevere commands. They were firſt conducted to *Mazowa*, and thence to *Suaken*, where they were moſt cruelly uſed by the rapacious and inhuman baſhaw; and after having ſuffered the hardeſt impriſonment and cruelleſt indignities, were forced to ranſom their liberty at a moſt exorbitant price. From thence, after many other difficulties and hardſhips, they arrived at *Goa*, and thence returned to *Liſbon*; where they publiſhed this moſt melancholy account, both of their ſufferings and diſappointments; though we may reaſonably ſuppoſe they ſuppreſſed the main motives that occaſioned it. All that we need add of the patriarch and the two Jeſuits, that were detained at *Suakem*, is, that they did not obtain their liberty till the 24th of *April*, 1735; when, having paid 4000 pieces of eight for their ranſom, they were put on board, and arrived ſafe at *Diu*; from which place *Mendez* ſoon after ſailed to *Goa*, in order to ſollicit for a freſh reinforcement to be ſent into *Abiſſinia*, but without any ſucceſs [r].

Hardſhips and cruelties they met with.

Redeemed at a vaſt price.

1634. *Other Jeſuits diſcovered and put to death.*

IT is now time to return to *Ethiopia*, and ſee what paſſed there after their expulſion. It might indeed have been expected, that after ſo ſevere a treatment of thoſe miſſionaries, and the haughty patriarch, the ferment which they had kindled in the ſpirits of the *Abiſſinian* clergy and laity, as well as in the emperor's, would have been in ſome great meaſure allayed: but there remained ſtill ſufficient cauſe for it, as long as father *Apollinaris d'Almeyda*, the lately made biſhop of *Nice*, and ſome others of the jeſuit fraternity, continued ſtill concealed in the kingdom of *Tigre*, and were privately protected there by the viceroy *Caſla Mariam*. The emperor was ſoon appriſed of it, who immediately ſent him orders, either to deliver them up to the mercy of the *Turks*, or to cauſe them to be put to death: ſo that being afraid of concealing them any longer, yet unwilling to ſacrifice them to his reſentment, he left them at liberty to retire whither they

[r] TELLEZ, ub. ſup. l. vi. c. 14, & ſeq. LUDOLPH, l. iii. c. 14.

co[illegible] which they did, the biſhop, to father *Rodriguez*'s retreat, w[illegible]e continued for ſome time, and the other to a poor th[illegible]d cottage, where he lay concealed a whole year. About th[illegible]e time *Tekla Emanuel*, governor of *Aſſa*, being removed for having entertained three others of the fraternity, his brother, who ſucceeded him, did not leave off ſearching after them, till he found them in the retreat where they lay hid, and killed father *Gaſpar Pays*, and three other *Portugueſe* youths, and left the reſt dangerouſly wounded; particularly F. *John Pereyra*, who died a week after of his wounds. Nor was the emperor leſs ſevere againſt ſuch of his ſubjects as ſtill perſiſted in their profeſſion of the *Roman* faith, ſix of the principals of whom he cauſed to be put to cruel deaths, and others to be perſecuted with equal rigour: to avoid which, many of them either fled, or returned to the ancient church [s].

Tekla Emanuel *removed for protecting them.*

Their deaths.

THIS continued till the year 1638, when the biſhop of *Nice*, and his two companions, being delivered up to the emperor, he condemned them to death; but afterwards, changed their ſentence into that of baniſhment: but this not pleaſing their enemies, they were all three hanged. Several others, ſome of whom had lain concealed till this time, and others who were lately arrived, particularly ſix *French* Capuchins, were all likewiſe put to death. Notwithſtanding all theſe ſeverities, there remained yet ſome other Jeſuits concealed here and there; and among them *F. Lewis Cardeyra* and *Bruno Bruni*, who, in ſpite of all the emperor's promiſes and threats, were publicly protected by the lord of *Temben*, an *Abiſſinian* nobleman, of the kingdom of *Tigre*. But he was quickly after cloſely beſieged, and, after a vigorous defence, ſlain by the viceroy of that kingdom: the news of whoſe death were brought to *Amba Salama*, or the holy mountain, where thoſe two fathers had made a vaſt number of ſuch zealous proſelytes, that rather than deliver up their ſpiritual guides, they choſe to endure the greateſt extremities of hunger and thirſt, during more than a year; that is, till the year 1640; when being reduced to mere ſkeletons, and having obtained of the emperor an amneſty both for themſelves and their two guides, they ſuffered them to be conducted to a neighbouring town, where a fair was kept in the month of *March*, and where, we are told, they were publicly hanged, notwithſtanding the emperor's ſolemn engagement to the contrary [t].

1638, & ſeq.

Cardeyra *and* Bruno *protected for ſome time,*

and at length publickly hanged.

[s] Id. ibid. [t] TELLEZ, ub. ſup. l. vi. c. 16, & ſeq.

WE

We shall go no farther with the history of those persecutions and public executions, nor with the methods which the courts of *Rome* and *Spain*, and the society *de propaganda fide*, took afterwards to gain fresh footing in *Abissinia*; those transactions relating rather to the church history of that country, and consequently out of our province. Those of our readers who are curious in those things, may have recourse to the authors mentioned in the following note (X) for a fuller account. We shall therefore conclude this head with a remark, no less judicious than true, of one of the learned of the *Romish* church, often quoted in this chapter [u]. "It were "to be wished, that the patriarch (*Mendez*) who was in "other respects a man of excellent talents, had never in-"termeddled with such a variety of affairs, and had not "carried his authority to such a height, and behaved in "*Ethiopia* as if he had been in a country where the inquisi-"tion is established; by which means he set all the people "against him, and made all catholics, and the Jesuits es-"pecially, appear so odious, that the hatred which the "*Abissinians* conceived against them, still continues to this "very day." He might have added, that they bear the same irreconcileable hatred to all the *Europeans*, of what country

Le Grand's *character of the prelate* Mendez.

[u] Le Grand, relat. hist. dissert. ix. ad fin.

(X) The reader may consult on that occasion the remainder of father *Tellez*'s history, and that of Mr. *Ludolph*, so far as they both go. He may also have recourse to the ecclesiastical history of *Ethiopia*, written in *English* by the Rev. Mr. *Geddes*, chancellor of the cathedral of *Salisbury*; printed at *London*, *anno* 1696, 8vo; and to an epitome of it, written by the learned Dr. *Michael*, professor of divinity and of the oriental languages, at *Hall* in *Suxony*; in which he takes particular notice of all the disasters which the arrival of the Jesuits occasioned in the *Abissinian* empire.

This last piece, which is written in high *German*, was first printed at *Hall* above-mentioned, *ann.* 1724, at the head of another piece, intitled, the life of *Peter Heyling* of *Lubeck*, a young *Lutheran* gentleman, well versed in the *Arabic*, who passed into *Ethiopia* with the new *Egyptian* Abuna; and during his stay at *Suakem*, held some disputes with the patriarch *Mendez*; with which this last was so little pleased, because he explained all that was said in the *Arabic* tongue to the bystanders, that he cried out, after they were parted, that *if that young doctor ever got into* Abissinia, *he would plunge the whole empire into a most dangerous heresy* (51).

(51) *De hoc, vid. Ludolph, Hist. Ethiop. lib.* iii. *c.* 14. *n.* 6, *& seq.*

religion ſoever, whom they all confound under the common name of *Franks*; which they ſeldom pronounce without the addition of ſome curſe or execration. But let us now take a view of the temporal ſtate of the empire.

1640. *An eruption of the Gallas.*

SOON after the death of the two fathers laſt mentioned, there happened a dreadful eruption of the *Gallas* into the kingdom of *Tigre*; a great part of which was laid utterly waſte by thoſe barbarians; againſt whom the emperor ſent his ſon at the head of the choiceſt part of his army. Theſe were to be joined by the *Saentes*, or lords of lands of that kingdom, and gave the enemy battle on the very ſpot, we are told, where the fair above-mentioned was kept: the conflict was furious on both ſides, till the young prince was ſlain, together with the Bahr-naghaſh *Tekla Salas*, and ſome other nobles; upon which the whole imperial army was put to the route with a great ſlaughter. Fluſhed with their ſucceſs, they returned on the following year with ſuch an additional force, that they overran above twelve provinces belonging to that large kingdom, and penetrated as far as the Red-coaſts, where they intended to have made themſelves maſters of *Decano*, or, as the *Europeans* call it, the fort *Arco*; but were forced back by the *Turkiſh* artillery of it, which began to fly about their ears. The cruelties and ravages they committed in this expedition, were ſuch, if we may credit the intelligence that hath come from thence by the way of *Mazwa*, from ſome *Portugueſe* monks, and others, that the generality of the *Abiſſinians* looked upon them as judgments from heaven, for their perſecutions againſt the miſſionaries and their converts: even the empreſs mother, as well as his brother *Claudius*, who had been their greateſt enemies, became now their moſt zealous interceſſors with her ſon, and even begged of him to return to that church, and prevent thereby the total ruin of the empire. To all theſe ſollicitations he lent only a deaf ear; or, as our author words it, he hardened his heart, and perſiſting in his old meaſures, reſolved, if poſſible, to extirpate the very name and memory of papiſts and *Portugueſe* out of his dominions [w].

The emperor's army routed.

Sollicited in favour of the Jeſuits;

FROM this time forward, we hear and read of nothing but perſecutions and civil wars, and other calamities within, new projects and fruitleſs attempts without to revive the miſſion, and get freſh footing in *Abiſſinia*; and of now-and-then ſome new monks diſcovered, and put to death, for endeavouring to procure a private admiſſion into it; whilſt the patriarch Alphonſo *Mendez*, conſcious of his having been the cauſe both

raiſes new perſecutions againſt them.

The patriarch ſolli-

[w] Iid. ibid.

of

cits the Pope and king of Spain *in vain.*

of their expulsion, and of all avenues being so closely shut up against them, ceased not to sollicit the courts of *Rome* and *Madrid*'s assistance, in favour of some project or other he was hatching, not so much in hopes of regaining his lost dignity, as of retrieving his character, and the credit of his order; but met with nothing from either but discouragements, or at best fair words and fruitless promises. He was

Tries to corrupt the bashaw of Suakem;

even so impolitic as to endeavour to corrupt the bashaw of *Suakem*, who was their greatest enemy and obstacle in their way, by great presents and pompous promises, to permit some fresh Jesuits to steal into the empire in disguise, in order to supply the place of the old ones, who he knew were all dead by this time; not considering that the bashaw, being

who sides with the emperor.

retained by the emperor, would not have failed of putting them to death, or at best to have extorted vast sums from them for their ransom: an eminent instance of which he gave

Three Capuchins put to death by him.

in the year 1648; when having caught three Capuchin friars who were sent on that dangerous errand, he ordered them to be beheaded, their heads to be flayed, and the skins to be stuffed with straw, and sent to that monarch, as a testimony of his compliance, and a claim to his reward.

From this transaction one may draw these two inferences, *viz.* *1st*, That the emperor not only retained an irreconcilable prejudice against all missionaries, but took all proper precautions to prevent their even approaching his dominions. The other, That by this time, both the Pope, and society *de propaganda fide*, as well as the king of *Spain*, were quite

The patriarch and Jesuits suspected at Rome.

dissatisfied with the proceedings of the patriarch and his Jesuits, and their chusing from that time to send Capuchins, Dominicans, and men of any order but theirs, plainly shew

Capuchins sent in their stead.

that they had conceived some strong suspicions against that politic society. But this caution, instead of producing any good effect towards the re-introducing a mission into the country, rather proved an obstruction to it; the Jesuits and their friends being no less industrious and diligent in misrepresenting and undermining all the measures of the other friars, than they were in contriving and promoting their own. The same contrast reigns also between the *French* and other missionaries, who were pitched upon for that work, and the *Portuguese*, who were now set aside on account of their being become so odious to the *Abissinians*; altho' from their frequent disagreements and recriminations, a reader may much sooner perceive their measures and proceedings to savour more of the politic, than apostolic, spirit, than be able to assign which side is either most guilty, or most misrepresented.

As

As for the patriarch, though he never dared to return into *Europe*, after his expulſion and diſgrace, but ſtill continued in *India* to the day of his death, when he found that all his ſollicitations proved ineffectual at *Rome* and *Madrid*, he tried to ſet up a correſpondence with the Capuchins, whom he ſuppoſed to be either ſtill at *Suakem*, or to have by that time got into *Abiſſinia*, in order to know what paſſed there, and conſult about ſuch other meaſures as the preſent juncture ſhould ſuggeſt; little dreaming that the *Turkiſh* baſhaw had put them to death. He ſent thither with this view an *Italian*, named *Torquato Pariſiano*, in the diſguiſe of an *Engliſhman*, in a ſhip of the ſame nation, to that iſland, where they landed on the 7th of *May*, 1648. Here they were ſoon informed, though contrary to the baſhaw's expreſs prohibition, of the fate of the Capuchins: upon which, the *Engliſh* adviſed *Torquato* to return to the ſhip, ſeeing he could do no good on ſhore, but rather ran the riſque of his life; to which he complied, and returned in the ſame ſhip to *India*. Some other ſtratagems the old patriarch ſet on foot afterwards, which proved equally abortive, till death at length put an end to them, and his life and exile, the 29th of *June*, *ann.* 1656, in the 77th year of his age, and 22d of his baniſhment.

The patriarch ſtill plots in India.

Torquato *ſent into* Abiſſinia.

Forced to go back.

The patriarch dies in India.

As for the remainder of the emperor's reign, and thoſe of his ſucceſſors, it is all either wrapped up in obſcurity, thro' the general ſtop that hath been put to all future commerce with that empire, or ſo differently related by the jeſuitical and capuchin writers above-mentioned, that little certainty can be had from either party. If any thing can be depended upon that they have written on the ſubject, it is the ſeverity with which *Baſilides* treated all the miſſionaries and their converts: among the former, *Tellez* cloſes his hiſtory with, that he ſtyles, the martyrdom of father *Bernard Nogueyra*, whom the patriarch *Mendez* had appointed his vicar-general, after the death of all the others, and was the laſt who ſuffered for that cauſe. As for their converts, they had not ſo much as the leaſt toleration allowed them, but were obliged to return to the *Alexandrian* church, or to abſcond themſelves from puniſhment by retiring into mountains and deſerts: but there is little reaſon, whatever thoſe writers may pretend to the contrary, to ſuppoſe, that the numbers of theſe were any thing ſo great as they repreſent it; ſeeing, even by their own accounts, the *Abiſſinians* were always more ready to change ſides upon all emergencies, than to ſuffer for either. It is therefore more probable, that after the death and expulſion of thoſe fathers, and the arrival of the

The reſt of this reign very uncertain.

new Abuna, that church refumed its ancient ſtate; eſpecially, as *Ras Sella Chriſtos*, and other great partiſans of the ſee of *Rome*, were effectually deprived of the power and means of raiſing any new diſturbances in favour of it [z].

The patriarch's ſtrange politics and advice;

THIS the patriarch *Mendez* was ſo ſenſible of, that while he lived, he ceaſed not ſolliciting the viceroy of *Goa*, and the king his maſter, to attempt a freſh invaſion and revolution in that empire. His advice, which favoured more of the martial conqueror than of a Chriſtian apoſtle, was, to ſend a ſufficient naval force into the *Red Sea*, to ſeize on the iſle of *Mazowa*, and the port of *Arkico*; thence to corrupt, or ſubdue, the Bahr-naghaſh to their ſide, recall the exiled *Ras Sella Chriſtos*, and proclaim him emperor in the room of *Baſilides*, and by that means to kindle a civil war throughout the empire: all which he propoſed not only as feaſible, but as the only means left of reducing it under the Pope's authority.

and father Lobo's at Rome, ſuſpected.

The father *Jerom Lobo*, often quoted in this chapter, had been ſent to *Rome* upon the ſame errand by the patriarch, and had expatiated upon that favourite ſubject at that court with ſuch warm zeal, that the Pope and cardinals began to ſuſpect, that their expulſion and late diſaſters were rather owing to their having been guilty of ſome ſuch treaſonable attempts and practices, than to any other motive they acknowledged, to throw the blame from themſelves. The very ſlight mention which *Tellez* makes of their endeavours for releaſing *Ras Sella Chriſtos* from his exile, and of the revolt of *Za Mariam*, who died ſword in hand at the head of the rebellious mountaineers of *Laſta*, lately mentioned, may be ſufficient to ſhew how much reaſon there was for ſuch a ſuſpicion. However, as neither the Pope, nor *Spaniſh* kings were inclined, or perhaps in a capacity to attempt any ſuch project againſt the emperor, it is very likely that both church and ſtate continued peaceable and free from any future attempt, at leaſt from that quarter.

A falſe Abuna,

BUT if we will believe the blind reports that came from thence, a more ſhameful diſaſter happened to both from the pretended Abuna, whom we left in the kingdom of *Enarea*, and who, we are told, proved no better than an obſcure layman, who was bringing thither ſome horſes from *Nubia*, and who had ventured to aſſume the patriarchal dignity, and to perform the functions of it undiſcovered and unſuſpected, till he was at length found out by an *Egyptian*, who knew and betrayed him; at which he was ſo exaſperated, that he murdered him. The emperor was not long uninformed,

[z] TELLEZ, LUDOLPH, &c.

both

both of the crime and impoſture of the pretended Abuna, whom he depoſed by his own authority, and ſent into baniſhment in the barren iſland of *Deck*, where all the great criminals of ſtate are confined [y]. The true one arrived ſoon after from *Alexandria* with his wife and children, but behaved in ſuch a ſcandalous manner, that the emperor was obliged to depoſe him likewiſe; and ſent him under a ſtrong guard to bleach on the top of an almoſt inacceſſible rock. *depoſed and baniſhed.* *The true one tampered with by miſſionaries.*

An expreſs was diſpatched with all ſpeed to *Alexandria* for a new one; but in the mean time, father *Agathangelus de Sandoſme*, who was now become chief of the capuchin miſſion, went thither on purpoſe to intreat the patriarch to conſider the deplorable condition of the new converts in *Abiſſinia*, and to ſend thither a milder and more humane Abuna; and one, who by a prudent and charitable conduct, might ſoften the minds of the court and clergy in their favour, and diſſipate, by degrees, thoſe violent prejudices they had conceived againſt the *Roman* church. The patriarch not only promiſed to comply with his requeſt, but even wrote a letter to deſire the emperor to treat thoſe new converts with leſs ſeverity, and to abſtain from ſhedding of Chriſtian blood. At the ſame time he nominated one *Mark*, who profeſſed great friendſhip for the capuchin friar, to be his Abuna there. The good old father, highly flushed with his ſucceſs, ſent a letter by him to the patriarch *Mendez*, who was then a priſoner at *Suakem*, full of commendations of the new prelate, and of the great expectation he had conceived from his interpoſition and good offices. But the *Portugueſe* patriarch, more clear ſighted, or perhaps more ſuſpicious than father *Agathangelus*, ſoon diſcovered him, upon their conferring together, to be a ſtrenuous Jacobite; and that inſtead of favouring the *Romaniſts*, he would prove one of their bittereſt enemies, as he actually did not long after. In ſome of theſe interviews it was, that the young *Lutheran*, *Heyling*, who had agreed with the Abuna to paſs with him into *Abiſſinia*, had the conferences with *Mendez* which we mentioned in a former note. *Converſes with the patriarch Mendez.* *Proves an enemy to the Romaniſts.* Heyling *gets into* Abiſſinia *with him.*

These frequent viſits were at length broken off by the capaciouſneſs of the baſhaw; who, in order to extort a greater ſum from the patriarch for his ranſom, cauſed him to be more narrowly confined; upon which, the Abuna and the *Lutheran* made the beſt of their way into *Abiſſinia*, where this laſt was to practiſe phyſic, and by that means introduce

[y] De hac, vid. ſup. p. 99.

himself to the emperor. In the mean while, father *Agathangelus*, and five more of his fraternity, depending upon the friendship of the Abuna *Mark*, had found means to ingratiate themselves with the new bashaw whom the Grand Signior had sent to *Mazwa*, and had actually landed with him in that island under his protection. But here *Agathangelus*, burning with desire to try now his success in *Abissinia*, and venturing to cross thither with another of the brotherhood in the disguise of *Armenian* merchants, they were both apprehended, and, at their desire, it is most likely, were conducted to the Abuna, expecting no doubt to be cleared and set at liberty by him: instead of which, he publicly declared that he knew them to be *Roman* priests, sworn enemies to the *Abissinian* church, and come thither to oppose and subvert it; upon which they were both stoned to death without farther trial. After which, he and *Heyling* proceeded on their journey to the court, where they both met with a gracious reception: and it is from this last that we are informed of the death of the two Capuchins above-mentioned. He continued several years in this empire, being highly favoured by the court and clergy, both on account of his skill and success in the physical province, and his knowlege of the oriental languages, and in polemic divinity; which last, Mr. *Ludolph* attributes perhaps too fondly to the great affinity of the *Abissinian* and *Lutheran* principles [z]; adding that he had been brought up under masters of such great and sincere piety, that they were thought to be infected with enthusiasm. Others, particularly *Mendez*, represent him as infected with quietism; and adds, that *Mira obscuritate omnia ad spiritum referebat.* However that be, he could not conceal his religion so closely, continues that author, but he was at length found out and banished. *Ludolph* on the contrary, says, that he was greatly esteemed and raised to high preferments; and that it was with regret that the emperor suffered him to return into *Europe*; which if he had lived to do, he would have obliged the public with some very curious memoirs of that country; but he fell unfortunately into the hands of the *Arabs*, some say; others of the bashaw of *Suakem*, who ordered him to be put to death; but whether by the order of the emperor, or not, is still in dispute between the two parties above-mentioned. All that we can say farther about it, is, that if he had had any favourable credentials, or pass, from that monarch, the bashaw was too much his creature to have used him other-

Two Capuchins betrayed by the Abuna, and stoned.

Heyling's *success in* Ethiopia.

Leaves it after some years.

Put to death in his return.

[z] Comment. p. 553.

wise

wiſe than well: but he might, peradventure, have been ſtripped of them by the *Arabs* before he reached *Suakem*, or might not have been able to obtain any, as he left the country ſo much againſt that monarch's will.

THIS may ſuffice to ſhew how little dependence there is on any intelligence we have from thence; and that, not only on account of the contraſt we find between writers of different perſuaſions and intereſts, but likewiſe prejudice and reſentment againſt thoſe of whom they write; of which, perhaps, none hath been more miſrepreſented than the emperor above-mentioned, merely for the diſguſt he had juſtly taken againſt their principles, and the ſevere meaſures he was forced to take to prevent his church and empire from being overturned by their politics, and becoming a prey to *Rome* and *Spain*.

Baſilides intimidated by rumours and threats.

WE have already obſerved what pains the late patriarch Mendez had taken to corrupt the baſhaw of *Suakem* into his intereſt, and how far the Capuchins had gained that of *Maz-* za to introduce them into *Ethiopia*: and though neither of thoſe attempts ſucceeded, yet they could not but greatly alarm *Baſilides*, eſpecially as a report was ſpread through all the coaſts of the *Red Sea*, and had reached to the heart of his empire, that the *Portugueſe*, aſſiſted by all the princes of *Europe*, were equipping a great naval force to invade his dominions; which had obliged him to keep conſtantly two ambaſſadors at *Mazwa* and *Suakem*, a third at *Moca*, and a fourth at *Yemen*; and to ply the governors of them with rich preſents from time to time, to keep them ſtedfaſt in his intereſt, and oblige them to ſeize on all ſuſpicious perſons that attempted to enter into his dominions: yet could not all theſe precautions prevent ſome of them running the imminent riſque of it.

AMONG them, one father *Botelko*, who had been ſome time rector of the jeſuit college at *Diu*, took it into his head to try whether he could not prove more ſucceſsful than his brethren, and ventured to land at *Suakem* in a *Turkiſh* diſguiſe; of which the *Abiſſinian* ambaſſador was no ſooner apriſed, than he ſet out with all poſſible ſpeed to acquaint his maſter with it, not doubting but there were more of the ſame fraternity ready to follow him. This intelligence occaſioned new inſtructions and preſents to be diſpatched to thoſe baſhaws and governors, to ſeize and put to death all the *Portugueſe* and *Franks* that came into their hands, and not to ſuffer any of them to harbour within the neighbourhood of his dominions. The misfortune was, that *Baſilides* ſuffered himſelf to be drawn into a ſuſpicion that

his brother *Claudius* was a party concerned in all the machinations that were formed againſt him; that he held a clandeſtine correſpondence with the Jeſuits, and was entered into a ſecret alliance with the *Portugueſe* [a].

His ſeverities to his

ON this ſuſpicion, which, even from the Jeſuits own account, was not without a ſufficient foundation (Y), at ſuch

a

[a] Iid. ibid. TELLEZ, LOBO, LE GRAND, & al.

(Y) If this young prince's *accuſation* be not artfully contrived by the jeſuitical writers, rather to raiſe the reputation of the baniſhed patriarch *Mendez*, and his fraternity, and thereby tarniſh that of the emperor and the *Abiſſinian* clergy, at the expence of his character; which, after his execution, none dared to vindicate, it plainly appears from it, that he juſtly drew that ſevere puniſhment upon himſelf. But that the reader may the better judge of it, we ſhall give it in the words of a late *French* writer, who extracted it from the works of the fathers *Nogueyra*, *Torquato*, *Piſani*, and the patriarch *Mendez*. It is to this effect:

"The young prince's whole "crime was, his being ſuſ- "pected of an attachment to "the church of *Rome*; for be- "ing little edified by the cor- "rupt morals of the *Abiſſinians*, "and the ſcandalous lives of "their clergy and the Abuna, "who led a moſt licentious "life, he frequently compared "their conduct with that of "the patriarch (*Mendez*) and "the Jeſuits, whoſe merits and "virtues he took delight to "extol; and uſed to ſay, that "in baniſhing them, they had "preſerved the tares inſtead of "the good wheat, and had "fooliſhly exchanged the gold "for mere copper.

"He was for-ever com- "mending the patriarch for "his *modeſty*, *conſtancy*, *piety*, "and *learning*; and would of- "ten aſk whether ſuch anothe "paſtor was to be found in al "his brother's dominions. "All which diſcourſes wer "reported to the emperor b "a domeſtic of that youn "prince. It was moreov "found out, that he had turn "two or three of his office "out of his ſervice for havin "abjured the *Romiſh* church "all which, concludes our au "thor, were ſufficient to prov "him guilty, at a time, whe "being a Roman-catholic w "looked upon in the ſame viet "as being a traitor to the em "peror and the ſtate, and be "ing guilty of every kind o "crime (1)." Thus far our author; and we leave it to the reader to judge, whether a young prince, that could b publicly vilify the *Abiſſinian* church and clergy, and ſo highly extol that of *Rome*, and her haughty prelate and miſſionaries, at a time when the empire had ſo ſtrong a party

(1) *Lobo ſuite de la Relat. de l'Abiſſin. ap. Le Grand, p.* 146. 4to *Edit. Paris*, an. 1728.

of

a critical time, he cauſed him to be apprehended and brought before him bound hand and foot, and accuſed him, before a numerous concourſe, of having renounced the religion of his forefathers, and to have conſpired with the *Portugueſe* againſt his crown and life, in order to overturn both church and ſtate, and ſubject both to the Pope and king of *Spain*. The prince was eaſily condemned by the whole aſſembly to be deſerving of a ſpeedy death; and was accordingly conducted to priſon, where his head was cut off on that very

brother, &c. *juſtified.*

of theſe within its bowels, and was threatened with an invaſion of all the Roman-catholic princes in *Europe* from without, ſuppoſing him to have proceeded to no other overt act, which is ſcarce credible, can be properly ſaid to have been unjuſtly put to death; eſpecially in a country where the emperor is acknowleged to have an unlimited power over the lives and fortunes of all his ſubjects (2)? Is he to be branded with the names of tyrant and perſecutor, for preventing the imminent ſubverſion of church and ſtate, by timely cutting off thoſe who dare even ſpeak and act like profeſſed well-wiſhers, if not like open promoters, of it? Had the Roman-catholics made no attempt to ſubject both to a foreign power, but been only proſecuted for their different principles in religion, this might have been juſtly termed a downright perſecution; and yet not a worſe than is practiſed, and profeſſedly allowed, by their own. He would in this, as head of the *Abiſſinian* church, have only followed the example of the head of theirs: and the ſame apology which the learned *Gonzales* makes for the one, would have juſtified the leſſer ſeverities of the other, for departing ſo far from that Chriſtian and charitable behaviour, which the goſpel requires of us towards thoſe that differ from us in points of faith.

His words, to give them no harſher ſenſe than they will bear, are to this effect (3). "If, in "the primitive times, obſtinate "heretics were not perſecuted "to death, it was owing to "their being then too power-"ful, and to the Pope's not "being ſufficiently ſupported "by the ſecular arm of Chri-"ſtian princes. But now, "when the Chriſtian faith is ſo "firmly eſtabliſhed, and thoſe "pontifs inveſted with ſuch a "ſovereign power, it is but "juſt that they ſhould proceed "againſt them with the utmoſt "rigour and ſevereſt puniſh-"ments." Will not, therefore, this doctrine and practice make it appear ſtill more juſt in an *Abiſſinian* monarch, to exerciſe the ſame puniſhments on ſuch delinquents as add the blackeſt treaſon to their hereſy, and whoſe faith and principles ſo plainly tend to overturn their conſtitution in church and ſtate, and to enſlave their country, to the declared enemies to both.

(2) *De hoc, vid. ſup. p.* 107, *& ſeq. Cathol. p.* 117, *& ſeq.*

(3) *Gonzal. Hiſtor. Pontifical &*

night, This execution was followed by several others, with confiscations of estates, imprisonments, and other severities, from which persons of the highest rank, even among the fair sex, were not exempted; some of whom were banished, and others confined to some barren rocks, for no other crime than their intimacy with the deceased prince, or shewing, like him, any particular regard for the *Romish* religion. These severe examples the jesuitical writers have not scrupled to brand with the name of cruel and tyrannic persecutions; though the reader may see by what we have said in the last note, there was but too just occasion for them at that time. But one may see clearly enough, by all this out-cry, that that monarch was, at all adventures, to be branded with the most odious names, and charged with the most atrocious deeds, for having dared to save his church and empire from falling under the tyranny of *Rome* and *Spain*, and the punishing one of the chief promoters of that treasonable project, must be represented as an unjust and inhuman fratricide.

A new crime laid to his charge.

But lest all this should not be sufficient to render him hateful to all *European* powers, they have devised another accusation against him, which, if once credited, would not fail of doing it. It is as follows.

Accused of introducing Mohammedism *into his dominions.*

ALL these severe punishments not being capable of quieting the emperor's mind, who rather imagined that they only increased the number of malecontents, both within and without his dominions, had recourse to the *Mohammedan Yemen*, with whom he entered into an alliance: and the more effectually to bind him to his interest, not only offered his subjects the free exercise of their religion, but desired of him to send some able doctors to come and preach it among his people. This negociation was occasionally discovered by the falling out of the two persons he had intrusted with it, one of whom was a *Turk*, and the other a Christian; the former of whom was highly caressed and honoured at the *Yemen*'s court; and at their return was distinguished with considerable presents, whilst the latter was scarcely taken any notice of: in revenge of which, this last taking an opportunity of going before him, spread the alarm where-ever he passed, that the emperor had sent for *Mohammedan* doctors to propagate their religion, and that one of that class was actually on the road thither with the other ambassador, meaning the *Turk* above-mentioned, and would soon be at court with him.

A general revolt

THIS news failed not to raise a general revolt, which was chiefly headed by the monks, and followed by an universal outcry, that the emperor ought to be dethroned, and another

another prince raiſed to the crown, fit to maintain the ancient religion. The emperor tried in vain to diſculpate himſelf, and throw all the fault on the empreſs mother, who was the grand-daughter of a *Mohammedan*, and ſtill retained a ſtrong biaſs for that religion: no credit was given to any thing he ſaid, becauſe they knew he had held ſeveral private conferences with the *Turkiſh* doctor. So that ſeeing himſelf on the point of loſing at once his life and crown, he was forced to diſmiſs him with as little noiſe as poſſible, though not without conſiderable preſents [b]. This is the ſum of the charge alledged againſt him; which, as well as that other of fratricide, Mr. *Ludolph* juſtly queſtions, as at leaſt very improbable [c], and ſuch as in their nature, eſpecially the laſt, might juſtly require the teſtimony of a much more impartial ſet of witneſſes, than that of an exaſperated patriarch, and a ſurviving Jeſuit or two, reduced to the loweſt plight and miſery, before it can gain credit with perſons of common candour and judgment, at leaſt in that hateful light in which they have repreſented it. *Baſilides* was threatened with a powerful invaſion from all the catholic princes in *Europe*, and wiſely endeavours to ſecure all his frontiers; retains, by his largeſſes, or ſuppoſe it had been by an alliance with, all the *Mohammedan* princes on that ſide which lay moſt expoſed, and at which the *Romiſh* miſſionaries uſed to ſlide into the empire; and might not this be ſufficient to give birth to that calumny, that he was going to introduce their religion into his dominions? which, if carefully ſpread by their indefatigable agents, would not fail to raiſe new commotions within, and awaken all the *European* princes out of that deſpondency into which the miſcarriage and diſaſters that attended their former miſſion had viſibly thrown them, of ſucceeding in it by ſuch violent and imprudent means as had hitherto been purſued. Nothing could be more likely to alarm them than ſuch a report; for ſhould that rich and potent empire become *Mohammedan*, what hopes could there be of ever reducing it to the obedience of the Pope or king of *Spain*. But the ſequel itſelf ſhews, that neither of them gave any credit to that report; neither was it indeed credible, that *Baſilides* would have taken a ſtep of this nature, which would more effectually have ruined him, than any difficulties he laboured under, or any danger that ſeemed to threaten him could poſſibly have done. However, *Tellez* hath affirmed it [d]

raiſed by the monks.

The account much to be ſuſpected:

probably invented to ſtir up the Europeans *princes.*

[b] Tellez, Ludolph, Lobo, Le Grand, ub. ſup. [c] Hiſt. Ethiop. l. ii. c. 7. n. 67. iii. 14, 64 vid. & comment. pr. i. 57. [d] Tellez, ub ſup. l. vi. c. 37, & ſeq. Lobo, et Le Grand, p. 149. upon

The sad condition of the Jesuits.

upon the authority of Father *Nogueyra*, who was still alive in *Abissinia*, tho', by his own account, in a most miserable condition (Z); upon that of Father *Torquato Pisani*, another Jesuit,

(Z) Nothing, indeed, is more melancholy and dismal than the account which he gives of the distress he and all his friends and converts were in at that time; and our readers will not think it foreign to our subject, if we subjoin a letter which he sent from *Mazwa* into *Europe*, upon that affair, written in the name of *Ras Sella Christos*, and his own; and runs as follows:

"Most illustrious lords, the "bishops and governors of the "*Indies*, *Ras Sella Christos* to all "catholic Christians and true "sons of the church of God, "peace and mercy in our Lord.

"I know not in what tongue "or words I can sufficiently ex"press the perils and dangers "of this church, which are the "more afflicting to me, as I am "an eye-witness of them. I "heartily beseech our Lord Je"sus Christ, who was nailed to "a cross, and is plentiful in "mercy, to make them known "to all our brethren, to all "prelates, archbishops, bishops, "rectors, kings, viceroys, prin"ces, and governors, who en"joy any authority on the other "side of the water. I always "believed, and often flattered "myself, that they would have "assisted us ere now, and not "have so long delayed to re"deem us from the hands of "barbarians, and of that per"verse nation, if the multitude "of my sins had not obstructed "it. In former days, when "there was no church here, and "when the names of Christian "and Catholic were unknown "to us, some of them have "come to our assistance, and "have rescued us from the "power of the *Mohammedans*; "but now when we have here "such a great number of faith"ful, we are forgot, and not "one thinks of assisting us "What! doth the sovereign "pontif of *Rome*, our father, "and so dearly beloved shep"herd, no longer sit on St. *Pe*"*ter*'s immoveable chair, or "doth he no longer think of "comforting us? We are his "sheep, and shall we not, be"fore we quit this miserable "life, have the satisfaction to "hear that he thinks of us, and "designs to prevent our being "devoured by those heretics, "who wage so bloody a war "against us? Hath *Portugal* no "longer any prince that burns "with the same zeal as the "great *Christopher de Gama*? "Is there no prelate left there "to lift up his hands to heaven "to obtain for us the assistance "we stand in so great need of? "I faint at the thoughts of it, "my speech fails, and my "tongue is dried up, whilst my "eyes flow with a constant "stream. Covered with dust "and ashes, I beg and conjure "all the faithful to send us a "speedy succour, before we are "utterly destroyed.

"My chains grow heavier "and heavier every day, whilst "I am told, that if I will come "over to their side, and return "to our old communion, we "shall

Jeſuit, who came thither, as is ſuppoſed, either about or ſoon after that time; and more particularly on that of the patriarch *Mendez*,

" ſhall be recalled from our " exile. Theſe promiſes are " made to me with no other " view than to ruin me, and to " involve all the catholics that " are left, and the very church " itſelf, in the ſame ruin. If, " therefore, there be ſtill any " Chriſtians left on the other " ſide of the ocean, let them " ſhew themſelves ſuch, by ac- " knowleging us as their bre- " thren in Jeſus Chriſt; and " ſince we maintain the ſame " faith which they do, let them " come and deliver us from this " *Egyptian* hereſy and bon- " dage."

" Here," ſays *Nogueyra*," end " the words of our friend *Ras* " *Sella Chriſtos*, which he ut- " tered to me with bitter ſighs " and tears, when I laſt viſited " him, in *Auguſt*, *anno* 1648. " It is now my turn to weep, " and a flood of tears obliges " me to drop my pen. I am " unable to write, and leave " you to judge of my exceſſive " diſtreſs. I landed at this " place *(Mazwa)* on the 26th " of this month, at the greateſt " peril of my life. I have " ſpared no labour, nor ſhun- " ned any danger to come hi- " ther, in hopes that our faith- " ful friends, either from *Por-* " *tugal* or *India*, would, before " this time, have ſent us ſome " ſeaſonable help; but not the " leaſt have I found. I have " rather been ill uſed by the " *Baneans*, particularly by *Xa-* " *bandur* and *Xarcaſi*, who are " known to engroſs all the coin. " None of them have deigned " to ſhew me their letters, or ſo " much as to let me know what " news they had received. I " have writ ſeveral letters from " *Dembea*, and have not re- " received any anſwer to them, " which makes me think that " they all miſcarried, and that " God would not ſuffer any of " them, through my ſins, to " come to your hands. I am " now about to return to *Ras* " *Sella Chriſtos*, and ſhall leave " here *James Xaxem*, a man " well known by the *Baneans*, " and who, if any anſwer " comes, will convey the ſame " to me.

" My fellow-labourers, Abba " *Melcha Chriſtos*, Abba *Feuza* " *Chriſtos*, *John Gabriel*, *Gre-* " *gory*, *Anthony d'Almanza*, and " *Chriſtopher*, are now become " mere ſkeletons, having been " dragged into priſon, whipped, " *&c.* and their ſkins are fallen " off, through exceſs of miſe- " ry; and, if they are not dead, " they have undergone the moſt " extreme hardſhips, being for- " ced to beg their bread from " door to door.

" On the 21ſt of *October*, " 1647, Abba *Zara Chriſtos*, the " diſciple of Abba *Keril*, and " brother of Abba *Gregory*, was " put to death; as was alſo the " ſenator *Ando*, a man eminent " for his learning and piety. On " the 30th of *September* 1648, " Dom *Ibum Laca Mariam*, " Dom *John Melka Chriſtos*, and " Dom *Theodore*, were impri- " ſoned; and Captain *Gabriel* " *Donaceos* hath been baniſhed, " for not delivering me up into " the hands of the heretics. All " the *Portugueſe* of *Fremona* have " apo-

Mendez, who, though at that distance, yet might hear of it by some *Abissinians*, who were come into *India*; and these the reader may believe, if he pleases, seeing the absolute stoppage that hath been put to all future commerce with that country hath deprived us of all means of disproving it, but such only as reason suggests against the probability of it.

They represent Basilides *as unfortunate in his wars.*

NEITHER are the remaining particulars of that monarch's reign reported in a more favourable manner, with respect to him; and it plainly appears from the contents of the letter mentioned in the last note, and some others we have taken notice of a little higher, that their main design was to animate the Pope and *Spain* to make a fresh attempt on this empire, it could not but be their interest to represent it as reduced to the lowest degree of weakness by revolts, invasions, and other calamities; and these as so many just judgments inflicted by the Divine Providence to punish that unfortunate prince both for his apostacy from the church of *Rome*, and for the cruel persecutions he had exercised against her most zealous votaries. Accordingly, no sooner had he, with great

" apostatized, and have shewn " the most excessive hatred a- " gainst me, and accused me " before Abba *Emana Christos*, " our most bitter enemy, and " one who hath already put se- " veral catholics to death.

" To conclude, I go hence " without the least glimpse of " hope or comfort, having nei- " ther food nor raiment, nor " daring to stay here longer, " for fear of being surprised by " the *Turkish* vessels, whom the " season will quickly bring hi- " ther. I shall return again by " the next year, if God per- " mit; and I beseech God that " this letter may be perused " by all our prelates and church- " men, and particularly by the " patriarch *Mendez*, and the fa- " ther *Emanuel d'Almeida*, if " they be still alive; and, with " my face prostrate to the " ground, do recommend my- " self to their blessing and " prayers. Dated from *Mazwa*, " *January* 30th, 1649. Sign'd, " *Bernard Nogueyra* (4)."

The reader may see by this letter to what distress the missionaries, and their converts, were reduced; and that the emperor was fully resolved to extirpate them and theirs out of his dominions, and to prevent, by all possible means, their ever getting footing into them again. It is therefore no wonder, that their resentment and despair should drive them to invent this calumny against him, of having a design to introduce *Mohammedism*, which could not fail, if credited in *Europe*, of exasperating all the *Roman* catholic powers against him, and stir them up to use their utmost efforts to prevent the loss of all their hopes on that rich country.

(4) *Tellez, ubi sup. Lobo, Le Grand, hist. de la relat. d'Abissin. p.* 150, *& seq.*

diffi-

difficulty, ſuppreſſed the general revolt which his clergy had raiſed againſt him, on the ſuſpicion of his going to introduce the *Mohammedan* religion, but he was obliged to go and quell a freſh one among the *Agaus*, ſeveral of whoſe provinces had taken up arms againſt him. In which expedition, however, inſtead of the laurels and ſpoils he promiſed to himſelf, he met, we are told, with a moſt ſhameful overthrow. In the ſame year, his general *Bella Chriſtos*, who was then at the head of a powerful army, was likewiſe totally defeated by the mountaineers of *Laſta* [e]. This misfortune was ſoon followed by a terrible irruption of the *Gallas*, who entered the kingdom of *Gojam* at three different places, whilſt *Baſilides* was refreſhing his battered troops in that of *Begameder*, and in the territories of the *Agaus*; ſo that he was forced to let them commit the greateſt ravages, and go off with their immenſe plunder, as he was not in a condition to oppoſe them. In ſhort, ſay our authors, he was ſucceſsful in nothing but in his diſcovering and apprehending ſome of his catholic ſubjects, and condemning them to death, or cruel baniſhments; of both which they give us a large number of inſtances, which we ſhall not trouble our readers with [f]. Amongſt them, Father *Nogueira*'s trip to the iſland of *Mazowa* having been diſcovered to the emperor, and repreſented to him as a freſh attempt to call in a new ſupply of *Portugueſe*, an order was publiſhed to have him apprehended alive or dead; ſo that neither the college of *Fremona*, nor any of his intimate friends, dared to give him admittance; and ſome of them, who had gone over to the *Abiſſine* church, proved his moſt inveterate enemies; yet could none of theſe lay hold on him.

Defeated by the Agaus.

Invaded by the Gallas.

His ſeverity to the catholics, and to Father Nogueyra.

THE imperial army had hardly refreſhed itſelf about two months in the province of *Cottela*, before it revolted, and loſt a good number of officers, and a much greater one of ſoldiers. This was followed by a revolt in ſome of the provinces on the weſt of *Enarea*, who refuſed to ſend the yearly tribute of horſes, which they had engaged to pay, on condition that *Baſilides* ſhould protect them againſt the *Portugueſe* [g].

A new revolt.

THE following year was no leſs unfortunate to him, in which *Bella Chriſtos* was ſent againſt the mountaineers of *Denghis*; who, upon the firſt notice of his approach, ſeized on all the paſſes, and ſo well fortified themſelves in them, that they not only ſtopped his further progreſs, but fell ſo

Bella Chriſtos *defeated.*

[e] LE GRAND, ubi ſup. p. 154. [f] Id. p. 155. [g] Id. ibid.

ſuddenly

ſuddenly on him on all ſides; that they made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter among his forces. This was ſoon after followed with the news that a certain ſtrange nation had penetrated through ſome of the *Abiſſine* frontiers, and were ravaging the maritime provinces without oppoſition; upon which, it was immediately concluded that theſe could be no other than the *Portugueſe*, who would quickly become maſters of the whole empire. However, it was not long before they found their miſtake, theſe new invaders being the ſubjects of the king of *Adel*, who had taken the advantage of the great loſſes the emperor had ſuſtained, and made himſelf maſter of ten or twelve ſtrong high rocks, from which he ſent them to plunder and ravage the low-lands, and ſometimes penetrated a good way into the neighbouring provinces.

Invaded by the king of Adel.

THUS far the account of thoſe Jeſuits, if they may be credited, repreſents that monarch's reign as very unfortunate in every reſpect. This, we have already obſerved, may have been their intereſt to ſet forth in that light, in order to ſtir up their friends and favourers to ſend them ſome freſh aſſiſtance. But if we believe Mr. *Ludolph* and Abbot *Gregory*, no reign could be more quiet and happy than his proved, from the time of his expelling the patriarch and miſſionaries, except ſome few ſevere examples he was forced to make on a few of their zealous and daring partiſans. This indeed plainly appears the moſt reaſonable account of the two, ſeeing all the revolts and diſaſters that had happened in former reigns were wholly owing to the preference which his predeceſſors had ſhewn for the *Romiſh* church, and the violent means which they uſed to force their clergy and laity to ſubmit to it, as we have already ſeen. What cauſe could there be for any freſh diſcontents, after he had ſo effectually removed the occaſion of all their fears, and had, in every ſtep he took, approved himſelf a ſincere and ſtrenuous defender of the *Abiſſinian* church againſt all the open and ſecret attempts of the Pope and *Portugueſe*? And as to the charge laid to him of favouring *Mohammediſm*, it is not only inconſiſtent with the zeal he ſhewed for the reſtoring of the antient church, but abſurd on ſeveral other accounts. And we accordingly find in the preamble and ſome other parts of a letter which he, or, which is perhaps more probable, his ſon and ſucceſſor *Af Segued* ſent to the governor of *Batavia*, *circa ann.* 1672 (for he there ſtyles himſelf *Af Segued*, the ſon of *Alam Segued*, which name *Baſilides* had taken towards the latter end of his reign), that he gives himſelf and his father the character of *Chriſtian princes*, and *defenders of the Chriſtian faith*; a plain indication that it was ſtill the eſta-

This account contradicted by abbot Gregory; *and is plainly improbable.*

Still ſtyle themſelves Chriſtians, and defenders of the faith.

bliſhed religion of that empire. This letter, a *Latin* verſion of which the reader may ſee in Mr. *Ludolph*'s Commentary [h], doth not indeed begin with the uſual words, *In the name of the Father, Son,* &c. like thoſe of his predeceſſors, but *In the name of God, merciful and gracious.* Neither is it dated according to the *Chriſtian*, but the *Mohammedan*, æra; *viz.* in the moon *Moharam (April)*, and in the year of the *Hejra* 1083. The reaſon of which appears to be, that the letter being written in the *Arabic*, and not in the *Ethiopic* tongue, the *Arabian* ſecretary made uſe of the *Mohammedan* inſtead of the Chriſtian inſcription and æra; but, in other reſpects, it runs, as all others do, in a truly Chriſtian ſtyle.

BUT what ſtill more confirms the ſteadineſs of *Baſilides*, and his two immediate ſucceſſors, to the antient *Abiſſinian* faith, is the condition which the *French* phyſician *Charles Poncet* found the empire in at his arrival there, and the remarks he made upon it during his ſhort abode there, *annis* 1699 *&* 1700; of which we ſhall now give a ſhort account, it being the laſt particular we have to relate concerning it. We ſhall only obſerve here, with reſpect to the ſtate of religion, that he found the emperor to be a zealous profeſſor of the *Abiſſinian* faith; the Abuna, clergy, and monks, though not very well verſed in polemic divinity, yet ſtrenuous aſſertors and rigid obſervers of the rites, tenets, and diſcipline, of their church, the laity moſt devoutly ſubmiſſive to them, and all of them intirely averſe to every religion but their own, but more particularly againſt the church of *Rome*, and *Mohammediſm*. With regard to the latter, though he found it tolerated amongſt them, as they are indeed pretty numerous, and have engroſſed the commerce, as hath been formerly hinted [i], yet they live in ſeparate quarters, and are ſtyled no better than *Gebertes*, or ſlaves. The *Ethiopians* never eat with them, nor of any thing that is killed by them. They do not even drink out of a cup that hath been uſed by one of them, until the prayers of ſome good man have been ſaid over it, and he, by his breathing thrice into it, drives away the evil ſpirit. He adds, that they never ſalute them but with the left-hand, which is a mark of contempt [k].

1699. *In* Poncet's *time, the* Mohammedans *hated in* Abiſſinia.

ONE action, however, he relates of the emperor *Baſilides*, whom he calls *Ati Baſili*, and the grandfather of the young emperor then upon the throne; which ſeems, in ſome meaſure, to confirm what the Jeſuits laid to his charge, about

7000 *monks precipitated from a rock.*

[h] De hoc, vide Hiſtor. Ethiop. lib. ii. c. 7. n. 67, & ſeq. lib. iii. c. 14. ad fin. & Comm. p. 244.
[i] See before, p. 89.
[k] PONCET, Voyage, Engl. p. 68.

his

his favouring the *Mohammedans*; *viz.* that he caused 7000 priests and monks, who had revolted against him, to be thrown headlong from the top of the mountain *Balban*[1]: for it is hardly to be supposed that those priests raised that revolt upon any other account, and the alliances which the emperor had made with the *Mohammedan* princes, joined to the pensions and presents he had sent to them, in order to prevent the *Portuguese* entering into his dominions, might at once give birth and countenance to the false report, that he was going to introduce *Mohammedism*, and so stir up the whole body of the clergy against him: but whither of the two were more likely to be the inventors and first spreaders of this calumny, the missionaries, who had been so severely treated by him, and whose interest it was to render him as odious to his subjects as they possibly could, or the *Abissine* clergy, whom he had so highly obliged by those severities, and by his strenuous zeal against the church of *Rome*, and all its partisans, we leave it to the reader to judge.

The French try their success there.

We come now to speak of the voyage of *Charles Poncet* to the *Abissinian* court, and of the occasion of it, tho' without entering into any farther detail of it than concerns the sequel and conclusion of this history. The *French* court had by this time been induced by some of the missionaries of their nation to try their fortune, and to hope for better success in this empire, by their artful and insinuating address, than the *Portuguese* had done by their ambition and untimely zeal; and the late king, *Lewis* XIV. had been prevailed upon to write a most obliging letter to *Adian Segued*, the father of the young emperor then upon the throne; which, though we are not told by what means, found its way to that young monarch; seeing *Poncet* tells us, that he was pleased to shew it to him, when he was at his court. At the same time, Monsieur *Maillet*, the *French* consul at *Kairo*, had orders to make what inquiries he could into the state of that empire, and to try all possible means and stratagems to open a way into it to some of his nation; and fortune at length offered one to him, which he readily laid hold of, and carried on with success. *Agi Hali*, the emperor's factor in that city, complained to him of a stubborn disease, with which not only he, but his master, and the prince his son, had been afflicted for some time: upon which, the consul told him, that he had a most expert physician in his service, who, he was sure, could cure him of it, if any of that profession could. *Hali*

Poncet sent thither by the French consul.

[1] Id. ibid. p. 57.

[m] Id. sub init. Le Grand, ubi sup. p. 157.

was

was eaſily prevailed upon to make uſe of him, and was effectually cured; and this was inducement enough to him to venture the ſending *Poncet* to his maſter's court; to which the conſul not only readily conſented, but likewiſe ſent a letter of recommendation by him to the ſick monarch. The Jeſuits at the ſame time, who were highly diſpleaſed at their being ſet aſide from that miſſion, to make room for the Capuchins and other friers, made uſe of all their intereſt to be re-admitted into it, and to have ſome of their ſociety permitted to accompany the ſaid phyſician into *Abiſſinia*; alleging, that the catholic converts which were in that empire were their own flock: and accordingly Father *Fr. Xavier de Brevedent*, a man of great piety, zeal, and learning, eſpecially in aſtronomy, was allowed to go with him as one of his retinue. They embarked upon the *Nile*, along with the emperor's factor *Agi Hali*, on the 10th of *June*; and, after a long and tedious journey both by land and water, which we ſhall paſs by as foreign to our ſubject, they arrived at *Barko*, a ſmall town about half a day's journey from the city of *Gundar*, on the 3d of *July* of the following year; and there the good old father died of a dyſentery, occaſioned by his taking the ſeeds of the *Indian* pine-apple, which he had brought from *Tripoly* in *Syria*, and which, it ſeems, are a very dangerous remedy [n]. *Embarks on the Nile.*

PONCET, having ſtaid there to refreſh himſelf till the firſt of the ſame month, purſued his journey, and arrived late at *Gundar* on the evening, and met with a moſt gracious reception from the emperor, and received ſeveral private viſits from him, till he was recovered of his fatigue, which was not till the 10th of *Auguſt* following, when he was honoured with a public audience of him, with as great ceremony as if he had been an ambaſſador. The apartment, which had been aſſigned to him in the imperial palace, being near that of the emperor's children, he was conducted from it about ten of the clock in the morning, through above 20 others, to the great hall, where his majeſty was ſeated on a throne or couch, covered with a carpet of red damaſk, flowered with gold; round about which were ſeveral large cuſhions, embroidered likewiſe with gold. This couch, of which the four feet were of maſſive ſilver, was placed in an alcove at the bottom of the hall, and covered with a dome all ſhining with gold and azure. *Reception at court.* *Public audience.*

THE emperor appeared covered with a rich ſilk veſt with long ſleeves, and alſo embroidered with gold; and the ſcarf *The emperor's dreſs, &c.*

[n] PONCET, p. 40.

with which he was girt was wrought in the same costly manner. His head was bare, and his hair braided with great neatness, and a large emerald glittered with singular majesty on his forehead. He was alone in the alcove, and sat cross-legged on his throne after the eastern manner; his great lords standing on each side in their ranks, with their hands across one upon the other, and observing a profound silence. Upon his approaching the foot of the throne, and paying him the usual prostration, he had the singular honour to kiss his hand, and presented him with Monsieur *Maillet*'s letter; which being interpreted to him, he expressed himself highly in favour of the *French* monarch his master, inquired much after the royal family, the extent of his dominions, power, grandeur, *&c.* and seemed highly pleased with the account he gave him; the result of which was, that he expressed a desire of entering into an alliance with him, and to obtain one of his daughters to give in marriage to the prince his son.

Desire of an alliance with Lewis XIV.

THIS is the substance of this public audience, and some other private ones, he had with that prince, which we need not enter into a detail of here. The character our author gives us of him is, that he appeared to be about forty-one years of age, tall and handsome beyond any of his court, courteous and generous, wise, prudent, and warlike, and religious, that though he had not yet finished the course of physic which the doctor had ordered him, yet he would not absent himself from church on the festival of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin, which is there celebrated with great pomp and ceremony, the Abuna officiating in his pontificalibus, and the emperor assisting at it with all his numerous court in their most pompous dress, while the army was drawn up in the best order, and accompany him to and from the church, and heighten the grandeur of the festivity by their shouts, firings, and warlike music. The emperor dining on that day in public, and *Poncet* being allowed a table near his own, the empress, who had likewise some ailment to consult him about, appeared in the afternoon in great pomp; upon which, the whole court withdrew, except he, who was ordered to stay. She appeared magnificently cloathed, and covered all over with jewels. She had a fair complexion and majestic porte; and, after she had consulted him about her health, her curiosity induced her to ask many questions about the *French* ladies, their dress, *&c.*

His character.

Devotion.

The empress consults Poncet.

IT is plain, however, that in what he says of both their majesties, and other persons of quality, wearing of variety of jewels, and the description he gives of several of the empe-

Poncet's account different

ror's,

ror's, and ſome of the princes and princeſſes, ſtately palaces, as well as of *Gondar*, which he ſtyles the capital city of *Ethiopia*, and of ſome other towns and places of note, he contradicts the unanimous account which all the *Portugueſe* writers have given us of that empire [q], except the Dominican friar *Urreta*, who is univerſally cried down as a fabulous author. The city of *Gundar*, or, as Mr. *Ludolph* writes it, *Guender* [r], is, according to him, an imperial camp, and not a city, much leſs the metropolis of the empire (A); that title belonging only to the decayed town of *Axuma*, as we have elſewhere ſhewn [s]. Hence it is, that his and Mr. *Maillet* the *French* conſul's enemies have not ſcrupled to expoſe his account of *Abiſſinia*, and all that he hath ſaid of it, as a piece of forgery, contrived by them to impoſe upon the *French* court, and even to affirm that the former was never in *Abiſſinia* [t]. This is indeed looked upon by the more candid part of mankind as an unjuſt and invidious reflection on them both; yet as ſome other difficulties have been raiſed againſt them, which are not quite removed, we ſhall ſuſpend our judgment, till time furniſhes us with ſome new account or diſcovery, which may enable us to fix it with more certainty than we can at preſent.

from the reſt.

Cried down as a forgery.

To come, therefore, to the concluſion of this relation, *Pon-* having ſucceeded in the cure of the emperor and his family, but enjoying only a crazy ſtate of health in that hot

Obtains leave to return.

[q] See before, p. 33. [r] Lib. ii. c. 13. [s] See before, ibid. [t] See Le Grand, ubi ſup. 406, & ſeq. 408, ſeq.

(A) And yet it is plain, that both *Bernier* and *Thevenot* had made the ſame miſtake; the former of whom calls it *Gunna*, and the latter *Guntar*; and both ſtyle it the metropolis of *Abiſſinia* (5), as the *Arabian* geographer had done before them (6). Neither need we much wonder at it, the antient metropolis *Axuma* being reduced into a poor village, in which are no footſteps left of its priſtine dignity, but the old church, in which the emperors are ſtill crowned. It was natural for thoſe foreigners to call any other in which thoſe monarchs reſided by that title. It is not ſo eaſy to account for *Poncet*, who reſided ſome time in it, ſtyling it a city, if it was no other than an imperial camp; or to mention its 100 churches, and ſeveral palaces, if they were no other than pavilions; unleſs we ſuppoſe that they were called ſo by the *Ethiopians*; and that he ſtill followed the ſtyle of his interpreter.

(5) *Voyage du Levant*, p. ii. c. 22. p. 90. *Ludolph. Comm. Prom.* i. 103.

(6) *Vide Gol. not. in Alfar. c. 9.*

country, resolved, if possible, to get out of it as soon as he he could. The difficulty was, how to obtain that monarch's permission, who was by that time become very fond of him, and his medicines, and his method of treating his patients. He was therefore obliged to tell him, that, if he staid much longer in his dominions, death would soon put it out of his power to be any longer serviceable to him; but that if he could be permitted to breathe his own native air, the only expedient that could recover him, he might then be enabled, as soon as he found his health sufficiently confirmed, to return and renew his services to him. The good emperor, softened by such powerful motives, and his most solemn oaths and promises, consented to his departure, though much against his will, and not without obliging him to swear on the holy Gospel, that he would not fail of performing his promise and returning to him as soon as he was recovered. At the same time, the vast esteem which he had inspired that monarch with for the king his master, having determined him to send an ambassador to negotiate an alliance with him, and to send him some considerable presents, he at first pitched upon one *Abba Gregorios*, and recommended him to *Poncet* to teach him the *Latin* tongue; but, upon second thoughts, being reminded by one *Morat*, that it was the custom of the *Abissin* monarchs to make use of strangers, rather than of their own subjects, for such commissions, he was easily perswaded to that designing minister to appoint his young nephew to the employment (B). Accordingly, young *Morat* was publickly declared

Morat *sent ambassador to* Lewis XIV.

(B) This old *Morat*, *Mourat*, or *Marat*, had been settled, it seems, in *Abissinia*, ever since the reign of the emperor *Basilides*, whence he had made several trading voyages to *India*, and was at length sent to *Batavia* by that monarch, or his successor, with a letter to the governor, *anno* 1678; and there it was that he had those conferences with *Paul de Roo*, which Mr. *Ludolph* caused afterwards to be published, giving an account of the then state of *Abissinia*. He was there received as an ambassador, and easily perswaded the *Dutch* that a very advantageous commerce might be settled between them and the *Abissinians*, by the way of the *Red Sea*; upon which, they sent some vessels thither, which were obliged to sail back with all the lading they had brought.

In a second voyage he made thither soon after, he knew wish him an envoy from the *Dutch East India* company, and upon his arrival at *Mocha* told him that he must go and fetch the emperor's pass, without which he could not get admission into his dominions, and was very pressing to have taken with him the presents that were designed for that monarch; but the suspicious *Hollanders* excused them-

declared, and ordered to get all things ready, particularly the presents, which consisted in a number of elephants, horses, and young *Ethiopian* children [u], civet, and some other products of that country. His chief errand at the *French* court, besides the negotiating the alliance above-mentioned, was, as he informed the *French* consul at *Kairo* [w], to obtain from that monarch an able engineer, a cannon-founder, an armourer, a clockmaker, some architects, masons, carpenters, locksmiths, gardeners, glaziers, and a good physician, or surgeon. *Presents sent.*

PONCET, being very pressing for his departure, obtained a audience of leave, which was equally pompous with the st, and much more tender on both sides. The ambassador *rat* was detained some time longer by the emperor, whilst was to wait for him at *Devarowa*, the capital of the king- of *Tigre*; to which he was to be conducted by a con- rable escorte by the emperor's orders; who had likewise atched his commands to all the governors of the pro- ces through which he passed, to receive him with all pos- le honours, and to furnish him with every thing he want- which was punctually performed by them. He set out rdingly from *Gundar* on the 2d of *May* 1700, and, at end of two months and a half, during which he found health to mend gradually, he arrived safely at the capital ove-mentioned, and met with an honourable reception m the Bahr-nagash of that province [x]. Poncet *sets out before him. His audience of leave, escorte, &c.* *Arrives at* Devarowa.

Soon after his arrival there, news came from court of the ath of prince *Basil*, the emperor's eldest son, who was ddenly carried off by a malignant fever, in the 19th year

[u] Id. ibid. p. 88, & seq. [w] See his Memoirs, apud LE GRAND, p. 408. [x] Ibid. p. 91, & seq.

emselves from intrusting them his hands; so that he was liged to sail away without em. They waited a whole ear for his return, to no pur- ose; and at length returned me as they came.

This transaction we should ardly have heard any thing of, ad it not been for Mr. *Pon-* *cet*, who sent an account of it to the *French* consul at *Kairo*, in order to warn him against the cheats and impositions of the like nature, which are frequently committed by *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and others; of which he gives him some further instances in the same letter (8). But one may safely infer from that of old *Morat*, that his view was not much better, when he recommended his nephew *Morat Iben Magdelnon* as a proper person to be sent ambassador to the *French* court:

(8) *Le Grand, Relat. Hist. d'Abissin. p.* 162. *4to Edit. Paris* 1728.

of his age, and within eight days after his return from a campaign in which he had accompanied his father, and wherein he had highly signalized himself against the *Gallas*, and had killed eight of them with his own hand. His loss was so much the more regretted, as he was endowed with all the good qualities of an accomplished prince, and with such singular bravery, that one day seeing his father fall into an ambuscade of the enemy, he ran with all possible speed to his assistance, pierced through the thickest crouds, and charged them with such surprising valour, that he rescued him, and saved his life at the utmost peril of his own. But that which most endeared him to the people, was his love to them, and the concern he shewed for their poverty and misery, occasioned by the avarice and tyranny of his nobles and officers; insomuch that the messenger, who brought the news of his death, said, that the young prince made it his dying request to his father, on the last visit he paid to him a little before he expired, that he would ease them of that grievous burden; and, to his great satisfaction, obtained a previous promise from his afflicted father, accompanied with a flood of tears [y].

Prince Basilides his character.

Funeral obsequies.

Upon the receiving the news of that prince's untimely death, the Bahr-nagashes, or governors, caused it to be published by the sound of the trumpet both at *Devarowa* and through all the provinces of the *Tigran* kingdom; after which, every one appeared in the deepest mourning. On the day following, his funeral obsequies were performed in the great church of that city with more than usual solemnity [z], and lasted three whole days, according to custom. In the mean while, the emperor being obliged, upon that occasion, to abstain from all public business, prevented *Morad* being dispatched so soon as was at first expected; and *Pons* becoming more and more uneasy at his delay, and afraid of losing the monsoon, sent word that he would wait for him at *Gedda*, a small sea-port on the *Red Sea*. From thence, among other letters which he sent to the consul at *Kairo*, one of them was to acquaint him with the impossibility of procuring admission to any of the missionaries into *Abissinia*, and informing him that, upon his first coming thither, above 100,000 priests and monks had raised a revolt against the emperor; and that they had done the same upon hearing that an *English* vessel had appeared upon that coast, and that the emperor was sending an ambassador, with horses, elephants, and *Ethiopian* children, into *Europe* [a]; which letter is dated *December* 6,

[y] Ibid. p. 103, & seq. [z] De his, vide sup. p. 179. & seq.
[a] Le Grand, ibid. p. 161, & seq.

1700.

1700. After having waited there ſome time, he received a letter from *Morat*, that he could not come to him ſo ſoon as he deſigned; upon which, he ſet out for mount *Sinai*, which he was deſirous to viſit, and where *Morat* agreed to join him. He came to him accordingly a month after, but in a miſerable plight, having been firſt deprived of the *Abiſſine* children he was to carry into *France* by the king of *Mecca*, and, to complete his misfortune, the veſſel in which the preſents were, had been caſt away. They ſet out from *Sinai*, and ſoon after arrived at *Suez*; whence *Poncet* ſent word to the conſul of his coming with the *Abiſſinian* ambaſſador by the caravan, conſiſting of 8000 camels. *Poncet* got to *Kairo* two days before the ambaſſador, to get all things ready for his reception [b]; but, upon his arrival, ſo many objections were raiſed by the conſul's enemies againſt his credentials, the loſs of his preſents, and the account he gave of himſelf and commiſſion, as rendered his ambaſſy abortive, and prevented his being ſent to the *French* court. Soon after which, new objections were raiſed, diſcoveries made, or pretended to be made, and the whole affair of *Poncet*'s voyage, and *Morat*'s ambaſſy, cried down as a mere impoſition [c].

SINCE that time we read of nothing relating to this empire, but of fruitleſs and diſaſtrous attempts made by the miſſionaries to get into it again, but of nothing that has been tranſacted in it; ſo careful have the *Abiſſine* monarchs been, by the help of their *Mohammedan* neighbours, to deprive us of all further intelligence from thence. We ſhall therefore, according to a former engagement, cloſe up this hiſtory with a ſhort abſtract of the ſurpriſing account given of this celebrated empire by that romantic writer *Ludovigo de Uretta*, a Dominican frier, often mentioned in this chapter, and printed at *Valentia*, *anno* 1610; not doubting but ſuch a ſketch will be acceptable to our *Engliſh* readers, eſpecially as his whole fraternity, notwithſtanding the many and conſiderable approbations which his romantic performance carries in its front, as ſo many vouchers of its truth (C), have been ſince made ſo

[b] PONCET, ibid. p. 119, ad fin. [c] See LE GRAND, ubi ſup. & ſeq. 373, & ſeq. 393, & ſeq. 406, 414, 428, 441, & alibi paſſ. See alſo before, p. 10.

(C) His book came out licenſed, approved, and vouched, by no leſs men than Don *Balzar de Boria*, doctor of laws, archdeacon of *Xativa*, canon of the church of *Valentia*, and vicar-general and official of the archbiſhop of that city; *Juan Paſqual*, rector of the church of *St. Martin*, and licenſer of the

An abstract of Uretta's Ethiopic history.

so ashamed of it, that they have spared neither pains nor cost to get and destroy all the copies they could get into their hands (D), in order to suppress so authentic a monument of their zeal and fertile invention to serve their cause, or the interest of their order, whenever it chances to want some fresh support, as it seemed to do very much at that time, when the rising reputation of the Jesuitical society began so effectually to eclipse their own; and if some copies have happily escaped their diligent search, and have been preserved in the hands of protestants, we may probably suppose it to be owing to the universal outcry which the whole tribe of the missionaries, especially the Jesuits, raised against it, from the moment of its appearing in print, and excited the curiosity of strangers, particularly Protestants, after so interesting and extraordinary a piece, so plainly designed to blast the credit of all that had been said or written by other hands concerning the *Ethiopic* church and empire; but so unhappily and injudiciously executed, and stuffed with palpable forgeries, that, but for the number of champions on the other side, and the pains they took to expose it, it might probably never have reached foreign parts, but been confined to its native soil, for whose benefit and instruction it was professedly compiled, as being more naturally disposed to swallow all such kinds of pious prodigies; though even there he hath not been negligent of such artifices as were most likely to make them pass for current;

The author's monstrous pretences to sincerity exploded.

patriarch of *Antioch*, and archbishop of *Valentia*; Father *Raphael Riphoe*, prior provincial of the Dominicans in the kingdom of *Arragon*; Father *Lupero de Huette*, and Father *Jeronymo Mas*, licensers of the holy office of the inquisition; all of whom give the highest commendations in their several licences, both to the history and its author: to all which we may add, that it is dedicated to, and patronized by, the master of the sacred palace (1).

(D) This we have from the learned and reverend compiler of the church-history of *Ethiopia*, who finding that book become scarce by the destruction which the Dominicans have made of it, hath favoured the world with the following short abstract of it out of the original, then in his hands, and which, he tells us, he carefully preserved, as worthy to be bequeathed, after his death, to a library; which, to use his own words, next to that of *Ethiopia*, is the greatest in the world (2). We may add, that his excellent history of the *Ethiopic* church, being also become no less difficult to be met with, except in the great libraries, or in those of the curious, was the main motive that induced us to transplant the said abstract into this part of ours.

(1) *See Godin's Hist. of Ethiopia, p. 480.* (2) *Ibid. p. 481.*

rent;

rent; nor ſcrupled to introduce his romantic legend with the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of ſincerity; and boldly appeals to heaven, and all its ſaints, for the truth of its contents; tho' we are told by better and more impartial hands, that there is not one ſyllable true throughout the whole book (E). Nor hath

(E) Theſe are our author's own words; to which he adds, that he doth not remember to have ever ſeen a hiſtory in any language that had more of the magiſterial air of truth in it; the author ſeeming every-where to value himſelf extremely on his fidelity, and his care of ſetting down nothing without being firſt well aſſured of its truth; appealing conſtantly to authentic records, tho' a great way off, for ſuch fadiſhoods as had the leaſt colour of truth in them.

What is ſtill more ſhocking in that fabulous author, is the apoſtrophe, or addreſs, with which he concludes the legend of the lives of many Dominican ſaints and martyrs, ſome of which, we have reaſon to believe, were never in nature, or, if they were, did never belong either to his church or order. It is as follows:

"Moſt glorious, illuſtrious, "and holy ſaints, who being "now in the celeſtial palaces "cloathed with robes of im- "mortality, do enjoy the clear "vision of the moſt holy Tri- "nity, and being diveſted of "the bodily weapons where- "with you fought ſo manfully "in the world, are now ſeated "under the ſhade of the victo- "rious palm and triumphant "laurel, in the pavilions of "glory; pardon me all my "faults, pardon all my errors, "pardon my incapacity, and "the injury I have done the "height of your triumph, wor- "thy of all immortal trophy, "by my rude pen; and pray "for me, O moſt glorious "ſaints, who, in company of "the angelic ſpirits, and in the "celeſtial choir of God, ſing "the SANCTUS of the maſs to "the moſt holy Trinity, and "are perpetually employed in "the praiſes of God, pardon "the unpoliſhedneſs, ſhortneſs, "and groſſneſs, of my tongue, "your proweſs being ſo great, "your works ſo heroic, and "victories ſo glorious, that no- "thing leſs than the tongues of "angels are fit to celebrate "them. Pray for us, O ex- "alted princes, who live as "grandees of the celeſtial pa- "lace, and are as *knights of the* "GOLDEN KEY in the council- "chamber of God, being al- "ways in his preſence. Pardon "that little I have wrote of "your exploits, your glory be- "ing ſo great, that no pen, ex- "cept it be taken from an "archangel's wing, is fit to ce- "lebrate them. Pray for us, "moſt glorious ſtars of heaven, "moſt reſplendent meteors of "the earth, golden artifans of "the church, and the bright "light of the PREDICANT OR- "DER, who, from your thun- "dering pulpits, awakened the "world, confounding heretics "and pagans, and converting "ſouls to God. Pardon, if the "brightneſs of your virtues "are eclipſed by the ſmall part "I have celebrated of them.

"And

hath he been leſs ſparing of his invective cenſures on the Jeſuits *Maffeius* and *Mariana*, for having, as he charges them, laid aſide that ſtrict regard to truth, which becomes a Chriſtian hiſtorian. And as for thoſe who ſhall dare to queſtion his veracity, he makes no ſcruple to rank them amongſt the herd of ſceptics, who doubt the truth of every thing. He ſtill falls more ſeverely foul on proteſtants, as conſcious that they, of all his other Chriſtian readers, will be the moſt ready to diſbelieve and ridicule his pious narrative; thanking his God, that he doth not write it for the peruſal of a *Luther*, *Calvin*, or other excommunicated heretics, who ignorantly, raſhly, brutiſhly, and blaſphemouſly, deny the profitable interceſſion of the moſt glorious ſaints with God; but for the comfort and benefit of his moſt catholic countrymen, who juſtly boaſt a faith ever untainted by all ſuch hereſy and erroneous doctrines, as his neighbours the *French*, *Engliſh*, &c. have ſuffered theirs to be corrupted with; and therefore hopes will more readily credit his whole narrative, eſpecially as it comes recommended to them by ſo many eminent licenſers, as a work of wonderful edification and comfort to all pious ſouls; moſt of whom likewiſe vouch for the truth of it. Who thoſe licenſers and vouchers were, we have ſhewn in a former note; and what character and thanks they deſerve for their commendatory ſanction to ſuch a romantic heap of pious forgeries, the reader will be beſt able to judge from the following extract out of it.

"And pray for us, ye apoſtolic preachers, who are now in "ſhining glory before the Father of lights. Pardon me, "if your travels, peregrinations, labours, ſermons, virtues, and prodigies, or if the "glory of your glory is not "magnified as it deſerves; and "pray for us, valiant martyrs, "who, with your blood, confirmed the truth of the goſpel, "conquered tyrants, triumphed over wild beaſts, and, with "your hands full of palms, "and your heads crowned with "laurels, are entered into the "heavenly palaces. Pardon "my ignorance, and pray for "us.

"Sacred virgins, ſhining now "in your religious apparel, the "glory of the world, the honour of heaven, the brightneſs of human nature, and "the ſpecial ornament of the "Dominican order, pardon all "the defects of this book, with "regard to your praiſes; and "pray for us*. *Amen.*"

Thus much may ſuffice to ſhew the lying as well as romantic ſpirit of the author, and what credit is to be given to his heap of pious forgeries.

* *Ibid.* p. 477.

AFTER

AFTER a long and pompous account of the ſetting out of eight of his Dominican fraternity from *Rome* to the *Holy Land*, accompanied with a holy ſiſter of the ſame order, *anno* 1316, and their viſiting the holy city, ſepulchre, and other places in and about *Jeruſalem*, theſe nine pious pilgrims went thence down into *Egypt*, and paſſed quickly afterwards into *Abiſſinia*, where they applied themſelves to the learning of the language of the country, and made ſuch ſurpriſing progreſs in it, that in a few days they were able to preach to the inhabitants, to the great aſtoniſhment of all that heard them, and ſoon after of the whole empire. Their ſermons ſeldom failed of being accompanied by ſome extraordinary miracle, which gave an irrefragable ſanction and evidence to all they ſaid; inſomuch that their proſelytes became nearly as numerous as their hearers. Their fame ſoon reached the imperial court, and *Preſter John*, the then reigning monarch, amazed at the arrival of nine ſuch unexpected ſtrangers, and much more at their doctrine and miracles, thought himſelf obliged to ſend them a kind welcome into his dominions, as well as an invitation to his capital; and, as a further encouragement and mark of his eſteem, he was pleaſed to grant them a full power not only to preach their new goſpel through his whole empire, but likewiſe to build as many convents in it as they ſhould think proper, to promote and accelerate the converſion of his ſubjects to their church. He, moreover, impowered them to exerciſe their inquiſitorial power and authority over them all, engaged his royal word to allow them all the privileges and immunities which their order enjoyed in the *Latin* church. A leſs encouragement from ſo great and abſolute a monarch would have been more than ſufficient to invite ſuch zealous preachers into the heart of his empire; and they received his gracious meſſages with ſuch grateful joy, as made them overlook all the fatigues and dangers of ſo long a journey; ſo that they quickly advanced above 600 leagues into his dominions, and came at laſt to the lake *Caſſates*, on the other ſide of the equinoctial, where the *Nile* hath its ſpring-head, near the mountains of the moon.

Ethiopia when and by whom converted.

The fable of his eight Dominican monks, and their reception at court.

HERE, with no leſs ſurpriſing expedition and ſucceſs, they erected their firſt and moſt ſtately monaſtery. This ſpacious building was ſoon afterwards followed by others, not only in the kingdom of *Gojam*, but in other parts of the empire, and among the *Caffres*, quite to the *Cape of Good Hope*. The number of their neophites multiplied in ſuch ſurpriſing proportion, that their monaſteries were quickly filled and overſtocked with ſuch of them as ſtood candidates for the Dominican order; among whom there was no ſmall ſtrife to

Their vaſt convents and converts.

get

get admittance; and most of those, who obtained it, became afterwards almost as famous for learning, piety and miracles, and many of them for their martyrdoms for the faith, as their teachers.

Tecla's conversion and miracles.

But the most remarkable for his zeal and piety, but most chiefly for his extraordinary miracles, above the rest of their proselytes, and afterwards of their professors, was the prince *Tecla Haymonot*, the emperor *Sakazah* and empress *Sarah*'s only son, who, after having wrought sundry miracles during his infancy, preferred the Dominican habit to the *Abissinian* crown, as soon as he was come of age, and became in time the chief and glory of his order, being daily honoured with the visit of angels, who brought him down from heaven the bread and wine which he consecrated at mass. Neither did the angels alone express their ambition to attend upon this extraordinary person; for the very brutes, and even those of the wildest and most dangerous kind, as lions, tygers, wolves, crocodiles, serpents, and other noxious creatures, gathered after him in shoals, as often as he went out to preach, and ceased not to follow him till he had dismissed them with his blessing, which they all received with the greatest marks of respect and thankfulness they were capable of expressing.

Revered by brutes.

Founds a stupendous monastery.

Forces the devil to serve it seven years.

But the most surprising and extraordinary of all his miraculous feats was the vast monastery which he founded, and was afterwards called by his name, which was capacious enough to contain nine thousand friers; in the rearing of which he obliged the devil to serve him seven years, and to do all the most servile and hard work. Whether he employed any of his inferior demons in that drudgery, we are not told; but only this our author assures us, that the monastery hath never been so well served since; insomuch that when the emperor was told of it, he could not forbear blaming his son for not having tied the devil to the same service of the convent as long as it stood.

Neither did the holy sister, who had been the constant companion of their travels from *Rome* to *Abissinia*, prove less diligent and successful with respect to those of her own sex; but looking upon herself as equally intitled to the emperor's promise with other fellow-labourers, erected likewise a stately nunnery, wherein she fixed five hundred Dominican *Beatas* of the third rule. This vast nunnery was at first called in their language *Bado Nago*, but hath been since better known by that of *Santa Clara*. This may suffice as a specimen of the author's fertile brain on the subject of his nine Dominican apostles, and their miraculous success; all that needs to be added to it, is, that their history, like *Raphael*'s cartoons,

toons, is curiously painted in the cloisters of *Plurimanos*, whether any one, who questions its veracity, may repair for a full conviction. *Their history finely painted in it.*

THIS monastery of *Plurimanos* is that very individual one which was built by *Tekla Haymonot*, with the devil's assistance, and big enough to contain nine thousand monks, all of his order; being full four leagues in compass, and having eighty dormitories, which have all the great church at one end, and the refectory, or dining-hall, on the other. The dormitories have likewise a great number and variety of cells; that is, some 120, others 150, and some 200; and each dormitory hath a particular chapel and library belonging to it. The great church is 600 paces long, and wide in proportion; and so it had need, to hold nine thousand friers, who all repair to it on *Sundays* and holidays. The next grand monastery in this empire is that called *Attelugah*, and was built by *Bartholomew de Tivoli*, a Dominican frier, who was afterwards consecrated bishop of *Dangola* at *Rome*. This convent hath no more than seven thousand monks, who likewise repair to their great church, and afterwards dine all together, in their common refectory, on all high days. *One big enough for 9000 friers.* *Its great church.*

THESE two monasteries are the two grand nurseries for missionaries, who are dispersed in vast numbers, not only over *Africa*, but likewise once a year into *Arabia*, *Bengal*, *Siam*, *Pegu*, and as far as the vast empires of *China* and *Tartary*. It was by some of those missionaries that the kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola* were converted to Christianity, *anno* 1580; and others spread their missions, though not with equal success, as far as those of *Monomotapa*, *Mozambica*, and all the vast continent called *Cafraria*, quite to the *Cape of Good Hope*. All these missionaries were obliged to return to their respective convents at *Whitsunday* every year: but here our author, being conscious that such annual returns, from such remote regions, must be supposed above the power of flesh and blood, hath taken care to ward off the objection, by seriously telling us, that they came back with nothing but skin and bones. *The two grand seminaries for missionaries.*

THESE two famed monasteries, if we may believe our historian, were no less fruitful in their martyrs than in their preachers and miracle-workers. Three hundred thousand of those Dominican apostles had suffered martyrdom in various parts of *India* and *Africa*; which is more by far than any other, he might have said than all the orders of his church put together, can boast. Even within, and in the neighbouring states of, the *Abissinian* empire, and in the reign of the *Vast numbers of them martyred.*

Protected by the empress. the empress *Helena*, who was herself a Dominican *Beata* (F), eight hundred of the monks of the *Alleluyah* convent alone had been put to various kinds of death for preaching the gospel; at which that pious princess was so much troubled, that she sent to all the *Mohammedan* and heathen princes about her dominions, that she would no longer suffer any of their subjects to come and trade within her empire, if they did not abstain from molesting her friers, and suffer them to preach the gospel peaceably among them, each in their respective missions.

Their abbots made grand inquisitors. THE Abunas, or priors, of those two convents are, by the pope's letters, constituted grand inquisitors of *Abissinia*, where they execute that power with greater rigour than in *Spain*; and every heretic and apostate is turned over by their tribunal to the secular arm for the very first fault, though ever so penitent, and immediately, without mercy, thrown to the lions.

The imperial library and treasury. WE shall not repeat here what we took occasion to mention in a former note *, his pompous description of the imperial library and treasure; the former founded by the celebrated queen of *Sheba*, and built upon the mount *Amara*, which that pious queen hanselled with *Solomon*'s own works, and others written before him by the patriarchs *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Job*, &c. which that magnificent *Jewish* monarch presented her with; and which both she and her successors have been since enriching with every thing that was valuable in that kind, in all languages, and out of all parts of the world, at an immense expence. The latter founded likewise by the same princess, and on the same mount, into which, as into a bottomless gulph, both she and her successors have been throwing the richest of treasures, without ever drawing any thing out of it.

* See before, p. 197, & (O).

(F) By which must be understood not a professed nun of that order, but a kind of secular devota, who hath dedicated herself to the service of the Virgin *Mary*, under the ensign of St. *Dominic*, and obliged herself to wear her scapulary, to repeat the long rosary, and observe some other acts of devotion in honour of her. Of which kind there are millions of both sexes in the church of *Rome*, who, being admitted into this service by the Dominican friers, and paying a certain small sum at their entrance, and another at the particular feasts observed by that order, bring a constant income to the convent.

His

His account of the *Abissinian* hierarchy is no less pompous and solemn than it is notoriously false, as the reader may judge by comparing it with that which we have given of it in a former section *. According to him, there are no less than twelve archbishops and seventy-two bishops; the former answering to the twelve apostles, and the latter to the seventy-two disciples appointed by our Divine Redeemer. In imitation of which every cathedral likewise hath twelve canons, who all live in community with their respective diocesans, who enjoys the whole tythes of his bishoprick. When a canon dies, he is succeeded by the eldest priest in his diocese; and when the bishop dies, he is succeeded by the eldest canon of his cathedral. In like manner, the archbishops are succeeded by the eldest bishop of his province, and the eldest primate is always honoured with the dignity of the pope's legate; this privilege having been annexed to that dignity by Pope *Clement* VII. Over and above these there are a great number of titular bishops and archbishops, all of whom are nominated by the emperor, and confirmed by the pope. Every primate is obliged to visit his whole province at least once in six years, which is not done without great pomp and retinue, besides the crouds of laity, which flock to them for their blessing. These metropolitans are no less free of their curses and excommunications, when any thing is done amiss by the laity; and these stand in no less dread of them, especially as they are not permitted to eat or drink till they have, by proper means, obtained a reversion of the sentence; so, that none of them can despise them longer than they can live without meat and drink.

Hierarchy.

Prelates and priests how advanced.

Visitations and church censures.

The richness and splendor of the *Abissinian* churches are no less extolled by our author, but especially those of *Alleluyah* and that of the Blessed Virgin; the former built by the queen of *Sheba*, which is in the form of *Solomon's* temple, and the latter by the empress *Candace*, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*, built in form of a cross. All of them, according to him, are built of the choicest materials, as marble, porphyry, and granate, and adorned with the richest carvings, paintings, and other embellishments; some of them have three, and others five, ailes. The reader may, if he pleases, compare this pompous description with what we have formerly laid of those structures, and their ornaments †; though this may be owned to be the only point in which he hath least deviated from the truth.

Fine churches.

* See before, p. 133, & seq. † See before, p. 104, & seq.

But

Doctrine and discipline affirmed to be the same with that of the church of Rome.

BUT he hath made himself ample amends for it in the account he gives of the *Abissinian* faith and doctrine. According to him, the *Abissines* are not such arrant heretics of the *Alexandrian* leaven, as they have been affirmed to be by the Jesuitical tribe, that they have ever been, or at least ever since the preaching of his eight Dominican apostles, very zealous sticklers to the *Romish* faith and discipline, stigmatize the *Alexandrian* patriarch, and his adherents, with the worst of epithets, and are in all points the very same with those of the church of *Rome*.

By whom, and why, misrepresented.

WHAT, he tells us, gave occasion to this base and unjust slander on the *Abissinian* church, may be justly deemed a master-piece of the most fertile and bare-faced invention; and is as follows: The far greater part of 400 *Portuguese*, who were sent into *Ethiopia* under the command of Don *Christopher de Gama*, being *Jews* in their hearts, they had not been long in that country before they began to imagine themselves far enough out of the reach of the inquisition, and to make open profession of *Judaism*, to the no small surprise and scandal of the other *Portuguese*, little dreaming that there had been a much more severe one established in that empire by the holy see, and at the request of the eight Dominicans, near a century before. They were soon made sensible of their mistake, and the Dominican inquisitors, being informed of their apostacy, quickly took all proper measures to get them all apprehended by their *familiars* (G), with the greatest secrecy. But the *Jews*, it seems, had likewise their *familiars*, though of another species; our author affirming, upon this occasion, that the whole race of them were magicians, and in confederacy with the devil, who failed not to apprise them of their danger, and assist them to make their escape; so that, before the inquisitors officers could lay hands on them, they had already dispersed themselves, and got far enough out of their reach. Some of them, he tells us, got as far as the kingdom of *Berno*, whither, tho' they taught the natives how to make gunpowder, he wishes they had all gone; for then, says he, there would have been none left to run to *Goa*, and raise such scandalous lies against the *Abissine* church, as those who went thither did; who, merely to justify themselves, and be revenged on the Dominican inquisitors, represented the *Abissines* as mortal enemies to the pope and *Romish* church, and as holding sundry heretical tenets; which was the reason they did not care to stay any longer among them.

Their character, and escape to Goa.

(G) So that unchristian tribunal call their officers, which, in *Latin*, signifies no more than *domestics*; tho' that of hell-hounds is by far more suitable to their office.

HERE

HERE our hiſtorian naturally enough falls into a moſt violent fit of railing, not only againſt thoſe *Portugueſe Jews*, but, for their ſake, on their whole race; calling them an *impious, cruel, malicious, peſtilent, contagious, vile, infamous, naſty*, and *loathſome generation*; and, to crown all, *calls on all the Devils in Hell to fetch away the whole race of them, for having dared to report ſuch impudent lies againſt an empire that was much more catholic and orthodox than that of the moſt Chriſtian king, in having received the holy inquiſition and council of* Trent, *which the* Gallican *church could never be prevailed upon to do.* He no leſs cenſures the old Chriſtians among the *Portugueſe*, for having given credit to ſuch malicious and groundleſs reports. *The author ſpits his venom againſt them.*

As to what the popes and kings of *Portugal* have ſince done, upon the ſuppoſition that the *Abiſſinians* were really heretics, and enemies to the *Roman* church, he endeavours to excuſe their having been ſo miſerably impoſed upon by thoſe villainous *Jews*, as they were alſo in the caſe of the good old patriarch *Oviedo*; who (at the ſame time that he was recalled by the pope, on the ſmall proſpect there was of his doing the church any ſervice in *Ethiopia*, by reaſon of the emperor's and people's obſtinate adherence to the *Alexandrian* faith) was in the higheſt eſteem among them, reverenced as a ſaint, beloved as a father, liſtened to as a ſecond *Solomon*, and looked upon as an apoſtle ſent by God unto them; and was ſo far from being in diſgrace with the *Abiſſinian* monarch, that he had raiſed him to the dignity of preſident of his *Latin* council. It is true, he owns, that the *Portugueſe* patriarchs and fathers had by ſeveral indiſcrete ſteps ſo far exaſperated the minds of the *Abiſſinian* clergy, and were looked upon by them with ſuch an envious eye, that they quickly grew ſick of the country, and were glad to return to the *Indies*; the *Portugueſe*, adds he, being a people who cannot live long out of their country, or at leaſt from among their own countrymen: whereas the good biſhop *Oviedo*, being a *Spaniard*, and leſs precipitate in his reſolves, would never leave his flock, nor quarrel with them about trifles; and ſo lived and died in *Ethiopia*, in great honour and eſteem; and his memory is ſtill precious among them to this day. Of the truth of all which, his holineſs was quickly after fully ſatisfied; for the *Abiſſinians* of *St. Stephen*'s college at *Rome*, underſtanding how their church had been miſrepreſented, diſpatched with all ſpeed one of their members to the emperor *Menna* (*Menas*), the ſucceſſor of *Claudius*, to acquaint him with it: at which news, that prince ſo highly reſented his being miſrepreſented as an enemy *The pope and king of* Portugal *excuſed.* *The emperor* Menas's *letters to them.* *Submiſſion to the ſee of* Rome.

to the church of *Rome*, and was so exasperated against the *Portuguese*, that he forthwith published a law, expressly forbidding all of that nation, upon pain of death, to come into his dominions, without a certificate of their being *Old Christians*, from the inquisitions of *Lisbon* and *Goa*.

He next dispatched letters to *Goa*, *Lisbon*, and *Rome*, to assure those courts of the falshood of all those reports, which, he said, none but a pack of such vile and execrable *Jews* would have had the malice to invent, or the impudence to publish. One of his letters was addressed to the College of Cardinals, and particularly to the protector of the *Abissinian* empire; full of the strongest professions of his inviolable zeal for the *Roman* faith; and this he caused to be backed by another from his council of state, to the same tenor, and in the same loyal terms: both which were sent to *Rome* by an ambassador. Our author adds, that *Alexander* III. who succeeded *Menas*, not reckoning all this enough, sent a fresh ambassy thither, which consisted of 24 priests and 2 noblemen, to renew and ratify his obedience to the holy see.

Grand ambassy thither.

Thus far the abstract of the Dominican history of *Ethiopia*; which, in its original, contains no less than 1130 pages, in octavo, printed in a small type, and all filled with the same romantic fustian, tho' with the greatest pretences to sincerity, and the strictest regard to truth[a]. Well might his whole brotherhood be ashamed of such a heap of monstrous barefaced forgeries, and much more to see it ushered into the world with the licence and approbation of some of the eminentest dignitaries of their order. Could the most diligent endeavours have succeeded of utterly suppressing the memory of the work, as well as of its author and vouchers, we may boldly suppose scarce one copy of it would have been left undestroyed. But there were too many of their rivals concerned in preventing it, and who have effectually done it: yet hath this their victory gone but very little way towards clearing themselves of that glaring blemish which will, in all likelihood, stick to them to the end of the world, of having, by their partial and indiscrete zeal, rendered the name, not only of *Romish* and *Portuguese*, but even of *European*, odious through this whole empire, as they have done that of Christian in the greatest part of *India*. Neither is this misfortune confined to *Higher* but has spread itself thro' *Lower Ethiopia*, where we shall meet with still more flagrant instances of this unchristian spirit, especially in those countries where their well-meaning proselytes were, by their means, unwarily, brought under the no less insupportable tyranny of the *Portuguese* monarchs.

All a heap of forgeries.

[a] See Geddes, ub. sup. p. 477, & seq.

SECT.

SECT. XI.

The Hiſtory of the Kingdoms adjacent to Abiſſinia; *of* Dancali *and* Adel, *on the Coaſt of* Babel Mandel, *and of* Magadoxo, *&c. on the Coaſt of* Ajan.

Some of the kingdoms on this coaſt unknown, or miſcalled;

BEFORE we enter upon the deſcription and hiſtory of theſe kingdoms, it will not be improper to appriſe our readers, that all our maps of *Africa*, thoſe of *D'Anville*, the moſt modern and exact not excepted, place ſeveral kingdoms on the confines of *Abiſſinia*, along the coaſts of the *Red Sea*, concerning which we meet with little or nothing in our geographical books but their names and precarious ſituation, and of which we hope we ſhall be readily diſpenſed taking any farther notice in the courſe of this chapter; eſpecially if they remember that we are not writing an univerſal body of GEOGRAPHY but of HISTORY, into which it would therefore be impertinent to intermix ſome few, and, perhaps, uncertain, particulars of the former, where we have nothing material to add to it, relating to the latter. Of this nature are the kingdoms of *Balu*, or *Bali*, *Deking*, or *Deghin*, *Barnagaſſo*, or *Midrebbar*, and others, which croud this coaſt in the maps, whilſt their names are unknown even to the moſt voluminous compilers of geographical dictionaries. At the head of them ſtands the ſuppoſed one called *Barnagoſſo*, or *Barnagaſh*, on the confines of that of *Tigre*, belonging to the empire of *Abiſſinia*, and ſtyled a kingdom, in thoſe maps, thro' miſtake, or inadvertence; that compound name of *Bahr*, and *Naghaſh*, ſignifying no more, in the *Ethiopic* language, than a prefecture, or government of a maritime province, or territory [a], of which there are ſtill ſeveral which bear that title, ſome ſubject to the *Abiſſinian* emperors; and others which have withdrawn their allegiance from them, and put themſelves under the protection of the *Turks*, as we have ſeen in the preceding chapter. However, both of them are in too poor and mean a condition to deſerve that pompous name, each being equally under the yoke; and that of the latter being ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed higher than that of the former; and what a kind of one this was, may be gueſſed at from the wretched reception which the *Portugueſe* ambaſſy to the *Negus*, under the famed *Alvarez*, met with from one of them, in his way to that court, and the miſerable plight he found that maritime go-

as that of Barnagaſſo.

[a] Vid. int. al. LUDOLPH. Ethiopia, l. i. c. 3. n. 7.

vernment in, which could hardly afford him and his retinue any better fare, thro' his territory, than barley bread, or barley meal, and some wine made of honey [e].

Kingdom of Balu;

THE petty kingdom of *Balu*, or *Bali*, was once subject to the same empire, but hath since revolted from it; and is erroneously taken, by some geographers, for a part of that of *Dancali*, though this last be an ever faithful ally, and the other a declared enemy, to the *Ethiopian* monarchs. However that be, his dominions, let him assume what title he will, deserve no farther mention, seeing he hath neither cities nor towns in it, but only some villages scattered through a large, and, for the most part, uncultivated territory, inhabited by the wild plundering *Gallas*, of whom we have elsewhere spoken [d]; who at first settled themselves in these maritime parts, and from thence made the most dreadful inroads into the adjacent provinces of *Abissinia*, and have since settled themselves, not only in several of its frontier, but likewise in some of the inland, kingdoms, as we have already observed in the history of that empire. Those who inhabit that territory are fierce, warlike, and cruel, like all the rest; only they that live near the sea, have embraced *Mahommedism*, and live more on trade than plunder. Their prince is rich, and so powerful, that he obliges the basha of *Swaken*, which lieth over against his dominions, to yield him one half of the customs of that island. Our author adds, that he hath plenty of gold and silver, and abundance of fine large horses [e]. According to Mr. *Ludolph*'s map, the river *Habesh*, or *Hawash*, which comes down from the confines of *Shewah*, crosses his territories, and, continuing its course eastward, loses itself in the sandy deserts of the kingdom of *Adel*.

inhabited by the Gallas;

their dreadful plunders;

king rich and powerful.

Hawash *river.*

THE kingdom of *Dekim*, or *Deghim*, which lies between that of *Balu*, on the west, and *Dancali*, on the east, is still more unknown to us; for which reason we shall pass to the next [f].

Kingdom of Dancale.

DANCALI, or *Dancale* and *Dangales*, is likewise situate on the *Red Sea*, between those of *Dekim*, on the west, and *Adel* on the east. Its extent, along the coast, is but small, whatever it may be towards the inland, and is neither well cultivated nor inhabited. The king of it is a *Mohammedan*, as are most of his subjects, but in strict alliance and friendship with, or, as Father *Lobo* adds, tributary to, the *Abissinian* emperor [g]: if

[c] De hoc vid. sup. ibid. & ALVAREZ in Ramusio, vol. i. p. 196. edit. 3. [d] See before, p. 39, & seq. [e] LOBO's relat. de Abissin. p. 38. [f] See his map, history of Ethiopia, l. i. c. 8. n. 48, 106. [g] Relat. de l'Abissin. p. 48.

so,

ſo, he muſt, in all likelihood, be ſo likewiſe to the grand ſignor, who is maſter of all this coaſt. His kingdom chiefly abounds in mines of ſalt, of which vaſt quantities are made, and a great traffic carried on, both into the inland parts, and on the *Red Sea*. Its chief ſea-port, and that no extraordinary one, is that of *Baliur*, or *Balyur*, which ſtands at about fourteen hours diſtance, weſt, of *Babel Mandel*. And it was in this port that the *Abiſſinian* patriarch, with his Jeſuits and *Portugueſe*, firſt landed, and were received by the Cheyk with great civility, the emperor having choſen that port for their landing, and given proper orders for their reception (A); tho' that did not hinder the Cheyk, and his inferior officers, from infiſting upon ſome conſiderable preſents, in proportion to their rank, when they came to bring their baggage on ſhore, as is cuſtomary among all the *Turks*.

Port of Balyur.

Portugueſe land at it.

THE king, who had likewiſe received letters from that monarch to the ſame purport, ſent to invite the patriarch, and his retinue, to his court, which was about 3 or 4 days journey from *Baliur*, and diſpatched his own ſon to meet them in the way, and conduct them to the royal palace, or rather camp, which they found to conſiſt only of half a dozen tents, about a ſcore hutts, fenced about with a thorn hedge, and ſhaded by ſome wild kind of trees. Near the palace is a river, which, in winter, is very full and rapid; but it being then ſummer, was quite dried, and had no water but what was digged for, at the bottom of its chanel, or bed.

Their reception from the king; his court;

THE hall of audience, where they were received by the king, was a large tent, or hut, about a muſket-ſhot from the

(A) The perſons who compoſed this ambaſſy, beſides *Alphonſus Mendez*, newly created patriarch of *Abiſſinia* by the pope, were thoſe that follow; *viz.* 1. *Johannes Valeſco Caſtellano*. 2. *Hieronymo Lupo*, or *Lobo*. 3. *Bruno de Santa Cruce*. And, 4. *Franceſco Marcheſio*, all four Jeſuits, who had two lay brethren to attend them; *viz.* *Emanuel Luis* and *Joannes Martini*. The reſt of their retinue conſiſted of one ſervant, five muſicians, three *Abiſſinians*, who conducted the ambaſſadors, two maſons, and two apprentices, who were to be employed in the building of churches, and other religious houſes, as had been agreed between the emperor and the king of *Portugal*. All theſe, except *Velaſco* and the three *Abiſſinians*, were *Portugueſe*, and all landed at the port of *Balyur*, on the 3d of *April*; having been timely forwarned, by letters from the *Abiſſinian*, from landing either at *Suakem* or *Mazwa*, which were then in the hands of the *Turks* (*).

(*) *De hoc vid. Gregor. in Ludolph hiſt. Ethiop. l. iii. c. 11. n. 9. & ſeq. Jarric, Godinh. Lobo, & al. paſſ.*

reſt. Two of them are for his own uſe; the other four are for his mother, brothers, and chief officers. The preſence-hall had, at the upper end, a kind of throne, reared only of ſtones and clay, and covered with a carpet, and two velvet cuſhions. At the other end, facing the throne, was his majeſty's horſe, with the ſaddle and other accoutrements ſuſpended on one ſide; it being the cuſtom of this country for the maſter and horſe to lie together, whether king or ſubject. Around the hall were about half a hundred young men, ſitting croſs-legged on the ſame poſture.

audience to them;

attendance;

THE king came ſoon after, preceded by ſome of his domeſtics, one of whom carried an earthen pitcher, full of hydromel, or wine made of honey; another a drinking cup, made of porcelane; and a third carried a cocoa-nut ſhell, filled with tobacco; a fourth a ſilver tobacco-pipe, and ſome fire. Next to them came the king, dreſſed in a light ſilk ſtuff, with a turban on his head, from the rims of which hung a parcel of rings, nicely wrought, which dangled before his forehead: he held in his hand a ſhort kind of javelin, inſtead of a ſceptre, and was followed by all the chief officers of his court and houſhold, and among them his lord high ſteward, the ſuperintendent of his finances, and the captain of his guard. The reſpect paid to him, at his coming in, was by ſtanding on their feet, and ſquatting down again twice; after which they went towards the throne to kiſs his hand. The audience was ſhort, but full of the moſt bombaſtic profeſſions of love and eſteem on his ſide, and of reſpect and gratitude on theirs; but this behaviour ſoon altered, when, on the next morning, they came to make their preſents to him, and, inſtead of acceptance, our author, who brought them to him, met with a ſevere repulſe and reprimand, for daring to affront a monarch like him with ſuch trifling preſents, and was bid to take them away out of his ſight. Our Jeſuit readily obeyed, without betraying either fear or any other emotion than that of diſdain, after having given him to underſtand, that they were of more value than he ought to have expected from religious perſons, who had renounced the world, and forſaken their native country, for the ſake of carrying their religion into the *Abiſſinian* empire; and told him, at parting, that, ſince he did not think them worth his acceptance, the next he ſent for from them ſhould be leſs ſo.

dreſs;

greedineſs and arrogance;

THE king, tho' ſurpriſed at his rough compliment, let him go away with them; but, being unwilling to loſe them, ſent one of his officers to fetch them back, with orders to inſiſt upon

meanneſs and reſentment;

upon ſome addition being made to them, but was glad to take them as they were; the good father, on his ſide, inſiſting upon retrenching ſome part from them: ſo that when they were brought again, the greedy monarch received them with viſible marks of diſſatisfaction and reſentment; and it was not long before he made them feel the effects of it, not only by detaining them, upon ſome pretence or other, longer at his court than was neceſſary for getting things ready for their departure, but by privately forbidding his ſubjects to ſell them any kind of proviſions, at any price; ſo that they muſt have been obliged either to ſatiate his greedineſs with larger gifts, or been in danger of ſtarving, had not the good father reſumed his high tone with him, and, partly by the keeneſt expoſtulations againſt his behaviour, and partly by threatening him with the emperor's reſentment, brought him, againſt his will, to comply with the patriarch's demands, and uſe them with more humanity. This did not hinder the black monarch from putting off their departure out of his dominions, from day to day, and ſuffering them to be chagrined and inſulted by his ſubjects, in hopes of finding ſome pretence for extorting ſome further preſents for their diſmiſſion; to avoid which, they found no better expedient than to bribe one of his favourite miniſters with a valuable gift, who, quickly after, obtained their audience of leave, and ſuch other ſupplies of carriages, proviſions, *&c.* to proceed on their ambaſſy to the *Abiſſinian* court. Neither was it poſſible to get rid of that of *Dancali*, till they had extended their largeſſes to all that belonged to it, from the higheſt officers, down to the moſt menial ſervants and camel-drivers [i].

refuſes to diſmiſs them.

Audience of leave obtained by dint of bribery.

Greedineſs of his court.

THIS ſmall kingdom hath ſome conſiderable towns beſides the port of *Balyur*, the moſt conſiderable of which are *Vella*, or, more probably, as *Davity* conjectures, *Leila*, another port on the *Red Sea*, and mentioned in the *Portugueſe* letters of the year 1617, as one of thoſe which belong to the allies of the *Abiſſinian* emperor; for tho' *Sanutius* and others ſpeak of this king of *Dancali* as at enmity with him, it is plain from *Jarrick Codingo*, and eſpecially *Lobo*, who was one of the ambaſſy, that he was, at that time, tributary to him; tho', from his being a *Mohammedan*, and his ill uſage of his ambaſſadors, one may judge he could be no friend to him in his heart. The other two towns are *Korkora* and *Manadeli* [k], where they have ſome manufactures of the linen and cotton kind, with which they traffic with the *Negroes*. The river *Ha-*

Other towns.

[i] LOBO, ub. ſup. p. 50, & ſeq. l. iii. DE LISLE Atlas, DAPPER.

[k] LA CROIX Africa.

waſh, or, as others call it, *Hanazo*, hath its riſe at ſome of the mountains on the ſouth, and, running north-eaſtward, waters the kingdoms of *Dawaro* and *Adel*, and there is ſwallowed up in the quick-ſands; but the country is barren, dry, and ſandy, producing no kind of food, for cattle but only leaves; labours under great ſcarcity of water, and that which their wells afford is brackiſh and unwholſome [1]. The inhabitants are *Moors*, and conſequently lazy and indigent, fearful and diffident of all the *Europeans*, and eſpecially of the *Portugueſe*.

Country poor and barren.

Inhabitants black and poor.

CHAP. V.

The Hiſtory of the Country of Ajan, *al.* Axan; *and of the Kingdoms and States belonging to it.*

THIS large tract of land, which extends itſelf on the north ſide, along the ſouthern coaſt of the gulph of *Babel mandel*, quite to the utmoſt verge of *Afric* on that ſide, or to the cape called *Guardafuy*; and on the eaſtern ſide, from the ſaid cape, on the 12th deg. north latitude, quite to the equinoxial line, which divides this laſt coaſt from that of *Zanguebar*, was once contiguous to, if not wholly a part of, the *Abiſſinian* empire; though long ſince not only diſmembered from it, and divided into ſeveral inferior kingdoms, but even parted from it by the *Gallas*, *Gaffates*, and other barbarous nations, which are ſettled between them; and this may be the reaſon why the *Arabs* ſtill give to theſe coaſts the name of *Abex*, or *Habex*, or *Abiſſinia*: though others give them that of *Ajan*, or, as the *Portugueſe* write it, *Axan*. So that upon the whole, the laſt name doth not ſo much imply the name of a particular kingdom, as moſt geographers would intimate, as a general one of a maritime tract containing ſeveral petty kingdoms and ſtates; the principal of which are, the kingdoms of *Adel*, al. *Zeila*, *Magadoxo*, or *Madagoxo*, on the coaſts, and ſome others in the inland, little known to us but by their names: and laſtly, and, what we mention for its ſingularity in thoſe parts, the republic of *Brava* [2].

The coaſts of Ajan *deſcribed:*

kingdoms belonging to it;

THE generality of geographers have added another kingdom, *viz.* that of *Adea*, within this country of *Ajan*, and place it near that of *Magadoxo*; but which we ſhall in the

[1] Id. ibid. LUDOLPH, Ethiop. l. i. c. 2. n. 11. [2] MARMOL Afric. l. x. c. 10. SANUT. l. xii. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

ſequel

ſequel ſhew that it is a mere imaginary one, as well as its pretended opulent capital of the ſame name, and ſeated on the ſame coaſt. All the eaſtern coaſt of *Ajan* is affirmed to *ſoil*; be a mere ſandy and barren tract, producing neither corn, grain, fruit, nor any animal, but of the wild kind; for which reaſon it is moſt commonly called the deſert coaſt. But as *produce*; you advance farther northward, and along the northern coaſt, you meet with a very fertile country, which produces great plenty of all ſorts of proviſion, in which it drives a great commerce, and more particularly in an excellent breed of *commerce*; horſes, in great requeſt, and which foreign merchants fetch in great quantities, in exchange for ſilks, cottons, and other clothes.

THE inhabitants along this laſt coaſt are moſtly white, *inhabi-* with long lank hair; but grow more tawny, or even quite *tants*; black, as you proceed towards the ſouth. Here are plenty of negroes, who live and intermarry with the *Bedowin Arabs*, and carry on a great commerce with them, which conſiſts in gold, ſlaves, horſes, ivory, *&c.* which they commonly bring from *Abiſſinia*, with which they are almoſt conſtantly at war, and of which they plunder and ravage whole provinces. As they are all either zealous *Mohammedans*, *religion*; or *Bedowins*, an idolatrous and ſuperſtitious ſect among the *Arabs*, ſo they are alike enemies to the *Abiſſinians*, who are all Chriſtians; and the frequent inroads they make upon them renders them warlike and ſtout; but all of them, eſpecially the *Bedowins*, who are rude and brutiſh, are arrant thieves; but more particularly thoſe who live neareſt to the *manners*. trading coaſts [b]. Let us now take a view of thoſe kingdoms which are included within this tract, beginning with that of *Adel*, as the moſt conſiderable, and beſt known to us.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Adel, *al.* Zeila.

FROM the full and copious account we have given of the vaſt and noble empire of *Habaſh*, or *Abiſſinia*, in the foregoing chapter, our readers muſt not expect the like complete hiſtory of this, and other kingdoms there mentioned as contiguous, and at frequent wars with its monarchs; our *Europeans* being ſtill to this day as little acquainted with the one, as they were formerly with the other: that is, till the *Portugueſe* and their miſſionaries were invited thither by the *Kingdom of* Adel, *al.* Zeila.

[b] Id. ibid. SOMMAR regn. Axan. tr. 3. ap. DAVITY, MAGIN. geogr. & al.

Abiſſinian

Why so little known to the Europeans.

Abissinian court, and met with such encouragement from them, as enabled them to give the world so uncommon a history of it, and which might have been much more extensive still, had those fathers been as intent upon that as they were upon reducing the *Ethiopian* church to the see of *Rome*; which if they could once have compassed, according to their sanguine hopes, would have afforded them more time and opportunities of enlarging their description of it.

BUT it was this extraordinary welcome, and the unusual caresses of the *Ethiopic* court, which rendered them suspected and odious, and with them all other *Europeans*, to all the adjacent kingdoms above-mentioned; and to a higher degree, as they were mostly either zealous *Mohammedans*, or barbarous idolaters, given to all kinds of superstitions and cruelties, and irreconcileable enemies to the Christian religion, or, to speak more properly, to the *Romish* church; for that was all the Christianity they knew. So that it is no wonder both *Moslems* and *Heathens* did so unanimously join in guarding all the avenues into their own dominions against all those so odious and dreaded interlopers, and in exercising the most cruel severities against as many of them as found means to elude their vigilance, and ventured to penetrate, under various disguises and pretences, into any part of their territories (A). We have seen, at the close of the last chapter, how few, if any, of these infatuated zealots, who have attempted it, have escaped a discovery, and how dreadfully those have been

How these became suspected by the Adelite *kings.*

(A) To this we may add another no less stinging and cogent motive for this jealousy and hatred; *viz.* the many and swift conquests which the *Portugueze* have made, both on the eastern and western coasts of *Afric* (to say nothing of those they made also in *India*); the inhuman treatment they shewed to those princes and states who refused to submit to their superior force, by reducing their stately cities into ashes with their artillery, putting all to fire and sword that opposed them, carrying off all they found of value amongst them, as lawful plunder; and what was as bad, if not still worse, the cruel tyranny and oppression they exercised on all those who submitted to their yoke (1), and for which they quickly became, and, on their account, all the *Europeans* in general, and the very name of Christian, odious through all those parts, as we have already shewn in several parts of this work *, and shall have still farther occasion to shew in the sequel.

(1) *De his vid. Osorio hist. Portug. per tot.* * *Vid. int. al. vol.* vii. *p.* 29, *& seq. & alib. pass.* viii. *p.* 133 *&* 345. *&c. c.* 9. *p.* 257, *& seq. c.* 10. *pass. See likewise hereafter our history of Congo, Angolo, &c.*

treated

treated, who have fallen into their hands [a]. Our readers, therefore, need not be ſurpriſed, all theſe things duly weighed, if we hitherto are able to ſay ſo little of thoſe kingdoms; tho' their nearneſs to, and their commerce, or, more properly, wars and irruptions into, the *Abiſſinian* empire, of which we have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of that hiſtory, will hardly permit us to paſs over ſo many potent princes and ſtates as were there mentioned, without giving the beſt account we can meet with concerning them.

Of all the neighbouring enemies which the *Abiſſinian* monarchs have had for ſome centuries paſt, the king of *Adel* hath been the moſt powerful and inveterate, and that eſpecially on account of religion, both he and his ſubjects being zealous *Mohammedans*, not only cultivated, but carefully intailed the bitter rancour on his ſucceſſors againſt the *Abiſſinians* and their faith; and this hoſtile animoſity increaſed ſtill more, from the time that theſe emperors applied to the *Portugueſe* for help, and were enabled, by their ſuperior ſkill and valour, to give their *Mohammedan* enemies ſeveral conſiderable overthrows, of which we have given an account in the preceding chapter [b].

Their reſentment againſt the Abiſſinian emperors, and hatred to the Portugueſe. Dread of their arms.

But nothing did ſo effectually alarm and confirm the *Adelite* princes, and their allies, in their jealouſy and reſentment againſt the *Ethiopic* court, as that mean and unworthy offer of the emperor above-mentioned to ſubmit the *Abiſſinian* church to the authority of the *Roman* ſee, which they doubted not would infallibly engage all the Chriſtian, that is, as they imagined, all the *European* powers to their aſſiſtance, to deſtroy, at once, *Mohammediſm* and *Heatheniſh* ſuperſtition, and reduce all their dominions under the *Ethiopic* yoke. They had, by that time, had many ſmarting proofs of the ſuperiority of the *Portugueſe*, in point both of valour and martial diſcipline; and it was become an uſual ſaying, among their daſtardly troops, and thoſe of their allies, that thoſe *new comers were not men, but devils incarnate*, and that it was impoſſible to make head againſt them. And if ſuch a ſmall army of them, ſcarcely amounting to 300, could perform ſuch unheard of wonders, in favour of the *Abiſſinian* monarchs, what could they expect leſs from the united forces of all the *European* princes, but unavoidable deſtruction? What method, therefore, was more likely to ward off ſo fatal a blow, than to engage all his allies, and other powers far and near, who were equally threatened with the ſame ruin, to join with him not only all their home forces, but likewiſe in the ſame

[a] See before, p. 316, & ſeq. [b] Ibid. p. 226, & ſeq. 239, & ſeq.

caution

Care of guarding their coaſts againſt them.

caution and vigilance, to ſtop every avenue to their reſpective dominions againſt all ſtrangers, under whatſoever diſguiſe or pretence. All which was ſo punctually and effectually done, that if the ſo much wiſhed-for alliance between the *Abiſſinian* monarch and the *European* powers had taken place, which it did not, and theſe had thought fit to ſend him a new reinforcement of men and arms, they would have found the landing them upon any of their coaſts, and much more their penetrating through their dominions, altogether impracticable. Neither did its unexpected miſcarriage permit theſe princes to abate of their care and vigilance, but have followed the ſame precautious method ever ſince, and with all poſſible ſucceſs.

Situation, boundaries,

THE kingdom of *Adel*, ſo called from its metropolis (B), and *Zeila*, from another eminent ſea-port of that kingdom, is ſituate along the ſouthern coaſt of the *Red Sea*, which bounds it on the north; from the ſtreights of *Mean*, or *Babel Mandel*, on the weſt; to the cape of *Guardafuy*, on the eaſt, which is the utmoſt verge of this coaſt, on this ſide, from which it begins to wind itſelf ſouth-weſt, along the *Indian* ſea, by which it is bounded on the eaſt. Its limits on the ſouth extend to the kingdom of *Magadoxo*, from which it is divided by the river of that name, and on the weſt hath the *Gallas*, or *Callas*, the kingdoms of *Bali*, *Dovaro*, and *Dancali*. Its full extent, on either ſide, is not certainly known; the longeſt is along the coaſt, from eaſt to weſt, and is ſuppoſed to be about 160 leagues, and the leaſt, from north to ſouth, about 72[d]. Ancient geographers, however, gave it a much larger extent, and it had, according to them, many more conſiderable provinces, which the *Turkiſh* conqueſts have ſince diſmembered from it, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. We meet with but an imperfect account of the inland part of the kingdom, except that *Marmol*, or rather his *French* tranſla-

[d] SANUT, MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, Afric. & al.

(B) *Marmol* calls the metropolis of this kingdom *Aran* (6), but neither deſcribes it, nor takes any other notice of that of *Adel*, than giving it the title of a royal city, which we are told is the name of the kingdom and its capital. As for that of *Zeyla*, or *Zeila*, by which, he ſays, the kingdom is called, it is very likely, as the judicious Mr. *Ludolph* conjectures, that it was given to it by ſome *Europeans*, from an eminent ſea-port which it hath on the northern coaſt, and was, perhaps, the only place of note they knew in it (7).

(6) *Afric. lib. 3. c. 7.*

(7) *See his map of Abiſſinia.*

3 ter;

tor [e], mentions six cities in it, besides that of *Zeila*, and the two capitals of *Adel* and *Aran*, above-mentioned; *viz. Bali*, *Doara*, *Comizara*, *Novorata*, and *Socel*; to which a modern geographer adds three more; *viz. Auſſagurella*, ſituate on a high hill in the center of that kingdom; *Barbora*, ſituate on the bottom of a bay, into which the river *Howacha* formerly diſcharged itſelf; and *Meta*, on the eaſtern banks of the river *Soal*, on the northern coaſt [f]. The moſt conſiderable places on the eaſtern coaſt are *Aſum*, or *Aſion* (C). It is a ſmall town, but abounds with proviſions and other refreſhments for mariners; but, having no haven, is not much reſorted to. The next to it is the cape of *Guardafuy*, ſuppoſed to be the *Aromata* of *Ptolemy*; it lies north of *Aſum* about 12 degrees and a half of latitude, over-againſt the iſland of *Sucotra*, or *Zocotora*, in *Arabia Felix*. Turning ſouth-weſtward from the ſaid cape, one meets with the towns of *Salin*, the ancient *Moſilon* of *Ptolemy*; then *Barbora*, *Metha*, and, laſt of all, *Zeila*, ſaid to be the fineſt and richeſt in that kingdom [g], and the only one we meet with any account of worth inſerting. *metropolis and other towns.*

ZEILA is ſeated on a ſpacious bay, juſt upon coming out of the ſtreights of *Babel Mandel*, and, from its ſituation, ſeems to be the *Avarita* of *Ptolemy*. It retains ſtill ſome noble relicks of its ancient ſplendor. The houſes are built of ſtone and morter, the ſtreets wide and regular, its haven very commodious, and well frequented, and is both populous, and carries on a conſiderable commerce, it being the place through which the greateſt part of the merchandizes, which are carried into the *Abiſſinian* empire, commonly paſs, as well as thoſe which are conſumed in the kingdom of *Adel*; the revenue of which is ſo conſiderable, that the kings of it are often at war with thoſe of *Aden* about it; upon which account Zeila *deſcribed.* *Its commerce.*

[e] Afriq. l. x. c. 7. [f] La Martiniere ſub Adel. Marmol, l. x. c. 7. De la Croix, vol. iv. c. 11. [g] Sanut, Marmol, & al. ſup. citat.

(C) This city Mr. *Corneille*, by miſtake, places near the kingdom of *Melinda*, beyond the river *Chimanchi*, on the coaſt of *Aden* (8), and been probably led into the error by a *French* collectoin of travels, intituled, *La Voyageur curieux*, or curious traveller, chap. 8. This ſhews how little dependence is to be had on ſuch collectors, *Aſion* being the ſame with *Aſum*, or *Aſuma*, and far enough from the kingdom of *Melinda* or the coaſt of *Aden* (9).

(8) *Diction. ſub voc.* (9) *Vid. Dapper Africa, ſub Adel, Sanſon, La Martiniere, &c. ſub Aſum & Aſion.*

the

the former keeps constantly a strong garrison in it; but more particularly on account of its being the chief place by which the *European* missionaries endeavour to get into *Abissinia*; and here it was that two of them, *viz. Franc. Muchado* and *Bernard Ferreira*, having attempted to land with that design, were apprehended and put to death, *an.* 1624, by order of the king of *Adel*, as we have hinted in the preceding chapter †.

THIS sea-port had indeed, at that time, all the advantages of commerce over that of *Aden*, till the arrival of the *Portuguese* fleet, in the year 1517, which utterly destroyed it; since which time *Aden* hath gained that advantage. There was, however, some considerable traffic carried on in it by the *Arabs*, who brought thither *Negro* slaves, elephants teeth, gold dust, meyron, and other gums, which they bought in *Abissinia*, and sold to the merchants that came from other parts thither to purchase them.

Commodities in, and exports.

THE territory about *Zeila* is rich and fertile, if we may believe *Marmol*; but others represent it as dry, sandy, and barren, and so destitute of water, that the inhabitants are obliged to go two days journey for it [h]. Much of the same nature is the whole canton it belongs to; in which, however, we are told there are two other cities, named *Dalaca* and *Malaca*, but nothing further relating to them.

Want of water.

THE next city of note is *Barbora*, situate at the bottom of convenient bay, on an island of its name, but called by *De Lisle Alondi*. It hath been all along a kind of rival in commerce with that of *Zeila*, and is no less resorted to by foreign merchants, who carry on much the same traffic. It is situate over-against the city of *Aden*, and made once a considerable figure, but was plundered and burnt by the *Portuguese* fleet, *an.* 1518, who expected to have found a considerable spoil in it, but were happily disappointed, the inhabitants having had time enough before-hand to convey themselves and their most valuable effects away. The island which is almost contiguous to the *Terra Firma*, is very fertile, and produces plenty of corn, fruits, and cattle, great part of which is exported, by the same merchants, into other countries [i]. The other parts of the kingdom of *Adel* being mostly flat, and with very few high hills; they have seldom any rains; but that defect is abundantly supplied by the rivers which run through it in great plenty [k].

† See before, p. 226, & alib. pass. [h] DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ubi supra. [i] MARMOL, ibid. c. 8. DAPPER, & al. [k] MARMOL, ubi supra.

THERE

THERE is one among the reſt, named the *Hawaſh*, which comes down from the *Abiſſinian* mountains, on the confines of the provinces of *Xaoa* and *Ogge*, which receives ſome other rivers into it, and takes a conſiderable circuit before it comes into the kingdom of *Adel*. It is called *Kimanci*, and is very broad and deep, and hardly inferior to the *Nile*, excepting in the length of its courſe; for it hath ſcarce run ſix miles through it, before the inhabitants divide it into ſuch a great number of canals, that it is, in ſome meaſure, exhauſted before it reaches the ſea. This renders the country ſo rich in grain, fruits, and other proviſions, as are more than ſufficient for the people, and part of it is conveyed into other neighbouring kingdoms, eſpecially thoſe of *Aden* and *Zeiden*. They have plenty of wheat, barley, and millet; they have variety of ſheep, cows, and other beaſts. Some of their ſheep, like thoſe of *Syria*, *Arabia*, and other parts, have large tails, which commonly weigh between 20 and 30 pounds [l]. *Rivers. That of* Kimanci *deſcribed. Soil; produces;*

BUT their main traffic conſiſts in gold-duſt, elephants teeth, frankincenſe, and *Negro* ſlaves; all which they fetch chiefly from *Abiſſinia*, with whom they are continually at war, and miſs no opportunities of making inroads into ſome of their provinces, and whence they ſeldom return without great quantities of all that kind of plunder. This is afterwards conveyed, as was lately obſerved, to the port of *Zeila*, where they never fail of meeting with merchants from *Arabia*, *Camboya*, and other parts, ready to exchange them for cloths of cotton, ſilk, and linen, of various ſorts; collars, bracelets, and other ornaments, of amber, chryſtal, and other materials; dates, raiſins, fire-arms, *Arabian* horſes, and other ſuch commodities [m]. *inroads into* Abiſſinia.

THE *Adelites* are ſtout and warlike, and fight with ſurpriſing intrepidity againſt the *Abiſſinians*, as well out of zeal for religion, as in hopes of plunder; the former being all ſtaunch *Mohammedans*, and the latter a puſillanimous ſort of Chriſtians, in no-wiſe equal to them either in valour, diſcipline, or warlike weapons; thoſe of the *Abiſſinians*, eſpecially in the remote parts, conſiſting chiefly of bows and arrows, lances, and javelins, all wretchedly fabricated; and the ordinary ſort among them having hardly any thing better than long ſtaves, ſharp-pointed on one or both ends, and hardened in the fire, to fence againſt their enemies; whereas the *Adelites* are furniſhed, by the *Turks* and *Arabs*, with variety of fire-arms, and other offenſive weapons, which they exchange, as we *Inhabitants deſcribed. weapons and diſcipline; fire-arms.*

[l] MARMOL, DAVITY, & al. ub. ſup. [m] BERMUD. MARMOL, & al.

hinted

hinted above, for ſlaves, gold-duſt, and other *Abiſſinian* plunder; and, by their frequent incurſions into that empire, are much better trained up to the martial, or rather plundering, trade.

complexion; Their complexion, along the northern coaſt, is of a tawny brown; but the farther one proceeds towards the ſouthern parts, the more one finds them draw towards a downright black.

dreſs; Their dreſs chiefly conſiſts of a cotton piece of cloth, which covers them only from the girdle to a little below the knee, all the reſt of their body being naked; except the king, and nobles of both ſexes, who wear a kind of looſe garment, which covers their whole body, and a cap over their head: all the reſt go bare-headed and bare-footed. They are, however, very fond, the women eſpecially, of adorning their necks, arms, wriſts, and ankles, with bracelets of glaſs, amber, and other ſuch trinkets.

religion. We have already hinted that their religion is *Mohammediſm*, and their government monarchical and deſpotic, though under the protection of the grand ſignor, to whom the kings of it pay a kind of homage and tribute for it.

Government deſpotic. It was at firſt founded, as we are told [n], by one of the princes of the blood of the imperial family of *Abiſſinia*, named *Salatru*, who, having found means to eſcape out of the rocky priſon, in which thoſe unhappy princes were heretofore wont to be confined, into this kingdom, or, perhaps, only then province, of *Adel*, put himſelf under the protection of the then king of *Zeila*, who, ſoon after, gave him his only daughter in marriage, upon his turning *Mohammedan*.

By whom firſt founded. And it was by his aſſiſtance that he made himſelf maſter of the firſt, and, after his death, ſucceeded him in the other, and made of both one kingdom. This prince, like moſt renegadoes, became a moſt inveterate enemy to all Chriſtians, and was continually at war with ſome of them, and narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the *Portugueſe*, upon their landing at his old capital of *Zeila*, and plundering and ſetting it on fire. Concerning which tranſaction we have the following account from ſome of their writers [p].

Their fleet had ſuffered greatly by want of proviſions; and amongſt them that loſt their lives by it, was Don *Duarte de Galvan*, who was ſent ambaſſador to *Abiſſinia* by king *Emanuel*. *Suarez*, who commanded the fleet, having diſpatched ſome of his ſhips in queſt of ſome freſh ſupply without ſucceſs, reſolved to ſail to *Zeila*, then very rich and populous;

[n] Lettr. di Andr. Conſali. [o] De hoc vid. ſup. p. 112, & ſeq. & (E). [p] Codingo de reb. Abiſſin. l. ii. Oſſorio Portugueſe conqueſts, & al.

but,

but, to his great ſurprize, found it deſerted by its inhabitants, who carried off all their valuable effects, and left only a good garriſon to defend it. The *Portugueſe* finding it impoſſible to get any proviſions, either for love or money, unanimouſly agreed to ſtorm it, which they might the more eaſily do, as it had neither walls, towers, or any other fortifications. They landed accordingly ſome of their forces, who ſtood drawn up in arms along the ſhore, expecting, with impatience, the reſt, which *Suarez* was to ſend after them: but, finding that he did not diſpatch them ſo ſoon as he might have done, whilſt themſelves were expoſed to all the inſults of the garriſon, they at length reſolved to enter it with ſword in hand; and having, with difficulty, maſtered one part, and repulſed the other, they fell a plundering the houſes, and carried off a conſiderable quantity of proviſions, the beſt part of which they ſent on board the fleet, and deſtroyed the reſt, together with the city, which they ſet on fire, and reduced to aſhes. This is the plauſible account theſe authors give of their countrymens deſtroying this and many other fair and opulent cities, and their inhabitants, on that and other coaſts; and who can wonder, after this, at their very name having become execrable all over thoſe parts, and, upon their account, that of *Frank*, *European*, and Chriſtian? We have hinted above that the new king of *Adel* was defeated, and narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner by them about this time [q]; but whether it was at the plundering of *Zeila*, or at ſome other encounter with them, we cannot be certain. However, what we have here related is more than ſufficient to juſtify his rancour and reſentment againſt them.

Salatra *defeated by the* Portugueſe, *who plunder and burn* Zeila.

Hatred to the Chriſtians.

His ſucceſſor, whom ſome call *Gradahemett* [r], *Bermudez Goranho*, or *Gorhanna*, but others moſt commonly *Granha*, or *Grainhe*, was a prince who inherited all the irreconcileable hatred againſt the Chriſtians in general, but more particularly againſt the *Portugueſe*; and we may add, who proved one of the moſt formidable enemies they had to encounter after their landing in theſe parts, and put their valour and politics to the ſevereſt proof: for being timely appriſed of their fleet's approach, he had taken all neceſſary precautions, and given the proper orders to his officers, in what manner to act againſt ſuch of them as ſhould venture within their reach. Accordingly the firſt who fell a ſacrifice to his revenge, were a company of about ſixty of their deſerters, who, having left their fleet, and gained the ſhore in a boat, had unhappily landed in

Succeeded by Grainhe, *an enemy to the* Portugueſe.

[q] See DAVITY, and the authors cited by him. [r] BALTH. TELLEZ Hiſt. Æthiop. LUDOLPH, & al.

Cruel ſtratagem againſt them.

ſome creek near the port of *Zeila*, found themſelves quickly after ready to periſh with heat and drought in that ſultry and barren quarter. One of the king's commanders being informed of it, ſent them word, that if they would deliver up their arms, and ſurrender themſelves to him, he would immediately ſupply them with water, victuals, and other neceſſaries. Their deſperate condition not permitting them to heſitate about his offer, they readily complied; which they had no ſooner done, than he ordered them all to be butchered upon the ſpot[t]. We may juſtly queſtion whether any *Mohammedan* commander would have been guilty of ſo horrid a piece of treachery, eſpecially againſt a parcel of poor periſhing deſerters from an invading enemy, againſt any other nation, or on ſo important a criſis.

A freſh one diſappointed

THE next engine they played off againſt the *Portugueſe* would have proved of much worſe conſequence, could it have taken effect ſo ſoon after the former: we ſhall give it, as nearly as we can, in the words of our author.

WHILST theſe things were tranſacting, the admiral of the *Portugueſe* fleet ſent a galley to *Arkico*, to exchange a thouſand ells of cotton cloth for a certain quantity of beeves, and other proviſions they wanted. The bargain being made, the cattle was ſeized on at once by a Bahr-nagaſh [u] named *Nero*, belonging to the king of *Adel*, as they were driving them by land from *Arkico* to the place where the *Portugueſe* veſſels were waiting to receive them. Immediately after which, the Bahr-nagaſh diſpatched one of his captains to tell the *Portugueſe* commander, that the king his maſter was now in poſſeſſion of the whole *Abyſſinian* empire, which he had lately conquered from the Negus, or emperor, and to invite the *Portugueſes* to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce with him; aſſuring them that they ſhould be ſupplied from thence with plenty of gold, ſlaves, ivory, myrrh, and other valuable drugs, ſufficient to carry on a very profitable traffic; whilſt he on his part would take care to furniſh them with what proviſions they wanted, and at the ſame time reſtore to them the cattle he had ſeized from them, and make them full ſatisfaction for the ſixty deſerters he had cauſed to be put to death.

by the jealous patriarch.

HERE the good patriarch *Bermudez* failed not to caution the *Portugueſe* captain againſt relying on the fair offers of the treacherous Bahr-nagaſh, and to adviſe him to uſe art againſt art, and to outwit him in his own way. The reſult of which

[t] BERMUD. relat. apud PURCH. Pilgr. l. vii. c. 7. p. 1149, & ſeq. [u] De his vid. ſup. p. 227, 253, 259, & al. paſſ.

was

was, that they sent him a present of a barrel of wine, and a fresh quantity of cotton cloth, in exchange for a new supply of cattle and provisions, instead of that which they had taken as a lawful prize from them: That as to the sixty deserters, they had but a due punishment from him for their treachery; and as to the proposed treaty of peace and commerce, it being then the holy week, they were not permitted to treat about it, but would apply themselves intirely to it, as soon as the holy days were ended; and bring their merchandizes on shore, for the more easy and speedy conclusion of it. *The* Turkish *Bahr-nagash outwitted*

THE captain, pursuant to the same advice, forbad any long-boat to go to land, lest any of them should betray their design, or give the Bahr-nagash notice of it; and at the same time ordered all his soldiers to hold themselves ready to get on board all the light vessels belonging to the fleet, with all possible secresy, and without any lights, to prevent their being discovered. Their measures being thus taken, captain *Martin Corea*, at the head of 600 armed men, went on shore about ten of the clock at night, and seized on all the avenues at which the enemy might escape. In this descent some of the *Turks* and *Fartaks* were slain, and part of their baggage seized, *Corea* not having had time to secure a sufficient quantity of carriages. At the same time, the Bahr-nagash observing that the king his master betook himself to flight, marched directly against the *Portugueſe*; and was no sooner known than he was shot to death by a *Portugueſe* marksman, whilst a number of *Turks*, both on foot and horseback, coming to his rescue, were part cut in pieces, and the rest were put to flight. *Corea* and the patriarch sent the head of the Bahr-nagash to the empress of *Abissinia*, with an account of their successful descent, and first defeat of her enemy the king of *Adel*; who received both with no small joy, and dispatched soon after one of her chief noblemen to congratulate them upon it. *by the Portugueſe. Camp surprised. The Bahr-nagash slain by a marksman.*

THIS glorious beginning, which, by a well-concerted counterplot, at once freed them from the hostile designs of the *Mohammedan* Bahr-nagash, opened a way to their troops through the territories of the *Adelite* monarch, and gave him and his subjects so early a proof of the *Portugueſe* superior valour and policy, as excited a good number of young gentlemen in the viceroy's fleet to beg his leave to list themselves as volunteers in this *Abissinian* expedition. To this he not only readily agreed, but begged of the patriarch *Bermudez* to admit into that number his own brother, the brave Don *Christopher de Gama*, and re-

Don Chriſtopher de Gama *made general of the* Portugueſe.

commended him as a proper perſon to command his little army under him; which was agreed to with no leſs readineſs on that prelate's part. It conſiſted only of 400 men well armed, diſciplined after the *European* manner, and ſome ſmall artillery; but was conſiderably augmented by the number of theſe volunteers, and their ſervants and equipage, which proved of no ſmall ſervice in the proceſs of this arduous enterprize, both againſt the oppoſing force of the *Adelites*, and in the aſſiſtance they lent in getting the artillery over a great number of rocky mountains and difficult paſſes; which either fell in their way, or which they were obliged to betake themſelves to, to avoid the arms of the *Adelite* troops, which were every-where poſted in the moſt advantageous paſſes in their way[w].

Arrival at Dewarwa.

FOR the diſconcerted king had no ſooner recovered himſelf from his panic at his late ſurprize and defeat, than he collected all his forces, as well as thoſe of his allies, reſolving, at all hazards, to obſtruct the paſſage of the little *Portugueſe* army through his dominions into thoſe of *Abiſſinia*. But whilſt theſe preparations were making to ſtop their progreſs, the enemy had not only gained the city of *Dewarwa* †, belonging to the *Abiſſinians*, where the Bahr-nagaſh, who commanded in the province, had furniſhed them with plenty of proviſions, carriages, and other conveniencies for their march, by order of the empreſs, who was come thither to meet and accompany them; but had already proceeded about eight days journey through a very rough and rocky territory, which the king of *Adel* had lately conquered from the *Abiſſinians*, and were arrived at a fine ſpacious plain, full of chriſtian inhabitants, who then groaning under a *Mohammedan* yoke, readily ſubmitted to Don *Chriſtopher*. He had not marched above three days through their territories, and encamped on a pleaſant ſpot near a ſpring of freſh water, before they received a haughty meſſage from the king of *Adel* (D), to enquire

[w] BERMUD. ubi ſup. † De hac vid. ſup. p. 341.

(D) It will not be amiſs to obſerve here, that *Tellez*, and thoſe who have followed him (6), whether out of contempt, or why, we need not concern ourſelves, conſtantly ſtyles this brave warrior only general, or grand vazier of the king of *Adel*, without ever naming his royal maſter, or once bringing him upon the ſtage (7). But we think we have a much better authority in the patriarch *Bermudez*; who, being at the head

(6) *Tellez, hiſt. Æthiop. lib.* ii. *c.* 8. *p.* 70 *&* 113, *& ſeq. & al. paſſ.* (7) *Ludolph hiſt. Ethiop. lib.* i. *c.* 16. *n.* 44. *not.* (A) *et alib. paſſ.*

of

enquire of them who they were, whither, and on what errand, bound, and to inform them that thoſe kingdoms, through which they had paſſed, by his and his ſoldiers valour, and the favour of his prophet *Mahomet*, were become his by right of conqueſt; but nevertheleſs, to tell them, that ſeeing they had preſumed to penetrate ſo far, if they would conſent to liſt into his ſervice, they ſhould not only be received as friends and allies, but be moreover enriched with lands, penſions and preferments, ſuitable to their reſpective ſtations; but if they refuſed his offers, he ordered them immediately to depart out of his dominions, otherwiſe they ſhould be treated as invaders, and be all cut to pieces. Granha's haughty meſſage to him.

THE anſwer which Don *Chriſtopher*, to whom the meſſage was delivered, and who was made commander of that expedition by the patriarch, ſent back to the *Adelite* king, was ſuch as became his birth and ſtation, and expreſſed a ſingular contempt of that prince, as well as of his offers and threats; the import of which was, that he was a general of the king of *Portugal*'s forces, and was ſent thither with expreſs orders from him to reſtore the *Abiſſinian* empire to its priſtine ſtate, and to recover thoſe kingdoms and provinces, which his invading arms had diſmembered from it. This anſwer, joined to the contemptible preſents he ſent with it, whether to him or to his general *Grainhe* we cannot be certain, joined to the rich and ſumptuous ones which he beſtowed on the meſſenger[w], ſoon determined the *Mooriſh* king to come to a fierce engagement, in which he appeared at the head of 1000 horſe, 5000 foot, beſides 50 *Turkiſh* muſketeers, and the ſame numbers of archers. We ſhall not repeat here what we have elſewhere related concerning the Gama's anſwer to it; and mean preſents to him, A fierce engagement be-

[w] De his vid. ſup. vol. v. p. 226.

of this *Abiſſinian* expedition, directing almoſt every ſtep of it, and being preſent at every encounter which *Gama*, and his *Portugueſe*, had with that *Mooriſh* commander, muſt have been better acquainted with his quality, and on every occaſion ſtyles him king of *Adel*. And as a farther proof of his being really ſuch, he tells us, that when he was killed, and his widow taken priſoner, the *Abiſſinian* emperor, willing to gratify the *Portugueſe* general, who then commanded, with that beautiful princeſs, preſented him with two of his tributary kingdoms, with the title and inſignia of the regal dignity, to prevent her deſcending from her former dignity, as we have ſeen in the preceding chapter (8).

(8) *See before*, p. 242.

tween them, in which both diſpoſition, ſucceſs, and other particulars of this action, in which both ſides engaged with ſuch fury, that both generals who fought foremoſt in it were wounded, but the *Mooriſh* the more dangerouſly of the two, having had his horſe killed under him, and received a ſhot in his leg from a carbine aimed directly at him by one of the *Portugueſe* markſmen [x]. This proved a lucky hit for the *Portugueſe*, whoſe commander was likewiſe wounded in the leg, though not diſmounted; for the *Mooriſh* army had then ſurrounded them ſo cloſely on all ſides, and being all ſtout ſoldiers, and ſo much ſuperior in number, would in all probability have cut them in pieces, had not the fall of their general, and his being obliged to retire to a neighbouring hill to have his wound dreſſed, joined to the enemies erecting a pavilion, and other enſigns of victory, on the field of battle, as if already gained, ſo far diſconcerted them, that they immediately faced about and followed their commander. This is at leaſt the account which a couſin-german of the *Abiſſinian* Bahr-nagaſh (but who upon the reduction of that province by the *Moors*, had apoſtatized to *Mohammediſm*) gave to the patriarch and *Portugueſe* general, upon his coming to congratulate them on the next day upon their ſignal victory, and unexpected ſucceſs.

both are wounded.

The Portugueze gain the victory.

Reduced provinces.

THIS perſon having firſt given them ſome evident tokens of his penitence and earneſt deſire of being again received into the church, engaged for himſelf, and all that were under his government, that they ſhould henceforward renounce *Mohammediſm*, and pay the ſame tribute to their lawful prince, as they did to their *Mooriſh* conqueror; after which he went immediately to his own territory, whence he ſent them a plentiful ſupply of cattle and other proviſions: and indeed, as he had been made governor of all the great tract of ground by the conquering *Moor*, and had been baſe enough to renounce his Chriſtianity, it was the leaſt he could do, or engage, to prevent the fatal effects of military execution, and avoid the puniſhment, which his apoſtacy and ill example to his ſubjects juſtly deſerved. But the *Portugueſe* were the more ready to agree to his own offers, as there was a kind of famine reigning through all the country, and their camp had already felt the effects of it ſo far, that it being then the ſeaſon of Lent, they had been obliged to obtain a diſpenſation from the patriarch for eating of fleſh, and even to kill ſome of their beaſts of burthen, to ſubſiſt;

[x] Ibid. p. 226, & ſeq. vid. & BERMUD. TELLEZ. & al. ſup. citat.

and

and must have been obliged to ravage the country for sustenance, had not that nobleman's relief come so seasonably into their hands[y].

Lent was scarcely over, and the two chief commanders cured of their wounds, before *Graigna* sent a fresh message to Don *Christopher*, advising him to get himself in readiness, for that he designed to pay him a visit sooner than he expected. He did so accordingly; but at the head of a superior force than he had before, and with the very flower of his horse and foot, which amounted to double their former number. At the first sight of it, the frighted empress would have gladly left the *Portuguese* camp, and fled to some place of safety; and had prevailed upon the patriarch to accompany her, but Don *Christopher*, who foresaw that his flight would not fail of disheartening his small army, obliged him to return, and be at hand to give them his blessing before they engaged.

On the next morning by break of day both armies began their march, and met on a plain, where the *Moors* gave the first attack, having first surrounded that of the *Portuguese* on every side. The onset was carried on with great fury on both sides; but the fire of the *Portuguese* artillery gave the enemy so warm a repulse, that, not being used to it, they quickly gave way, and were no less annoyed in their retreat; for the *Portuguese* had taken care, before the armies engaged, to strew the ground with a good quantity of gunpowder in the highways and lanes through which they retired, with a train to each, to set it on fire; so that a great number of those poor wretches had their legs and feet terribly scorched and burned, the slight cotton garments about their middle set on fire, their breath stifled by the smoke and stench, and being wholly ignorant of the cause, imputed the dire effect to some infernal power, which helped to complete their disconcertment; especially, if we add the joint and equally surprising annoyance of the enemies hand-grenadoes and fire-pots, which still continued to make a most terrible havock amongst them. By all these means, the field of battle was soon covered with dead and wounded, horses as well as men; whilst the continual discharge of the *Moorish* fire-arms, and all the vollies of their arrows, had done no other execution on the enemy, than the killing about 20 of their men, among whom was their head cannoneer. At length both horse and foot gave way, *Granhe* retreated to a neighbouring hill, followed by them, and

A fresh engagement soon after.

The Moors sadly harrassed by the enemies various fires.

Granhe forced to retreat;

[y] Idem, ibid.

once more left the enemy in poſſeſſion of the field of battle, and ſaw himſelf obliged to abandon his noble camp, being forced to fly with ſuch precipitation from their purſuers, that they had no time nor heart to ſecure any of their baggage, proviſions, or rich furniture; inſomuch, that finding it impoſſible, in ſpight of their utmoſt efforts, to overtake them, they returned, and fell a plundering of their richeſt tents, in which they found a very conſiderable ſpoil, in utenſils, cloaths, furniture, money, ammunition and proviſions. And it is on occaſion of this freſh defeat, that he is reported to have palliated his diſgrace and precipitate flight, by ſaying, that the *Portugueſe* fought not like men, but like incarnate devils [z].

with great loſs.

He had indeed in this laſt defeat loſt ſo great a number of men and horſes (for beſides thoſe that were killed of the latter in the field of battle, a great number of them, ſcared by the fire, and the noiſe of the enemies artillery, had overthrown their riders, ran wild over the plain, and into the neighbouring woods, where they were loſt) that he was obliged to apply to the grand ſignor, to whom he paid a kind of homage and ſmall tribute, for a freſh ſupply of both; and the more effectually to obtain it, he ſent a very conſiderable quantity of gold to the Porte, and another to *Zebid* the baſha, who then commanded in the neighbouring government. Whilſt this was tranſacting, he kept himſelf encamped on an advantageous hill, with the broken remains of his army; whilſt the *Portugueſe*, to avoid being ſurprized by him, with much difficulty gained the top of a very rocky and almoſt inacceſſible mountain, on which they found a ſpacious plain, and there fortified their ſmall camp [a].

Sends to the Porte for a ſupply.

Prepares to re-engage the enemy.

No ſooner had the *Adelite* king received the deſired reinforcement from *Zebid*, conſiſting of 600 *Turks*, and 200 *Moors* on horſeback, ſome ſay 1000 arquebuſiers, and 10 pieces of field cannon [b], than he reſolved at all hazards to attack the enemies intrenchments; whilſt Don *Chriſtopher*, who did not then think that ſituation ſafe enough, was gone at the head of a detachment to take poſſeſſion of another and higher mountain, inhabited by *Jews*, and guarded by a *Mooriſh* garriſon of 150 men, commanded by an officer of the *Adelite* king. Him Don *Chriſtopher* attacked and defeated, killed 60 of his men, took 30 of his horſes, and ſome priſoners, and put the reſt to flight. He was, however, ſoon

[z] Bermudez, ub. ſup: Tellez, Ludolph, vid. & ſup. p. 228, & ſeq. [a] See before, ibid & ſeq. Vincent Le Blanc, & al. [b] See Davity and his authors.

obliged

obliged to go back to the aſſiſtance of the reſt of his army, who ſent him word of the approach of that of the *Moors*, who were already encamped at the foot of that high mountain. *Sends them notice of it.*

HERE *Grainhe* ſent one of his officers in the diſguiſe of a pedlar, loaden with beads and other trinkets, to tell that general, that his maſter would not fail to be with him in two or three days, with much more valuable wares. The man being ſeized by ſome of the *Portugueſe* vanguard, was ſtripped of all his load, and delivered his maſter's meſſage; and this occaſioned Don *Chriſtopher*'s being ſent for with all ſpeed. At his arrival, a propoſal was made in council, and approved by much the greater majority, of ſurpriſing the *Mooriſh* camp in the dead of night, as the only expedient they had left to get out of their territories, and to ſave their handful of men againſt ſo ſuperior a force. But that young warrior, ſcorning to take ſuch a diſhonourable advantage againſt an enemy, who never yet had attacked him without ſending ſome previous notice of his coming, peremptorily refuſed to fall on him till break of day, which, though greatly againſt their will, they were forced to comply with. The conſequence of which was their total defeat, and the loſs of their brave commander; who being deſperately wounded, and ſoon after diſcovered and taken by the *Moors*, was brought to their camp; where *Grainhe*, having, in vain, tempted him to apoſtatize, both by vaſt promiſes on the one hand, and cruel indignities on the other, of which we have given a full account in the *Abiſſinian* hiſtory, being at length enraged at his ſurpriſing conſtancy and ſingular valour, cauſed him to be conducted to the field of battle, and there to be beheaded in the manner we have before related [c]. There the reader will alſo find a fuller account of that battle, and of the defeat of the *Portugueſe*, as well as of the dreadful difficulties and perplexities they were obliged to undergo, before their ſmall remainder got ſafe into the *Abiſſinian* dominions; *Grainhe* and his *Moors* following and harraſſing them all the way; *Bermudez* ſays, as far as the *Nile*, near the place where it falls into the lake *Dambea* [d]. It was not long after this that they were met by the young *Abiſſinian* emperor, who gave them a moſt gracious reception, and with their aſſiſtance reſolved to recover ſome of the provinces, which *Grainhe* had conquered from him; who, on his part, had taken all proper precautions to make a moſt vigorous oppoſition, and lay encamped on a ſpacious plain, having a very high and difficult mountain between him and

Don Chriſtopher's *fatal pride and defeat.*

Put to death by Grainhe.

Purſues the Portugueſe.

[c] See before, p. 238, & ſeq. & auct. ſup. citat. [d] De hoc vid. ſup. p. 371 & ſeq. 100, & ſeq.

the

the *Abiſſinian* army, whoſe paſſes he did not think worth guarding againſt them, but truſted to a ſtratagem, which he thought would do more execution among them than his *Moors*. Accordingly the *Portugueſe* and *Abiſſines*, having with great difficulty gained the top of the mountain, were not a little ſurprized to find it altogether abandoned of its inhabitants, and that to all appearance with ſuch precipitation, as to leave a great quantity of proviſions, and particularly of wine. But, to their great ſurprize, they found them all poiſoned; and it was happy for them, that the effects of it were ſo ſoon felt as to give timely warning to the reſt; for as many of them as had ventured upon them, died ſo quickly after, that the reſt fell immediately on breaking all the wine veſſels in pieces, and deſtroying the other victuals.

forming a bloody ſtratagem againſt them.

HERE finding a proper place to encamp, they made a ſhort halt after their laborious aſcent, which had taken up a whole day; and on the next morning they were no ſooner got to the oppoſite brow, than they were in full view of the *Mooriſh* army, which had by that time advanced to the foot of it, and were both within hearing of each other's clamorous threatnings and ſhouts, thoſe in particular which came from the *Mooriſh* camp, were, as is uſual among them, of the moſt vapouring and deterring kind, importing no leſs than the utter extirpation of the imperial army, and its foreign auxiliaries, the impaling alive of the *Portugueſe* patriarch, and the caſtration of the young emperor, in order to qualify him for one of the eunuchs in *Grainhe*'s court [e].

Comes in full ſight of them.

His threatening words againſt them and the emperor.

THESE menaces ſo far intimidated that young prince and his puſillanimous ſoldiers, that they would gladly have avoided attacking the enemy; but were in ſome meaſure forced to follow them down the mountain, for fear of being abandoned by them. On the other hand, *Grainhe* no ſooner obſerved them approaching, than he appeared at the head of his army, accoutred cap-a-pie, and mounted on a ſtately white horſe, with a *Turk* on each ſide, directing his march againſt them. The *Portugueſe* who led the van, ſuffered him to advance towards them, till he was near enough to be within muſket-ſhot; when one of their experteſt markſmen fired at him, and brought him down dead off his horſe, to the great ſurprize and terror of his *Mooriſh* troops. His two *Turks* were likewiſe killed by ſome freſh ſhot; and the next diſcharge, which was a general one, made ſo terrible an execution among them, that the whole *Mooriſh* army was quickly thrown into the utmoſt confuſion: ſo that between

Marches againſt them:

is ſlain by a markſman.

[e] BERMUDEZ, TELLEZ, & al. ſup. citat.

thoſe

thoſe who ran away from, and thoſe who ſtill puſhed forwards towards, the enemy, they only oppoſed each other; whilſt the *Portugueſe*, following their advantage, made ſtill a greater havock, and increaſed the diſorder amongſt them.

AND now it was that the *Abiſſine* troops, which had ſtood aloof off, ventured to fall upon the diſconcerted *Moors*, and helped their brave auxiliaries to gain a complete victory over them. Both the field of battle and the camp were quickly abandoned by *Turks* and *Moors*, and plundered of all its wealth, and plenty of proviſions, by the victors; as was ſoon after the whole province of *Dembea*, from which they likewiſe brought away the richeſt ſpoils, and a great number of priſoners, both *Turks* and *Moors*, and among the latter the ſon of the king of *Adel*, as we have elſewhere ſhewn; his queen narrowly eſcaping being of that number, by retiring into the province of *Dagoa* [f]. After this ſucceſsful action, the young emperor was eaſily induced to purſue his good fortune, and reduce ſeveral other rich kingdoms, which the king of *Adel* had conquered from him; all which, by the aſſiſtance of *European* auxiliaries, and the great dread which their ſurpriſing victories had ſpread through the whole empire, was completed to his wiſh, with no leſs facility than ſpeed; but for which we ſhall refer our readers to the account we have already given of it in the *Abiſſinian* hiſtory [g].

The Turks and Moors put to flight; the great ſpoil of their camp.

BUT, whilſt they were thus ſucceſsfully employed, they received a meſſage from the new king of *Adel*, or, as *Bermudez* ſtyles him †, king of *Aden*, a firm ally of the late *Grainhe*, and as zealous a *Mohammedan*, which was likely to have put a ſtop to their progreſs. It was directed to the young emperor, and imported that he ſhould not be too much elated at his late defeat of the king of *Adel*, for that he would find in him a ſucceſſor both able and willing to repair his loſſes, and revenge his death; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that he would not fail paying him a warm and ſpeedy viſit. This obliged the young monarch to give him the meeting, and, if poſſible, to be before-hand with him; and accordingly he ordered his army, preceded by his *Portugueſe* vanguard, to march againſt him with all diligence, in order to ſurprize and fall upon him when he leaſt expected it. There being a large river between them, they ſpent the whole night in croſſing it; the horſe by ſwimming, and the reſt by the help of pontons, which they quickly made of the hides of their oxen, which were flayed for that purpoſe, and drawn backwards and forwards by ropes; all which was performed

The king of Aden's *meſſage to the emperor.*

[f] See before, p. 239, & auct. ſup. citat. [g] Ibid. p. 242, & ſeq. † See the foregoing note (D), p. 372.

with

with such expedition and secrecy, that they were able to attack the enemy by the next morning, long before day-break. The king of *Aden*, surprised beyond measure at their unexpected approach, was one of the foremost to head his *Turks* and *Moors* against them; but was shot to death on the very first onset, probably by the same way as the *Adelite* king, if not by the same hand. A bloody action ensued, in which there were many lives lost on both sides; and the young *Abissinian* emperor received a wound, and was in no small danger of losing his life, through the confusion and disorder that reigned in both armies, and the difficulty of distinguishing objects at that early hour. All that needs be added to what we have said heretofore on the subject of this action, is that the *Moorish* army were no sooner apprised of the king of *Aden*'s death, than they betook themselves to a hasty flight, in which fresh numbers were slain by the fire of the pursuing *Portuguese*, who, among other prisoners of note, brought away the lady *Diana Ambura*, widow to the late king of *Adel*, or *Aden*, who quickly after turned Christian, and was married to a *Portuguese* chief, as we have formerly shewn [h].

Is surprised by him;

defeated and killed.

The Moors *defeated and routed.*

After this fresh victory, the *Portuguese*, whose name was become terrible all over those parts, and who had, by this time, so greatly improved the *Abissinian* soldiery in the art of war, had a fair opportunity to have established the emperor in all his dismembered dominions, and to have helped him to suppress, if not extirpate, all his invading enemies round about, had that been the main end and design of their and the patriarch's commission: whereas their order was to oblige the young monarch to make an open submission of himself, church, and people, to the see of *Rome*; a step which they now found him absolutely determined to ward off, as long as he could, by any means, and to amuse them, by fair promises and delays, till they had put him in a condition to give them an absolute denial. And hence arose that irreconcileable breach between them, which deprived him of all further assistance, and exposed him afresh to the attempts of the *Mohammedan* princes above-mentioned, as well as to the fresh inroads of the rebellious *Gallas*, *Gafates*, and other barbarous nations, within and about his dominions [i]. But what hostilities ensued after this epocha, between the two former kingdoms and the *Abissinian* empire, or what other wars they waged against any other state, is as much beyond our power to guess, as it is to give any other particulars of their history. Could we indeed

[h] See before, p. 242, & seq. & auct. sup. citat. [i] De his vid. sup. p. 39, & seq.

rely

rely on the report which ſome *Abiſſinians*, who were at *Rome an.* 1620, made to the pope and college, their maſter had, by that time, lately reconquered the greateſt part of the *Adelite* kingdom, and reduced the prince to ſo low a condition, that they were no longer in danger of him [k]. But it is too plain that they repreſented matters rather as ſuited with their intereſt, than as they really were; their buſineſs was to encourage his holineſs, and other *European* powers, to ſend thither a ſtrong ſupply of men and other aſſiſtance, in order to diſpoſſeſs the *Mohammedans* of their conqueſts on that coaſt, that they might open a free commerce to the Chriſtians into their empire, by repreſenting that enterpriſe as eaſy and half completed; and to avoid ſaying any thing that might juſtify their delay and apparent reluctance to it.

HOWEVER that be, as the fatal breach between their emperor and the patriarch and his *Portugueſe*, ended in the total expulſion of the *Portugueſe*, from whom alone we have all this intelligence, out of the empire, and the ſhutting up all avenues into it againſt all the *Europeans*, with the utmoſt care and precaution; all further correſpondence with thoſe parts hath been ſo effectually ſtopped, that we have been ever ſince wholly in the dark about what is tranſacted in them. Only thus much we may add, with reſpect to the kings of *Adel* and *Aden*, and the *Turkiſh* baſha, who commands along the coaſts of the *Red Sea*, that the *Abiſſinian* monarchs have been obliged to pay them a kind of penſion, in order to keep them more vigilant and ſevere againſt all ſtrangers, who ſhall attempt to penetrate into any part of that empire, in any diſguiſe, or under any pretence. In all which they have ſhewn themſelves the more ſtrict and careful, as they receive the ſame expreſs commands from the grand ſignor, whoſe tributaries they are and under his protection. Thoſe of *Adel* in particular have been, for a long time, in high favour at the Porte, and dignified with the title of ſaints, on account of, and as an encouragement to, their ſingular zeal, and frequent wars againſt the Chriſtians. But that ſpecious title hath not been able to ſave them from being ſtripped, by theſe ſultans, of their moſt conſiderable ports and maritime towns on the *Red Sea*, and being confined by degrees, and cloſely ſhut up in the inland. So that they have now no port left in that kingdom, except that of *Zeila*, the reſt being all in the hands of the *Turks* [l]: by which means they not only keep the kings of *Adel* cloſely ſhut up on that ſide, but lock up all

[k] Lettres de COREAL, DAVITY Afric. [l] RAMUSES, PIGAFET, MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ſup. citat.

possible intelligence from coming from thence into *Europe*, but likewise all avenues through all those coasts into *Abissinia*, against the attempts of the *Roman* missionaries to re-enter into that empire. Here, therefore, we must be obliged to conclude our *Adelite* history, and shall only add a remark or two from what hath been said hitherto; *viz.* That the kings of *Adel* appear to have been the most powerful and formidable of all that belong to the territory of *Ajan*; seeing they could engage not only all the other princes of it into their wars against the *Abissinian* empire, but even to draw into their alliance the king of *Aden*, though situate at a greater distance, and on the opposite shore of the streights or gulph of *Babel-mandel* (E). But the main tye that unites all these inferior kingdoms so closely into one interest, is their religion, which, as we observed a little higher, being either *Mohammedism* or *Bedowism*, both equally averse to every branch of Christianity, must equally inspire each with a hostile zeal against so potent and extensive an empire as that of *Abissinia*, whose monarchs have been so long famed for their strict and firm adherence to their church, as well as from their equal zeal against idolatry and *Mohammedism*.

ADD to this, that the *Ottoman* court, under whose protection they live, is no less concerned, as well from motives of policy as religion, to suppress, as much as they can, the power and grandeur of the *Abissinian* monarchs; having, for that end, seized on all the sea-ports on that coast, and thereby shut up all these *Mooriſh* princes, their vassals, within their inland territories; not only encourage but oblige them to be continually at war with that empire, by furnishing them with all the necessary supplies of men, artillery, fire and other arms, and ammunition, without which, it would be next to impossible to stand out long against them, there being no way left for them to procure them by any other means.

(E) Having had occasion to mention that king as a zealous ally to that of *Adel* against the *Abissinians*, tho' situate in *Arabia Felix*, and separated from this by the gulph above-mentioned, it might not be deemed amiss to give our readers some farther account of that kingdom as we go along, tho' out of the limits of the *Ajanic* tract we are upon: especially as all the account we find concerning it in our *Arabic* and other authors, is too inconsiderable to be made into a separate article, it chiefly relating to its famed ancient metropolis and mart, as well as its present state. But these and other curious particulars have been so amply described in our Ancient History of *Arabia Felix* (9), from the celebrated voyages of Mr. *La Roque*, into *Arabia Felix*, that we cannot add any thing more to it.

(9. *See Ant. Hist. vol.* xviii. *p.* 357, *et seq.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

SECT. I.

The History of the Kingdom of Magadoxa, *and the Republic of* Brava; *with an Account of the fabulous Kingdom of* Adea.

THE next considerable kingdom along these coasts of *Ajan*, is that of *Magadoxa*, or, as it is indifferently spelt, by other geographers, *Madagoxa*, and *Magadocho*, is contiguous to that of *Adel*, extending itself, according to our latest maps, from 5 degr. 40 min. of north latitude quite to the equinox, where the river or gulph *Jubo* divides the *Ajan* coast from that of *Zanguebar*, as that of *Magadoxa* doth from those of *Adel*[a]. But how far it extends itself inwards, or west, is but mere conjecture; though the generality of geographers scruple not to adjust its limits in their maps, on that side, rather as their fancy leads them, than upon any probable foundation. It hath its name from its capital, situate on a large bay, formed by the mouth of the river of the same name, which, we are told, is called by the *Arabs* the *Nile* of *Magadoxow*, by reason of its annual overflowing, like that of *Egypt*. *The kingdom of* Magadoxa. *Its situation, length, &c.*

SOME authors tell us it has its spring head as far as the mountains of the kingdom of *Machidas*: others bring it down as high as from the *Mountains of the Moon*[b]. The truth is, we are so little acquainted with those inland countries, that its head is as much unknown to us, as that of the *Nile* formerly was *. However that be, we cannot but suppose its course to be a very long one, though not, perhaps, so winding as the other, not only by its considerable chanel, which forms a large convenient bay a little below the capital, but likewise from its regular and extensive inundations, which fertilise that whole country to such a degree, by the numberless canals which are cut from it, that it produces a great quantity of wheat and barley, variety of fruits, and breeds great numbers of horses, oxen, sheep, and other animals, wild and tame. *Soil and produce.*

THE city of *Magadoxa* is a place of great commerce, and vast resort from the kingdoms of *Aden*, *Cambaya*, and other parts; whence their merchants bring cotton, silk, and

[a] SANUT. Afric. lib. ii. c. 12. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.
[b] D'HERBELOT, Biblion. Orient. * See Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 401.

other

other cloaths, ſpices, and variety of drugs, which they exchange with the inhabitants for gold, ivory, wax and other commodities [c]. It is chiefly inhabited by *Mohammedans*, who came and ſettled there in the time of the khalifs [d]. The reſt of the inhabitants, for the moſt part, are become of the ſame religion; though there are yet a great number of *Bedowin Arabs*, who ſtill follow their old heatheniſh ſuperſtitions; and further in the inlands a ſtill greater, who are *Abiſſine* Chriſtians, ſubject or tributary to that empire.

Religion and Government.

THE king and his court are *Mohammedans*; and yet are affirmed by ſome to be likewiſe tributary to it, and by others to be continually at war with it. However that be, his ſubjects, of what extract ſoever (for ſome of them are white, others tawny and olive, and others quite black) all ſpeak the *Arabic* tongue: they are ſtout and warlike, and, among other weapons, uſe poiſoned arrows and lances [e].

Cugna the Portugueſe admiral's attempt againſt Magadoxa.

THE only remarkable piece of hiſtory we meet with concerning this kingdom, is the hoſtile attempt which the *Portugueſe* fleet made upon its metropolis, under the command of admiral *Triſtran de Cugna*, as he ſailed along theſe coaſts in his way to the *Indies*. He had already reduced ſeveral maritime places, ſome to tribute, and others to aſhes, particularly the city of *Brava*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the next ſection, which he cauſed to be plundered and burnt, and had proceeded as far as this city of *Magadoxa*, which he cauſed to be ſummoned, as uſual, to accept of peace and friendſhip, that is, in plainer terms, of ſubjection and tribute to *Portugal*. But here he found the inhabitants ready prepared to give him a ſuitable reception; great numbers of foot and cuiraſſiers were patrolling along the ſhore; the walls were covered with armed men, and a conſiderable body of troops were drawn up before the town, which made *Contingo*, the officer ſent with the ſummons, afraid of going on ſhore; inſtead of which, he diſpatched one of the *Bravan* captives to aſſure the *Magadoxans* that the *Portugueſe* came not to denounce war, but to offer peace to them. But they, knowing what dreadful execution had been made at the city of *Brava*, fell furiouſly upon the meſſenger, and tore him in pieces; and threatened to ſerve *Contingo* in the ſame way, if he offered to land; which obliged him to return to his admiral, and acquaint him with his ill ſucceſs, and the inſolent menaces of the enemy. *Cugna*, upon this, was reſolving, in a great rage, to bombard and ſtorm the place, but was happily di-

Is bravely repulſed.

[c] RAMUS. DAVITY, & al. ub. ſup. [d] D'HERBELOT, ubi ſup.
[e] SANUT. DAVITY, OSOR. Portug. conq. vol. i. & al. ub. ſup.

verted

verted from his bloody design, by the persuasion of his officers and pilots; the former of whom representing to him the natural strength of the place, numerousness of the garrison, plenty of ammunition, and the valour and resolution of the inhabitants; and the others, the extreme danger of the ships, both from the fire of the town, and boisterousness of the sea, especially as winter was then coming on, and the season for sailing nearly expired; so that, if his troops should miscarry in their attempt against the place, their fleet and army must inevitably perish: upon which he gave immediate orders for sailing to the island of *Socotora*, where he arrived soon after with all his ships, leaving the brave *Magadoxans* to rejoice at their deliverance. This is the account which their countryman, *Osorio*, bishop of *Sylves*, gives of this transaction [f]; from which we may conclude, that this kingdom cannot be tributary to *Abissinia*, as some pretend; seeing if it had been so, neither would the *Portuguese* have attempted its metropolis in that hostile manner, nor the inhabitants have repulsed them with such noble resentment.

SECT. II.

The Republic of Brava.

Republic of Brava.

WITHIN the kingdom of *Magadoxa*, and on the southern verge of it, was formerly founded this republican state, the only one we know of that kind in all *Africa*, by seven *Arabian* brethren, who fled hither from the tyranny of their king *Lacah*, one of the petty monarchs of *Arabia Felix*. Here they found a most convenient and delightful situation on the same coast, being bounded on each side by a river; upon which account *Sanut* affirms it to be an island *; and properly enough might he have styled it such, if the two rivers, which bound it on each side, were really no other than two branches of the *Kilmanci*, as some affirm, though at random [g], as we think; that river running a quite contrary way out, far enough from this coast, as we have lately shewn. However that be, whether they be two distinct rivers, or only branches of one, it is likely that this republic doth not extend itself far into the inland; its chief dependance being on the great commerce of its capital of the same name, which is conveniently situated on a bay, formed by the

Not an island.

[f] Osson. conq. Port. vol. i. p. 286, & seq. Eng. edit, * Ubi sup. [g] Ramus. vol. xiii. 3d edit. La Croix Afric. part iii. sect. 10.

Situation. mouth of the northern branch of that river, about the distance of one degree, according to our newest maps, from the equator.

Capital. THIS city, the only one we know belonging to this republic, is large and well peopled, chiefly by rich merchants, the descendants of the seven *Arabs* lately mentioned, whose main *Traffic.* traffic consists in gold, silver, silk, cotton, and other clothes, elephants teeth, gums, and other drugs, particularly amber-*Vast pieces of ambergrise.* grise, with which this coast abounds; and, if we may credit our authors [h], some pieces have been found here of such extraordinary bigness, that if a man stood on one side, he could not see a camel that stood on the other. The houses here are large and well built, after the *Moresco* stile, and the town strong and well fortified, and accounted one of the most celebrated and frequented marts in the whole *Habessan* *Great Commerce.* coast. Both the city and republic is governed by 12 cheiks, or magistrates, chosen (but whether annually, or how, we *Government.* are not told) out of the principal families of their seven founders above-mentioned, and to whom the administration of justice and the management of all public affairs is com-*Religion.* mitted. The people are mostly *Mohammedans*, but under the protection of the kings of *Portugal*, to whom they an-*Tributary to* Portugal. nually pay a small tribute of 500 mittigates, amounting to about 400 *French* livres [i]. This, however, they did not submit to, till after they had undergone a severe execution from the *Portuguese* fleet, bound for *India*, of which the same bishop, *Osorio*, gives us the following account [k]: *Tristram* *Cugna's attempt against* Brava. *de Cugna*, admiral of that fleet, having set on shore at *Melinda* three ambassadors, sent by king *Emanuel* to the emperor of *Abissinia*, and recommended them to the care and protection of the king of it, continued his course northward along the coast, till he came to the city of *Brava* (situate about 200 leagues from that of *Melinda*), and cast anchor at the port. Here he dispatched, according to the *Portuguese* custom, one of his officers, named *Lionel Codingo*, to wait on the heads of the republic, and offer them peace, and the friendship and alliance of the king his master. To this the cheiks answered, that they had no objection against entering into such a treaty: but, says our author, this was only a piece of dissimulation, calculated to detain our people; the season being then almost at hand, when such boisterous winds usually blew in these parts, as would dash in pieces all their

[h] TEXEIRA, RAMUS. DAVITY, LA CROIX, & al. sup. cit. DAPPER Afric. [i] Id. ub. sup. [k] OSSOR. hist. Port. conq. Eng. edit. vol. i. p. 285, & seq.

ships,

ſhips, even in the very harbour. *Cugna*, having diſcovered this artifice, reſolved immediately to aſſault the city; and, before day-break, had drawn up his men on the ſhore, and formed them into two lines, the firſt whereof conſiſted of 600 men, the command of which he gave to *Alphonſo Albuquerque*, whilſt he reſerved to himſelf the command of the others, which conſiſted of about 600 ſoldiers.

Cauſes it be aſſaulted, plundered, and burnt.

BRAVA was then garriſoned by 4000 men, half of whom immediately ſallied out againſt them. The conflict was ſevere on both ſides; but the *Portugueſe* charged them with ſuch fury, that they found themſelves obliged to give ground, yet made a very regular retreat into the city; after which the gates were ſhut up againſt the enemy. Theſe immediately ſurrounded the place, examining, with the utmoſt diligence, where they could beſt force an entrance; but were all that time terribly annoyed from within with burning torches, and other miſſile weapons. In the mean time, *Albuquerque*, having diſcovered a weak part in the wall, began his attack there; but was quickly oppoſed by the beſieged, who flocked thither with all ſpeed, and defended it with ſurprizing intrepidity. The conteſt was kept up with very great fury on both ſides; when, luckily for *Albuquerque*, the admiral came up, at whoſe approach the *Moors* were ſtruck with ſuch a panic, that they fled with the greateſt precipitation; whilſt the *Portugueſe* ſoldiers, eager for their prey, would have purſued them into the city, but were reſtrained by their commanders. The city was preſently after entered, and plundered of a vaſt and valuable booty, which was conveyed on board their ſhips. Great numbers of the beſieged were ſlain and wounded, and many of them taken priſoners, but moſt of theſe were releaſed quickly after. The *Portugueſe* had about 50 of their men killed, and many dangerouſly wounded, beſides eighteen others who periſhed in the long-boat, which, through their inſatiable avarice, they had loaded ſo immoderately, that it overſet with them. Nay, ſuch and ſo enormous was the inhumanity of the *Portugueſe* ſoldiers and ſailors, and their eagerneſs after ſpoil, that they cut off the arms of ſeven women, to come at their rings and bracelets the more readily. But *Cugna*, having ſeverely puniſhed the authors of this cruelty, thereby deterred the reſt from the like barbarity. The city being thus plundered, *Cugna* ordered it to be ſet on fire; and it was quickly reduced to aſhes, in ſight of the inhabitants, who ſtood at a ſmall diſtance, beholding the diſmal ſpectacle. Thus far *Oſſorio*'s account of the cataſtrophe of this capital; which, by what appears in the ſequel, was forced to become tributary

Cruelties committed by the Portugueſe.

tary to its deſtroyers, before it could recover its priſtine grandeur and liberties. But when, how, and by what means, thoſe noble *Bravans* were brought to ſubmit to thoſe harſh terms, we can no-where find: for *Cugna*, having ſet it in flames, is ſaid to have ſailed immediately to *Magadoxa*, upon the ſame errand as we have ſhewn in the laſt ſection.

SECT. III.

A Confutation of the pretended Kingdom of Adea.

The kingdom of Adea *imaginary;*

THE generality of geopraphers unanimouſly add a third kingdom, which they call *Adea*, upon this coaſt of *Ajan*, or *Habaſh*, and commonly place it, with its pretended capital of the ſame name, between thoſe of *Adel* and *Magadoxa*; whilſt ſome make this laſt to be a part of it, and the name of its capital; though *Barraboa* be ſaid to be the chief place of the king's reſidence [a]: which word is of *Portugueſe* extract, and ſignifies *a good coaſt*, ſituated between the two branches of the *Kilmanci*. They add, that, though a *Mohammedan*, he is tributary to the negut, or emperor, of *Abiſſinia*. One of them in particular not only affirms poſitively that there is ſuch a kingdom, and ſituated and ſubject as above, but is more explicit in his deſcription of it than the reſt [b].

and miſtaken for the tract of Ajan.

THE chief cities belonging to it, according to him, or according to *Sanſon*'s maps, by which he ſteers, are *Zachet*, *Orgabra*, *Baraboa*, *Quilmunca*, ſeated at the mouth of the river of that name; the lake and iſle of *Monks*, ſituate more towards the north; *Hugel* and *Bandel*, ſituate on the coaſt; *Magadoxa*, a large city, formerly taken and plundered by the *Portugueſe*, the metropolis of the whole kingdom of *Adea*, and the reſidence of the kings of it; having a large haven, and a fortreſs at the mouth of the river of its name, *&c.* He then goes on, deſcribing its great concourſe of merchants, commerce, inhabitants, and religion, in the ſame manner which we have done, in the ſecond ſection of this chapter, and proceeds to the city and republic of *Brava*, which he places between *Magadoxa* and *Barraboa*, and deſcribes as we have done in other reſpects. He quotes likewiſe abundance of authors for what he writes, more particularly *Sanſon*

[a] De his, vid. RAMUS. ubi ſup. p. 249. 3d edit. LA MARTINIERE, ſub voc. Adea. LA CROIX Afric. part vi. cap. 9. ſect. 10. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. [b] LUYTS's introduct. ad geogr. p. 608.

and

and *Robe*; but, upon the whole, he ſeems to have confounded the greateſt part of this territory of *Ajan* into one kingdom, under the name of *Adea*.

ANOTHER author, already quoted [c], adds, from ſome of the authors quoted by *Luyts*, another city, a little above the port of *Kilmanci*, which, he ſays, is called *Oby*, and gives its name to that river from thence upwards. He mentions alſo the lordſhip of *Granza*, ſituate more towards the inland, and contiguous to the kingdoms of *Ogia*, *Xoa*, and *Goraga*; that is, as we more properly write it, *Ogge*, *Xaoa*, and *Guragna*, belonging to the *Abiſſinian* empire, but all of them at an immenſe diſtance from theſe coaſts; and yet this author makes it reach to them, and to the ſea-port of *Barraboa*, adds another, called in the ſame language, *Barra-maa*, or the *bad coaſt*. This he places at the mouth of another river, which he names *Sabala*, and whoſe coaſt is difficult of acceſs. Laſtly, he tells us that this *Adean* kingdom extends itſelf weſtward to that of *Agaboa*; which ſtill more confirms us, that he, as well as thoſe other authors we have mentioned before, confounded the large tract of *Ajan* with this imaginary one of *Adea*, who have bounded, divided, and deſcribed it, according to the beſt memoirs they had; and, where thoſe failed, have ſupplied the reſt according to their fancy.

Remarks on the inaccuracy of ſome authors.

IF it be aſked, why we inſert ſuch a long deſcant on a kingdom which exiſts only in geographical books, and maps inaccurately concerted? we anſwer, that, though it doth not exiſt under the name and title they have given to it, yet it doth really ſo, at leaſt for the greateſt part, under the deſcription we have given of the territory of *Ajan*, at the beginning of this chapter. But beſides all this, our readers will be the better able to judge of the origin of this miſtake, from what a learned author, well acquainted with thoſe parts, hath publiſhed about it [d], in theſe words: *The inhabitants of the kingdom of* Cambat *call themſelves* Seb-a-hadja, *or* Hadians: *hence it is, that* Adea, *or* Hadea, *is inſerted in maps for a kingdom. It is the laſt kingdom belonging to* Abiſſinia *on the ſouth, and not far diſtant from that of* Enarea. *The king of it is a Chriſtian, and his ſubjects partly the ſame, and partly* Mohammedans *and* Pagans. Accordingly, the ſaid author hath obſerved the ſame thing in his map of *Ethiopia*, where, under the word *Cambat*, he adds, *Cujus incolæ vocantur* Seb-a-Hedya, *male* Adea. And that not without good reaſon, ſee-

Adea far from this coaſt.

[c] LA CROIX, ub. ſup. [d] LUDOLPH. hiſt. Ethiop. l. 1. c. 3. p. 13.

ing it is ſeveral hundreds of miles from *Magadoxa*, and the coaſt of *Ajan*. This may ſerve to ſhew the danger of following authors, though ever ſo unanimous, in ſubjects of this nature, too implicitly; ſeeing they only copy one another's errors, which it ſhould have been their ſtudy and buſineſs to diſcover and correct. Thus we meet likewiſe with the name of the city of *Adea* on the coaſt of *Zanguebar*, which the author [c] ſtyles one of the moſt celebrated in all *Africa*; though, for aught we can find, it hath no better foundation than the imaginary kingdom we have been ſpeaking of. Here, therefore, we ſhall conclude this chapter, without venturing to penetrate farther into the inland kingdoms; for if our knowlege of the coaſts, the moſt obvious and frequented by *Europeans*, is ſo ſmall and precarious, we doubt not being diſpenſed with by our readers from giving a worſe deſcription of this extenſive nature, of wild countries and kingdoms, concerning which we cannot inform them of any thing with the leaſt tolerable certainty. Thoſe whoſe curioſity cannot be confined within theſe rules, may have recourſe to a ſufficient variety of maps and geographical books, to anſwer their purpoſe; whilſt we cloſely purſue our own, of inſerting nothing here without ſufficient authority.

The inland ſtill more unknown.

CHAP. VII.

The Hiſtory of the principal Kingdoms on the Coaſt of Zanguebar.

The coaſt of Zanguebar;

THIS coaſt, ſuppoſed the *Agiſimba* of *Ptolemy*, is, by the *Arabs*, called *Zanguebar*, and corruptly, by *M. Paulo* the *Venetian*, *Zengobar*, from the *Arabic* word *Zengue*, or *Zengui*, or, as *Leo Africanus* writes it, page 5. *Zahangi*; which word ſignifies black or negro; ſo that the word *Zanguebar* properly imports the coaſt of the Blacks, or Negroes; all its inhabitants being of that colour, and having curled or woolly hair. Its northern boundary is variouſly fixed by authors; by ſome, at the mouth of the river *Kilmanci*, or *Quillmanci* [a], of which we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel; and others [b] as high as the cape of *Guardafui*, in the kingdom of *Adel*, mentioned in the foregoing chapter; by which he would ſeem to comprehend all the other long

whence ſo called.

[c] Baudrand Dict. ſub. voc. [a] Sanut, lib. xii. Ramus. ub. ſup. p. 386. [b] Marmol. Afric. l. c.

that

tract of *Ajan* under the ſame general name. Whereas we have there obſerved its inhabitants were a mixture of white, tawny, and olive, till we come almoſt under the equator, where, therefore, we have fixed the boundaries between them with greater reaſon, as well as from better authority; this coaſt being much better known than it was in the time of *Sanut*, and other authors above quoted: and we find it now fixed between the river and kingdom of *Jubo*, about half a degree above the equinoctial line, to the kingdom of *Mauruca*, or river of *Fernao Velozo*, according to *D'Anville*, ſcarcely known in other maps, or that more conſiderable one of *Cuama*, the boundary of that kingdom, according to *Dapper* and others. *Its extent where they properly begin.*

ACCORDING to this dimenſion the coaſt of *Zanguebar* will contain the following kingdoms, rivers, bays, and other remarkable places, as the reader will find them ranged in *D'Anville's* map, agreeably to the lateſt diſcoveries. 1. The kingdom and river of *Jubo*. 2. The kingdom of the *Abaquas*. 3. The bay of *Fermoſa*. 4. The kingdom of *Sio*. 5. *Ampata*. 6. The river of *Lamo*. 7. The kingdom and city of *Melinda*. 8. The town or fort of *Quilmanca*. 9. The river and kingdom of *Quilifo*. 10. *Amaxambas de Motuapa*, a town. 11. The river of *Monbaca*. 12. *Ancinche*. 13. Of *Langon*. 14. The country of *Maraugalo*. 15. Of *Atundo*. 16. The territory of *Rafade*. 17, 18, 19, The rivers called *Los tres Hermanos*, or three Brethren. 20. *Cabo falſo*, or the deceitful Cape. 21. The river of *Enabo*, or *Cuavo*. 22. Of *Quizimajugo*. 23. The kingdom of *Quiloa*. 24. Country of *Mongedo*. 25. The river of *Mongalla*. 26. *Cabo Delgado*. 27. The town of *Changa*. 28. The country of *Macuas*. 29. The town of *Querimba*. 30. Of *Ato*. 31. The river of *Pembo*. 32. The town and river of *Sirano Capa*. 33. The river *Sangaya*. 34. The country of the *Pices*. 35. River *Famovo*. 36. *Frayaſeſland*. 37. The river *Pinda*. 38, *Fernao Velozo*. *Principal kingdoms, &c. on the coaſt.*

THE principal iſlands and kingdoms ſituate upon the *Zanguebar* coaſt, are as follow, according to the ſame author. 1. The iſland of *Mandra*. 2. The iſle and kingdom of *Pute*. 3. The iſle of *Illheos*. 4. Iſle and kingdom of *Lamo*. 5. Iſle and city of *Monbaca*. 6. Iſle and kingdom of *Pemba*. 7. Of *Zanzebar*. 8. Iſle of *Cobra*. 9. The ſhallows of St. *Roch*. 10. Iſle of *Monſia*. 11. Iſle and city of *Quiloa*. 12. Iſles of *Cape Delgado*. 13. Of *Melinda*. 14. *Changa*. 15. Of *Macoloe*. 16. Of *Materno*. 17. Of *Obi*. 18. Iſland and town of *Querimba*. 19. Iſles of *Fumbo*. 20. Of *Cabras*. 21. The flats of *Pindar*. Thus much may ſuffice for a deſcrip- *Chief iſlands, &c.*

tion of these coasts, for which we are chiefly indebted to the discoveries, conquests, and ravages which the *Portuguese* have made on them. As for the further account of the several places above-mentioned, we shall postpone it till we come to speak of the several kingdoms to which they belong, and therein confine ourselves only to the most remarkable and useful, and such of which we have the most authentic account [d].

Inland parts, why so little known.

As to those belonging to the inland parts, such as towns, rivers, mountains, lakes, *&c.* we are still more unacquainted with them; this only we know in general, that this whole tract is barren and unhealthy, the lands lying low, and intersected with rivers, lakes, thick woods, forests, and marshy grounds; the fruits of it are very unwholsome; their rivers, for the most part, covered or choaked up with weeds, bushes, and thickets; all which so stagnate the air, and corrupt the product of the earth, and render the inhabitants so sickly and indolent, that they receive little or no benefit from its produce. The *Bedowin Arabs* are the only ones that do; and that chiefly by breeding multitudes of cattle, and living mostly upon their flesh and milk; whilst the Negroes, or *Zanges*, content themselves with feeding upon wild beasts and fowl, which swarm all over those parts.

The air unwholsome.

To supply the want of corn, pulse, roots, and other wholsome food, of which they are destitute, the Divine Providence hath interspersed that whole country with mines of gold, easily got, by the help of which they can purchase all the necessaries and conveniencies of life from other parts. But this is the very thing that makes them so extremely jealous of letting any strangers penetrate into the inland; and more especially since the *Portuguese* have made themselves masters of such a number of places along this coast; insomuch, that they make no scruple to murder all they catch attempting it [e]. Hence it is that we have gained so small an insight into the interior intelligence of those parts. Nor can we justly blame those natives, if, apprised as they are, by long experience, what labours and hazards they will expose themselves to, and what outrages and cruelties they will not scruple to commit, to dispossess the natural proprietors of that precious and bewitching metal, they are so jealous and watchful to shut up all avenues to their mines against all strangers.

The people jealous of the Portuguese.

[d] D'Anville, Martiniere, Sanut, & al. ubi sup. Dapper, Afric. & al. sup. cit.

[e] Ramus.

They

THEY are, moreover, in their nature fierce and ſtout, ignorant and brutiſh, and without any religion, eſpecially the Negroes; upon which laſt account they have the name of *Caffers* given to them. As for the *Bedowins*, they have ſome kind of religion, or, rather, obſerve a variety of ſuperſtitious rites, as has been already obſerved, but are no leſs ignorant and uncivilized than the *Caffers*; yet they chiefly herd among themſelves, and live at a greater diſtance from the coaſts, and by the ſides of lakes and rivers for the convenience of paſture for their numerous herds. They go all naked both *Caffers* and *Arabs*; excepting that they wrap a piece of cotton cloth round their middle, which deſcends a little below the knee; but thoſe who live along the coaſts, and are ſomewhat more civilized, affect a little more finery in their dreſs, and, inſtead of cotton cloth, cover themſelves with the ſkins of wild beaſts, more or leſs rich, according to their rank, and with animals tails trailing behind on the ground. They likewiſe adorn their necks, arms, and legs, with variety of beads, bugles, and other trinkets, of amber, jett, glaſs, and other materials, which they exchange with the merchants for their gold, furs, ivory, and other commodities of their country. There are among theſe coaſters a great number of *Mohammedans*, but a much greater number ſtill among the iſlanders along this coaſt; they being, for the moſt part, deſcended from thoſe *Arabs* who were baniſhed out of their country, on account of their adherence to the ſect of *Ali*[f], of which they ſtill are zealous profeſſors.

Caffers, why ſo called.

Dreſs of the natives.

Skins of wild beaſts the fineſt dreſs.

THIS is all we know, or can inſert with any certainty, concerning this long tract of *Zanguebar*[g]; to which we have only to add the deſcription of the river *Kilmanci*, or, as the *Portugueſe*, who have given it that name, from a fort and town built at the mouth of it, write it, *Quilmanca*, or *Quilmanci*: for though, in the liſt of remarkable places along this coaſt, which we have given a little higher, we have had occaſion to mention ſeveral other rivers; yet is this the only one concerning which we can mention any thing worth our reader's notice, and that chiefly conſiſts in the few following particulars. It hath its ſource near the mountain of *Gravo*, in the kingdom of *Narea*, ſubject to the *Abiſſinian* empire, and near a village called *Bachia*, or *Baxa*, and is one of the moſt conſiderable in all this part of *Africa*, eſpecially on account of the length and vaſt winding of its courſe, it making a kind of circle toward the north and eaſt, as it were to

The river Quilmanci deſcribed.

Its ſource, courſe, &c.

[f] De hac, vid. ſup. vol. i. p. 277, & ſeq. [g] JUAN DE BARROS, l. viii. c. 4. RAMUS. & al. paſſ. SANUT. l. xi. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

incloſe

incloſe into a kind of peninſula the kingdom of *Gingiro*, and divides the wild *Gallas* ſettlement from *Abiſſinia*; and thus far that river is called by the name of *Zebea*. It then winds its courſe through the country of the *Makorites*, and leaves it on the eaſt ſide, croſſes the equinoctial line, through thoſe of the *Moſſegag Caffers*, a barbarous nation, and thence continuing its courſe along the coaſts of *Zanguebar*, diſcharges itſelf into the ocean in the kingdom of *Melinda*, on the ſouth ſide of the fort or town, which gives it its new name of *Quilman*, and is by moſt authors ſuppoſed to be the *Rapte*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* in his deſcription of this coaſt. Thus far the account which *De Liſle* gives us of the courſe of that river, from the *Portugueſe* books and maps; yet ſo far are they from being agreed in it, that ſeveral of them affirm the mouth of it to be but about a mile ſouthward of the city of *Melinda*[h]. To this we ſhall only add what the laſt quoted author, and ſome others ſay, that the *Abiſſinians* give that river the name of *Obeg* through ſome parts of its courſe along their territories[i], from a town of that name ſituate on it banks, as we have lately ſeen in a preceding chapter.

Mouth and fort.

Kingdoms of Zanguebar,

IT is time now to ſpeak of the ſeveral kingdoms we have given in the liſt of above, as belonging to this tract of *Zanguebar*; and therein ſhall confine ourſelves within the limits of our ſyſtem; which being chiefly hiſtorical, will of courſe excuſe us from entering into a particular detail not only of ſuch of which we know nothing more than the bare geography, without any other particular relating to their hiſtory; but much more of thoſe concerning which we know little elſe than their names and ſituation, or perhaps ſome few other particulars; but neither eſſential enough, nor ſo certainly known, as to deſerve a place in a work like this: of which nature are a great part of thoſe contained in the above-mentioned liſt, which the reader will find diſtinguiſhed from the reſt in *Italic* character; that he may, if he pleaſes, conſult the many books of travels where they are more particularly deſcribed, but on ſuch authorities as we can neither vouch for nor depend upon. Thoſe therefore which we intend to ſpeak of in this chapter, are thoſe that follow. 1. The kingdom and city of *Melinda*.

many of them unknown.

[h] De his, vid. RAMUS. ubi ſup. DAPPER, ub. ſup. [i] DAPPER, ub. ſup. LA CROIX, ubi ſup. pt. iii. c. 9. ſect. 1.

SECT.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Melinda.

THIS kingdom, according to the generality of the geographers[a], lies under the equinoctial line, and extends itſelf from the northern boundaries of that of *Mombaſo*, which they place about the 2d deg. ſouth of the river *Quilmanci* lately deſcribed, whoſe courſe extends itſelf from the north ſide of it; though its mouth, according to the lateſt obſervations, is placed between the 3d and 4th deg. ſouth; we have already taken notice of the difference of authors about that point. We are no leſs uncertain about its extent weſtward into the inland, and are only told, that it is bounded on that ſide by the country of the *Moſſegayts*, a barbarous race of *Caffers*; and on the eaſt it has the weſtern ocean for its boundary; about the extent of which we meet with no leſs diſagreement between authors, ſeeing ſome of them, who include the kingdom of *Mombaſo* as part of that of *Melinda*, extend the ſea-coaſts of it quite to the *Cape of Gada*, which they place in the 10th deg. of ſouth lat[b]. So little exactneſs is there in theſe accounts of this kingdom, even among the *Portugueſe*, notwithſtanding their having carried on ſo conſtant a commerce with it ever ſince their firſt diſcovery of it, that is ſince *an.* 1520, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. We ſhall not therefore take upon us to aſſert any thing upon that ſubject, but leave it to time and opportunity for farther and more exact diſcoveries concerning it.

The kingdom of Melinda.

its boundaries different.

HOWEVER that be, it is agreed on all hands, that theſe coaſts, eſpecially near the capital of *Melinda*, are exceedingly dangerous and difficult of acceſs; being full of rocks and ſhelves, and the ſea thereabouts very often tempeſtuous at certain ſeaſons[c]. At a ſmall diſtance from the mouth of the river above-mentioned, is the iſland, kingdom, and city of *Lamo*; whoſe king, a *Mohammedan*, was beheaded by the *Portugueſe*, *an.* 1589. His name was *Panebaxita*, and his crime, whether real or pretended, his having baſely betrayed *Rock Britto*, governor of the *Melindan* coaſt; for which he was ſeized, with four other of his *Mohammedan* ſubjects, in his capital, by their admiral *Souſa Contingo*, and carried to the

Dangerous coaſts.

Kingdom and iſle of Lamo.

[a] ORTEL, RAMUS. ubi ſup. PIGAFET. DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. [b] DE LISLE Atlas, MARTINIERE, ſub voc. MELINDA. [c] OSSORIO, & al. ſup. citat.

next

The king beheaded by the Portuguese.

next island and kingdom of *Pate*, and there publicly executed in presence of that and some other petty kings of the neighbouring islands; from which time, that of *Lamo* hath continued tributary to *Portugal*[d], as are also most of those on this coast.

The soil and product of Melinda.

THE kingdom of *Melinda* is for the most part rich and fertile, producing almost all the necessaries of life, except wheat and rice, both which are brought thither from *Cambaya* and other parts; and those who cannot purchase them, make use of potatoes in their stead, which are here fine, large, and in great plenty. They likewise abound with great variety of fruit-trees, roots, plants and other esculents, and with melons of exquisite taste. The country is covered with citron-trees, with whose odoriferous smell the air is agreeably perfumed almost all the year. They have also great plenty of venison, game, oxen, sheep, geese, hens, and other poultry, &c. and one breed of sheep, whose tails are like some of those we have already spoken of, commonly weighing between 20 and 30 pounds[e].

City of Melinda *described.*

THE city of *Melinda* is pleasantly situated on a beautiful plain, surrounded with a great variety of fine gardens and orchards, stored with all sorts of fruit-trees, especially citrons and oranges. The houses are built of square stone, and for the most part stately, and some even magnificent, and all of them richly furnished, being inhabited chiefly by rich merchants, and much resorted to by foreigners, who drive a great commerce with it in gold, copper, quicksilver, ivory, wax, drugs, *&c.* which are here exchanged for silks, cottons, and other cloths, corn, and other commodities. The only inconvenience attending this metropolis is, that the anchorage stands at some distance from it, on account of the rocks and shelves which surround it towards the sea side, which render the access to it difficult and dangerous[f]. This city is supposed by the learned to be the *Mondel* mentioned by *Avicenna*, as the place whence they had their aloes[g].

Dress of men and women.

THE inhabitants of this city are a mixture of blacks, swarthy, tawny, and white. This last chiefly among the women, who are mostly of that, or of an olive complexion. Their dress is no less taking than their complexion; for they never stir out but in fine silks, girt about with a rich gold or silver girdle, a collar and bracelet of the same, or

[d] ODVAR BARBOS. RAMUS. DAVITY, & al. BARBOS. OSSORIO, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. [e] SANUT, Iid. ibid. [f] SCALIG. ad lib. iv. MANIL. DAVITY, & al. sup. citat.

some-

ſomething ſtill more valuable, and their heads covered with a veil. The men go not bare-headed, as in many other parts of *Africa*, but wear a kind of turban on their heads. In other reſpects, their dreſs is much the ſame; that is, a piece of cotton wrapped about their middle, and deſcending a little below their knees; their legs, feet, and the reſt of the body, quite bare[h]. As to the meaner ſort, as well as thoſe who live farther from the coaſts, they wear little elſe than a piece of cloth about their middle; if we except their ſhield and weapons, which are the bow and arrows, the ſcymiter and the javelin, at all which they are very expert, being reckoned the beſt and ſtouteſt ſoldiers in all that coaſt. They go to war with undaunted ſpirit, and maintain their ground with greater intrepidity than any of their neighbours; yet we are told, thoſe of the adjoining kingdom of *Monbaſa* would have proved too ſtrong for them, had they not been aſſiſted by the *Portugueſe*, to bring them into ſubjection[i]. In other reſpects, the *Melindans*, at leaſt the coaſters (for we are not ſo well acquainted with the inlanders) are ſaid to be very courteous and obliging, free from fraud or flattery, and live very friendly with the *Portugueſe*, who commonly are buried amongſt them, without any other mark of diſtinction than that of a croſs over their tomb[k]. Their language, as far as we can judge from the Lord's prayer in it, which *Grammay* hath given us in his curious collection, ſeems far enough from barbarous or diſagreeable. The reader may ſee the ſpecimen in the margin (A).

THEIR religion is variouſly deſcribed by authors; ſome repreſenting the people as altogether *Mohammedans*, and others as idolaters. The truth is, as *Linſchot* rightly obſerves, there are ſome of both religions. The *Bedowans*, as we have formerly hinted, are a ſuperſtitious and ignorant race of idolaters; the Negroes are for the moſt part *Mohammedans*, but of the *Emoraqidic* ſect, which reject ſome parts of the *Koran*[l], following the doctrine of *Zeyd* the ſon of *Hoſheim*[m]; *Religion partly Mohammediſm and Paganiſm.*

[h] OSSOR, lib. i. OD. BARBOSA, PIGAFET, DAVITY, DAPPER. [i] Iid. ibid. [k] TURS. in vit. XAVER. [l] OSSOR, ub. ſub. LINSCHOT, lib. i. c. 16. [m] Vid. RAMUS, DAVITY, & auct. ab eo citat.

(A) *Aban ladi ſiſſan avart, et cades eſmoctacti mala cutoca tacuna maſcitoca choma ſiſſa, me chiddaleca, ghlalandi cobzano chefaſona agrona fili augme agfar lena catajano nagfar ceman lena galiaca quato tadchol nal lagarabe, lache nagna min ſci ratri* *.

* *Vid Chamberlain Orat. Dominic. in C. ling.*

a ſect

a sect not unlike that of the *Sadducees* among the *Jews*, of which, notwithstanding, some of the *Khalifs* of *Babylon* have made open profession [o]. As for the Roman-catholics, they have been settled almost ever since the *Portuguese* came thither. We do not however hear of any proselytes they have made to their faith among the natives, as they have at *Congo*, *Angola*, and other *African* parts; but content themselves with the free exercise of it, and are so numerous in the city of *Melinda*, that they have built no less than seventeen churches and chapels in it, and have erected a stately cross of gilt marble before one of them; and we hear moreover, that in the year 1602, three ladies, relations to the king, were publicly baptized [p].

Roman-catholics numerous. Their churches.

The government.

High regard to their kings.

Vast retinue.

Superstitious ceremonies.

THE government is monarchical; and in such veneration is the king held by his subjects, that whenever he stirs out of his palace, he is always carried in a sedan, on the shoulders of four or more of the greatest nobles of the kingdom; and incense and other perfumes are burned before him as he goes along the streets of any city, by a great number of ladies, who come to welcome him with songs in his praise, accompanied with several kinds of musical instruments; which, though not of the most harmonious kind, they touch with much dexterity and cadence. If he sets out upon any expedition, whether civil or military, he then appears mounted on a stately horse, richly caparisoned, and with a numerous retinue, attended with great crouds of his subjects, who fill the air with their loud huzzas and loyal acclamations. His labis or priests meet him at his setting out with a deer, recently sacrificed, and still reaking; over which, he and his horse take three leaps; which is no sooner done, than these pretended conjurers set about examining the entrails of the creature, and from them pretend to foretell whether his expedition will be prosperous or not [q].

Reception of ambassadors.

THE same kind of superstitious ceremonies are also to be used when any prince, or ambassy from a prince, comes to his court, in order to know whether the visit or negotiation will be attended with good or bad success. Upon this occasion also the prince or ambassador is accompanied by a great number of ladies along the streets, some burning perfumes before him, others singing or playing on instruments. These monarchs are in some measure obliged to submit to

[o] De hac, vid. sup. vol. 2. p. 234. [p] CAMERAR. de reb. Turcic. TURSELL. in vit. XAVER. DAVITY, Afric. [q] OSSOR. RAMUS. DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. ub. sub.

the

the superstitious ceremonies above-mentioned, and to regulate their resolutions according to the report of those jugglers, whether it be for peace or war, or any other exigence, and whether they give any credit to them or not; for on this chiefly depends the allegiance and honour they pay to, and the affection and veneration they have for them; which would, upon their non-compliance, quickly degenerate into hatred and contempt, if not in downright disloyalty, or open rebellion, through the uncontroulable influence which those juggling miscreants have over the people.

Singular justice,

But besides this absurd and ill-placed confidence, for such it cannot but be deemed by men of sense, (unless we will suppose that their pretended predictions, calculated only to amuse the subjects, are privately directed by the prince, which is far from improbable; and the only way perhaps those cheats have of saving themselves from the dangers that would attend a contrary event) the *Melindan* kings have, we are told, a much surer way of securing their subjects loyalty and affection; namely, by their constant application to public affairs, their vigilance over their ministers, governors, and other magistrates, by their assiduity and attention in receiving and hearing the complaints of their subjects; and their strict and severe administration of justice on all delinquents of what rank or degree of favour soever with them; but more particularly on such as attempt to impose upon or mislead them by fraud or artifice[r].

how administered.

Causes how tried before them.

Their method of proceeding in cases of this nature is as follows. When any complaint or appeal is presented to them, they cause the plaintiff to be detained, till the defendant, who is immediately summoned to appear before them and their council, hath heard his accusation, and made his defence. If it be made by an inferior against a governor or minister of state, or other grandees, he is no less obliged to appear; and with this difference, that on his approach to the court, he causes the horn or trumpet to be blown, to give notice of his coming; upon which some of the king's officers come to receive him into their custody; who having dismissed his retinue, conduct him to the hall of justice. In such cases the accuser must be provided with sufficient evidence, or else he is condemned to death, and executed out of hand: but if the accusation be fully proved, the defendant is condemned to make restitution suitable to the wrong done, and moreover to be fined, and suffer corporal punishment; which, if the offender be a person of rank or merit, is com-

Rules observed by them.

[r] Iid. ibid.

monly

monly a baſtonade more or leſs ſevere, as well as a fine according to the nature of the offence, the dignity and merit of the offender; and this baſtonade is then inflicted by the king himſelf.

Puniſhment. how inflicted.

THE ſentence is no ſooner pronounced, than the offender is led out of the hall into another chamber, where he is obliged to acknowlege his fault, and the juſtice as well as lenity of his puniſhment, in the humbleſt terms and poſture; after which, he is ſtripped of his clothes, and laid flat on his face on the ground. The king then takes his ſtaff of juſtice in his hand, and gives him as many ſtrokes as he thinks fit; and having received his beſt thanks for his kind correction, bids him get up and put on his clothes again; which having done, and kiſſed his majeſty's feet, he accompanies him, with the reſt of the attendants, into the hall, with a ſerene countenance, and without betraying the leaſt grief or diſcontent: there the king graciouſly diſmiſſes him before the whole court, with a freſh charge to be careful to adminiſter juſtice to his ſubjects; then cauſes him to be accompanied with the uſual honours and perfumes to the gates of the city; and the whole matter is huſhed as if nothing had happened; the people without being wholly ignorant of what hath been tranſacting within. The fine and charges of the ſuit are levied out of the offender's eſtate; or, if a favourite, out of the king's coffers [s].

Great reſpect for the king of Portugal.

THE *Portugueſe* boaſt much of the good underſtanding there hath ever been between the kings of *Melinda* and thoſe of *Portugal*, ever ſince the ſubjects of the latter were admitted into their dominions; and more particularly of the vaſt reſpect which the former of thoſe monarchs pays to the latter; as a ſingular inſtance of which, we are told [t], that the head factor of the king of *Portugal* in this kingdom having ſome occaſion to viſit that of *Melinda*, the latter ordered all the nobles of his court to meet him; and that before he arrived at the royal palace with his retinue, a number of women met him alſo with their incenſers, and perfumed him all the way thither. We ſhould have been much better pleaſed to have met with ſomething more worthy our reader's knowlege concerning thoſe *African* princes, either relating to their extract, antiquity, whether hereditary or elective, their laws, power, riches, army, fleet, hiſtory, wars, and the like, concerning which they are altogether ſilent; and which, by the way, is no great mark of that good underſtanding and affec-

[s] OSSOR. & al. ſup. citat. [t] OD. BARBOSA, ub. ſup. PEDRO ALVARES Navigat. ap. RAMUS. DAVITY, & al.

tion

tion between thoſe two crowns, and their ſubjects, as is ſaid above, to reign between them.

HOWEVER, ſince this is all that we can find in them concerning this kingdom, we ſhall now proceed to the only point of hiſtory relating to it, *viz.* the *Portugueſe* obtaining their firſt entrance into it, under the conduct of their famed admiral *Vaſco de Gama*, and what hath paſſed ſince their ſettlement in theſe parts; wherein we ſhall give the beſt account of both that we can from their writers, but more particularly from their celebrated biſhop *Oſſorio*'s hiſtory of their conqueſts, which (whatever pains that good prelate's charity for his own countrymen, and the honour of his nation, may have induced him to take through the courſe of it to palliate their illicit invaſions and dreadful ravages, both on this and the other *African* coaſts, and elſewhere, ſome of which have been already taken notice of in the preceding chapters [u]) is nevertheleſs juſtly eſteemed the moſt exact, impartial [w], and authentic in all other reſpects. And here referring our readers to what hath been ſaid in a former volume, concerning the original deſigns, as well as the ſucceſs of the diſcovery of the *African* coaſts, in order to find out a way into the *Eaſt Indies* by ſea [x], and to what will be farther related in the hiſtory of *Portugal*, we ſhall beg leave to look back for the courſe of this expedition a little higher, in order to appriſe our readers by what ſteps *Gama* and his fleet were brought to this coaſt and kingdom, after he had doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Portugueſe how admitted into Melinda.

Begun 1497.

THE firſt conſiderable coaſt that fell under his obſervation, was that of the iſland and kingdom of *Mozambico*, of which we ſhall ſpeak more fully in a ſubſequent ſection. The bad condition his men and fleet were then in made him extremely deſirous to caſt anchor there for ſome days at leaſt, to give them ſome reſt and refreſhments. Having therefore informed himſelf about the iſland and its inhabitants, particularly about the governor, who commanded in it under the king of *Kilda*, or *Kiloa*, as well as amply rewarded his informants, he ſent them out of hand to him with his beſt compliments, accompanied with ſome valuable preſents; with which he was ſo highly pleaſed, that he made him the moſt acceptable return he could wiſh, and came ſoon after in a ſumptuous dreſs, attended by grand retinue, to pay him a viſit on board his ſhip.

Vaſco de Gama *ſent to find a paſſage to* India. *Adventure at* Mozambico. *Reception from the governor, who comes on board to viſit him.*

[u] See the beginning of vol. xiv. [w] See a proof of this, vol. i p 29, & ſeq. of his hiſtory, Eng. edit. [x] See vol. ix. p 170, & ſeq. ſee alſo OSSORIO, l. i. MARMOL. Afric. lib. ix. c. 27, & ſeq. JARRIC, OD. BARBOSA, & al. ſup. citat.

Reception of him.

ZACOCIA, that was the noble governor's name, was a zealous *Mohammedan*, and highly delighted at the gallant entertainment which *Gama* had prepared for him, and amongſt other queſtions, aſked him, whether he and his men were *Moors* or *Turks*, what arms they uſed, and what books he had which treated of *Mohammediſm*, not doubting, but he was of that religion. To theſe *Gama* anſwered in general, that he came from the weſt; that their arms were the ſame as he ſaw on his men; but that they had moreover ſome warlike machines, with which they could deſtroy whole armies, and batter the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes to the ground. As for the books of their religion, he told him, he would ſhew them to him with the greateſt pleaſure, after he and his men had had a few days reſpite and refreſhment. He added, that as he was now bound for the *Eaſt-Indies*, he ſhould be highly obliged to him if he could ſupply him with ſome expert navigators to conduct him thither; and he accordingly brought to him on the next day two pilots to ſteer him into *Calicut*.

Diſcovers him to be a Chriſtian; *lays ſundry ſchemes to deſtroy his fleet.*

HITHERTO both ſides were well ſatisfied with each other, and might have continued ſo much longer, had not *Gama* inadvertently given *Zacocia* to underſtand that he and his men were *Chriſtians*, and by that untimely diſcovery, exaſperated that zealous *Moſlem* into a quite contrary behaviour; ſo that from that very moment he began to treat him and his men with the utmoſt ſpight and contempt, and to lay ſchemes to deſtroy him and his ſhips. One of the pilots, whom the governor had brought with him, perceiving the ſudden change, got away, and was heard of no more; whilſt ſome of the *Portugueſe*, endeavouring to go on ſhore to get ſome wood and water, narrowly eſcaped being maſſacred by the people. *Gama*, not daring to ſtay longer there, ſet ſail for *Quiloa*, but was driven by contrary winds to another iſland, where he fortunately took up an *Arabian* and his ſon going to *Mecca*; and finding him to be expert in navigation, reſolved to get what inſtructions and aſſiſtance he could from him, for completing of his courſe [x].

Gama's happy eſcape to Monbazo.

HE then made a freſh attempt to reach *Quiloa*; but was, whether through the ignorance, or more probably, treachery, of the *Mozambic* pilot, ſteered for *Monbazo*, which he made him believe was inhabited by *Chriſtians*, and would give him and his ſick men all neceſſary aſſiſtance. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully of that city and kingdom in the ſequel; at preſent, we ſhall only ſay, that *Gama*, whether

[x] OSSORIO, RAMUS. Navig. vol. i. edit. 3.

perſuaded or neceſſitated to it, complied with his advice; but had hardly caſt anchor, when he ſpied a galley, with about a hundred armed men, rowing towards his own ſhip, and expreſſing a ſtrong deſire to come on board of it, but which he abſolutely forbid. Obſerving however four of them, who appeared to be above the common rank, he permitted them to come on board, on condition they left their arms behind. To this they not only conſented, but highly commended that admiral for inſiſting on it; and withal told him, that their king, being agreeably informed of the arrival of the *Portugueſe*, was deſirous of entring into a friendly alliance with them; and accordingly ſent deputies to treat about it in his name, on the following day. Theſe, at their interview with him, forgot not one topic they thought would induce *Gama* to come to anchorage at their harbour, that his majeſty might the more conveniently, as was pretended, treat with them about ſettling ſuch a commerce with them, as would prove more advantageous to them than any they could hope for from *India*, without being attended with the like tedioufneſs and hazard. Several other civilities paſſed between the king and admiral equally inviting; and ſuch ample promiſes from the former to the latter, as began to excite the ſuſpicions of our jealous *Portugueſe*, that all was mere diſſimulation, and a helliſh plot againſt them. What confirmed his fear was, the danger which his ſhip ran, in approaching the harbour, of being driven a-ground by the violence of the waves; which obliged him to furl her ſails, and to drop her anchor, and to order his other ſhips to do the ſame: at ſight of which, his two *Mozambic* pilots jumped into the ſea and ſwam away, being conſcious of their treachery in ſteering them to this port. *Gama* called aloud to the men in the boats to bring them back, but in vain; for the king, having been appriſed of what had paſſed at *Mozambico*, had laid his ſcheme to decoy them thither, in order to deſtroy them and their ſhips[y]. Finding therefore his plot defeated, he ſent ſome boats out in the night to cut their cables; but theſe were likewiſe prevented from their deſign by the vigilance of the admiral; ſo that he was enabled to get clear of that bay in about two days after, and to ſteer his courſe to the port of *Melinda*, where he met with a much kinder reception from the king, as we ſhall ſee preſently; and at the ſame time a fair opportunity of being revenged on that of *Mombazo*, by the timely aſſiſtance he

Runs a much greater riſk.

Invited to land, refuſes it.

Suſpicions of their ill deſigns.

His pilots forſake him.

Diſcovers the treachery laid againſt him.

Sails to Melinda.

[y] Osſor. ub. ſub. Raus. Marmol, lib. ix. ub. ſub. Jarric, Barbosa, & al. ib.

gave that of *Melinda* againſt him. And here we muſt obſerve that theſe two kingdoms were often at war with each other; that of *Melinda* bred the beſt and ſtouteſt ſoldiers; that of *Quiloa*, to which *Mombazo* was then ſubject, had the largeſt dominions, and probably a more numerous army, or had gained ſome advantages over the other. And hence we may probably account for the kind welcome which the old *Melindan* monarch gave at this juncture to the *Portugueſe* admiral, which he might not at another; that nation being by this time become odious and dreadful all over theſe coaſts, not only on account of their religion, but much more of their ſuperiority, conqueſts, and depredations.

HOWEVER that be, *Gama* having ſo happily eſcaped the ſnares of the *Mombaſan* governor, and gained the coaſt of *Melinda*, caſt anchor at ſome diſtance from that capital, not only on account of the ſhelves and tempeſtuouſneſs of that coaſt, but out of miſtruſt of meeting with the ſame treacherous treatment here. Having communicated his fear to the *Meccan Arab* whom he had taken on board, the man, in gratitude, offered to go on ſhore, and ſound the king's inclinations, and was accordingly landed on an iſland oppoſite to the city, from which he went thither in a boat, and was immediately after introduced to the king. The account he gave that monarch of the *Portugueſe*, and of their motives for being ſo deſirous of entering into a friendly alliance with him, were ſo advantageous, and ſo well reliſhed by the good old monarch, who, it ſeems, was of an affable diſpoſition, and, as we hinted above, might then ſtand in need of their help, that he diſpatched a perſon to welcome them in his name, and to preſent them with ſheep, fruit, and other refreſhments. The admiral on his ſide, having made him ſuch returns, as convinced him of his politeneſs and generoſity, advanced nearer to the ſhore, whence he invited the *Indian Chriſtians* to come on board; who ſeemed ſo tranſported with what they ſaw, and the reception he gave them, that they gratified him in their turn with ſeveral uſeful inſtructions, and made their report at their return greatly to their advantage; inſomuch, that the old king was very deſirous of paying the admiral a viſit in perſon; but his age and infirmities not permitting it, he ſent his ſon thither, on whom he had devolved the ſupreme authority, attended with a ſplendid retinue of the nobles of his court[z].

Viſited by the king's ſon.

[z] OSSOR, RAMUS. MARMOL, & al. ſup. cit.

THIS

THIS prince came magnificently dreſſed, and the galley in which he was rowed reſounded with the muſic of variety of warlike inſtruments, as drums, trumpets, *&c.* *Gama*, on the other hand, came to meet him in a long-boat; which the prince had no ſooner reached, than he jumped into it and embraced the welcome ſtranger, and afterwards converſed with him with as much freedom and familiarity as if they had been intimate friends. His behaviour was polite, and his converſe full of good ſenſe. He greatly admired his new gueſt, and attentively obſerved every part of his ſhip, and expreſſed a ſingular regard for his nation. *Gama*, at the ſame time, made him a preſent of his *Saracen* priſoners, which were accepted by him as a mark of high regard. The prince then invited him to court, and to pay a viſit to the king, offering to leave his two ſons as pledges for his return. But *Gama*, whether out of miſtruſt of ſome hidden treachery, or fear of exceeding his orders, declined the invitation in the civileſt manner, and only conſented to let two of his men go on ſhore, at his earneſt requeſt. On the next day *Gama* came nearer the city in his long-boat, to take a fuller view of it, and its pleaſant ſituation; and was again honoured with a viſit from the prince, who brought to him an expert pilot, to aſſiſt him in the courſe of his voyage; and, not being able to prevail upon him to land, obtained a ſolemn promiſe from him, that, at his return, he would take *Melinda* in his way, and receive the ambaſſador on board, which his father was deſirous to ſend to the king his maſter. He accordingly ſet ſail on the 22d of *April*, and proceeded on his voyage, leaving the *Melindan* court in great expectation of the propoſed alliance with that of *Portugal*, from which they expected to reap no ſmall advantage, as well from their aſſiſtance as commerce.

Civilities paſſed between them.

Much courted to goon ſhore.

Declines it, and continues his courſe.

How the *Portugueſe* admiral performed his promiſe, we ſhall ſee in the following ſection. In the mean time it will not be foreign to our deſign, before we quit this country of *Melinda*, to ſay ſomething of the chief iſlands which lie along the coaſt of it, and of the kingdoms belonging to it; which are as follow, according to *De Liſle*.

Iſles and kingdoms on the coaſt of Melinda.

1. The iſle of *Pate*, with the kingdom of *Ambaſa*.
2. The iſle and kingdom of *Lamo*, mentioned a little higher.
3. The iſland and kingdom of *Mombaſa*, then the reſidence of the king of *Melinda*, and of the *Portugueſe* governor of that coaſt, which ſhall be deſcribed in the next ſection.
4. The iſland and kingdom of *Pemba*.
5. The iſland and kingdom of *Zanzibar*.

6. The isle and kingdom of *Quiloa*.

Pate *described.*

1. THE isle and kingdom of *Pate* take their name from their capital, situate on a small island, at the mouth of a commodious bay, called by the *Portuguese Baya Formosa*, about one degree of south latitude. It is a large town, well built and peopled, hath a good convenient port, and drives a great commerce with the neighbouring kingdoms and islands, particularly those of *Lamo*, *Ampasa*, *Sian*, and *Chelichia*, which surround it at a small distance, and have likewise their names from their respective capitals, none of them considerable enough to require a farther description [a]. The king of *Pate* is a *Mahammedan*, and so are most of his subjects, tributary however to the *Portuguese*, who have a fort in it, under their governor of these coasts, who is little better than a tyrant over them, as we may judge by what we lately mentioned concerning the shameful execution of the king of *Lamo* in his capital. *Pate* has another town and port, named *Moudra*, but which was since taken and razed by *Thomas de Sousa*, the *Portuguese* admiral, for refusing, or, perhaps, only neglecting, to pay the usual tribute [b].

Tributary to Portugal.

Kingdom and capital of Lamo.

2. THE isle and kingdom of *Lamo* hath been already spoken of in part; and all that needs be added is, that the capital of its name hath a good port, and is well walled and fortified. The king and government being *Mohammedans*, are often assaulted and at war with the rest of the inhabitants, who are idolaters, though the whole island, as has been already mentioned, is tributary to *Portugal*, like the rest of this small archipelago [c].

3. THE kingdom of *Mombaso* will be the subject of the next section.

Kingdom of Pemba.

4. THE isle and kingdom of *Pemba* is situate over-against the bay of St. *Raphael*, in the kingdom of *Melinda*. *De Lisle* gives it 4 deg. 50 min. latitude, and places it just over against the city of *Mombaso*. It is small and inconsiderable, though the princes of it assume the title of kings [d], like those of *Mombaso* and *Melinda*, if the *Portuguese* governor, under whom they live, do not bestow it upon them either through favour, bribery, or for the grandeur of the king their master. We shall see, in the following section, a more pregnant instance of this presumption.

Kingdom of Zanzibar.

5. THE isle and kingdom of *Zanzibar* is likewise situate over-against the bay of St. *Raphael*, between those of *Pemba*

[a] JARRIC, lib. iii. c. 13. SANUT, lib. xii. OD. BARBOS. DAVITY, DAPPER, &c. [b] DAPPER, & al. ub. sup. [c] JARRIC, BARBOS. & al. ub. sup. [d] Id. ibid.

and

and *Momfia*, about 8 or 9 leagues from the land [e]. It hath been tributary to *Portugal* ever since their fleet appeared on this coast, the king of it submitting to pay them the annual weight of gold, which *Sanut* says amounts to 100 mitigals of gold, and thirty sheep [f]. This island produces plenty of rice, millet, and sugar-cane; it hath whole forests of orange and citron trees, the latter of extraordinary height, and most odoriferous smell; it likewise abounds with rivers of excellent water, and drives a very considerable commerce with the adjacent kingdoms; insomuch that *R. Vasco*, during his short cruise of two months near its coasts, took no less than fourteen vessels from those islanders, richly laden with variety of merchandize, and mounting some pieces of cannon. There is between this island and the *Terra firma* a channel, or rather streight, so narrow, that no ship can pass it without being seen by both sides [g].

Tributary to Portugal.

Produce and commerce.

6. The other islands of *Quirimba*, *Amsia*, *Anisa*, &c. have little else worth notice except that they breed great quantities of large and small cattle, besides abounding with grain and fruits like those already mentioned; all which, except what is consumed among them, is conveyed to the inhabitants of *Terra firma*, within the *African* coast, and a great advantage is reaped from the commerce. That of *Quirimba* abounds with a coarser kind of manna, of greyish-red, and difficult to dissolve, though, in other respects, equally purgative with the best [h].

Other islands.

Vast herds of cattle.

A coarse sort of manna.

The inhabitants are weakly, slender, and meagre, though great feeders; their dress is much the same with that of the *Melindans*, both males and females, and the latter are equally fond of adorning themselves with gold and silver chains, bracelets, and other gaudy trifles, which, with the cotton stuffs, wherewith they cover their bodies from the waist downwards, they have from *Mombaso*, *Melinda*, and other parts of that coast, in exchange for their rice, sugar, fruits, and cattle. The men in general give themselves up to agriculture and commerce, for which they are better formed than for war. Their trading vessels are slightly made, and the timber fastened together by ropes, made of flags, instead of nails, and their sails are made of mats. Those only of *Zanzibar* are more strongly and better built, and have some cannon, as they commonly carry the richest merchandizes of that coast;

Rice; fruits; trading vessels.

[e] De Lisle. [f] Sanut, lib. xii. [g] Vid. Ramus. ubi sup. Ossorio, Davity, & al. ub. sup. [h] Teixeir. Gen. Pers. lib. i. c. 7.

whereas the greateſt part of the reſt are only laden with rice, fruits, and cattle [i].

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of the Kingdom and Iſlands of Mombaſo *and* Quiloa.

Iſlands and kingdom of Mombaſo.

WE join here theſe two iſlands together, becauſe they were under the government of one monarch, when the *Portugueſe* firſt ſailed to theſe coaſts; and though they have been ſevered, yet the manner of their being ſo, and other circumſtances relating to the cataſtrophe, are ſo linked and interwoven, as we ſhall ſee in their ſubſequent hiſtory, that they could not be eaſily divided, without continual repetitions; an inconvenience which ought by all means to be avoided in a work like this. We have already obſerved, in the laſt ſection, that that of *Mombaſo* is contiguous to that of *Melinda*, and only ſevered from it by the *Zebbeon Quilmanci*, a river we have deſcribed in its proper place [a], on the north ſides. Its extent towards the ſouth is not ſo unanimouſly fixed by geographers, ſome ſtretching its coaſt no farther than the mouth of the river of its name, where the iſland and city, which give that name to the reſt, are ſituate [b]; whilſt others have extended it as far as the *Cape del Gada*, in the 10th degree of ſouth latitude, according to *De Liſle*; but in this latter ſenſe he includes likewiſe that of *Quiloa* with it, as being once both ſubject to the ſame monarch, as lately hinted [c].

Extent of its coaſt.

Its ſituation.

As to the iſland of *Mombaſo*, it is ſituate under the 4th degr. 5 min. of ſouth latitude, in a convenient bay, made by the river above-mentioned, and is reckoned about 12 miles in circuit. The ſoil is exceedingly fruitful, and produces rice, millet, and other grain, variety of fruit-trees, and other vegetables and eſculents; here are alſo bred vaſt quantities of cattle, and variety of poultry; and the iſland abounds with excellent ſprings of freſh water. The climate is temperate, the air healthy, whatever the *Portugueſe* might pretend to the contrary, when obliged to abandon the city. The inhabitants live long, and at their eaſe, in the capital eſpecially, where they enjoy great plenty, with taſte and elegance,

Products.

[i] De his, vid. MAFFE, lib. viii. PIGAFET. lib. vi. & al. SANUT, & al. ub. ſup. [a] Page 393, & ſeq. [b] DE LISLE Atlas. [c] SANUT, MARMOL, OSSORIO, & al. RAMUS. & al. ſup. citat.

Their

Their bread, which is either of rice or millet, is made into flat cakes, and mixed with ſugar, herbs, and other ingredients, to give it a more agreeable taſte. Their drink is a kind of beer, either made of rice, honey, or ſome ſort of fruits, which are here excellent, particularly their oranges, ſome of which are very large, and of exquiſite taſte and flavour, even to the very rind, which might be eaten with pleaſure. Thoſe liquors they chiefly keep in veſſels of different ſorts and ſizes, neatly made of bullocks horns, as being leſs apt to break or burſt; and of the ſame materials are their drinking cups and other houſhold utenſils made; that commodity being there in great plenty, as are alſo the artiſts, who work it with great ſkill and neatneſs. Their cattle are alſo well fed and taſted, their paſture being in great plenty, and well watered; and ſome of their ſheep have thoſe large tails, frequently mentioned to weigh between 20 and 30 pounds; ſo that there is plenty of every neceſſary of life, as well as of people, whether natives or ſtrangers who reſort thither for commerce, by all whom it is as profuſely conſumed †. *Drink.*

THE city was once a peninſula, but hath been ſince turned into an iſland, by cutting a canal through the iſthmus, in ſuch a manner, that one nook of it covers the city, ſo that it is not ſeen till one enters the port [d]. The houſes are built after the *Italian* manner, of ſtone cemented with morter, and embelliſhed with curious paintings and other ornaments; the ſtreets ſtrait, though narrow; and the houſes contiguous, and terraſſed on the tops, ſo that one may walk upon them from one end to the other, without interruption; of which we take notice, becauſe it was from thence that the inhabitants moſtly annoyed the *Portugueſe*, when they made their hoſtile entry into the place, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. The city is defended by a ſtout citadel, into which the *Portugueſe* afterwards retired, when they could hold the town no longer: they were afterwards driven out of this laſt retreat, *an.* 1631, by an *Arabian* cheyk, who made it afterwards the place of his reſidence, and where the inhabitants of *Mombaſo*, as well as other trading merchants, applied to him for the liberty of commerce [e]. *Fine houſes.* *Citadel.*

BEFORE the town is formed by the ſea a moſt commodious bay, which opens in the form of a cockle-ſhell, into which the trading veſſels have all the depth and room to ſail and *Spacious bay and chanel.*

† RAMUS. MARM. SANUT, OSSOR. DAVIT. & al. [d] MARMOL. ub. ſup. lib. x. c. 2. [e] MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, OSSOR. LA CROIX, & al. ub. ſup.

tack

tack about that they can wiſh, the chanel being wide enough for the largeſt of them to enter with all their ſails diſplayed. Within this incloſure, on the farther ſide, is a dyke, or cauſeway, built of ſtone, which runs acroſs the chanel, over which one may paſs from one ſide to the other, at low water. Beſides the chanel, which ſurrounds the town, there are ſeveral other navigable ones, which run into the land; that which the city chiefly makes uſe of hath ſcarcely the breadth of a bow-ſhot in ſome places, and the entrance into the bay is defended by a ſtout bulwark, which the inhabitants raiſed ſoon after the arrival of *Vaſco de Gama* into the bay, *an.* 1497, and was likely to have been deſtroyed with his fleet, through his over-confidence in venturing into it, at the invitation of the governor, as hath been already obſerved in the laſt ſection [f]. So that, upon the whole, this port carries on as great a commerce with the iſlands and kingdoms adjacent, as any upon this coaſt.

HERE is great variety of inhabitants, ſome black, ſome white, olive, ſwarthy, *&c.* but moſt of them dreſs after the *Arabian* manner, and the richer ſort very ſumptuouſly, chiefly with the richeſt ſtuffs and ſilk, whilſt gold and ſilver tiſſue, and ſuch coſtly cloaths, is that of the women. The furniture of their houſes is no leſs elegant, conſiſting in rich carpets, paintings, hangings, and variety of utenſils and ornaments, all which are imported from *Cambaya*, *Perſia*, and other countries. The people are ſaid to be all more affable and civil to ſtrangers than any on this coaſt, though conſiſting of ſo many nations, complexions, and religions, as *Mohammedans*, Idolaters, and Chriſtians. They were formerly all Pagans, addicted to the groſſeſt ſuperſtitions of the *Bedowin* ſect. The *Portugueſe* made a ſmall number of converts upon their ſettling in this kingdom. The far greater part afterwards either returned to their old paganiſm, or turned *Mohammedans*, after the example of one of their monarchs, who, in the year 1631, had eſpouſed a Chriſtian, as he had been brought up in that religion; but then falling out with the *Portugueſe* governor, on account of ſome injuſtice or oppreſſion, drove him out of the citadel, maſſacred all that fell into his hands, and turned *Mohammedan*, in order to be protected by the *Turks* [g].

Various inhabitants.

Religions.

Imbis, a barbarous

BUT of all the various nations which have ſettled themſelves in the inland part of this kingdom, and made the moſt

[f] See before, p. 303, & ſeq. & MARM. lib. x. c. 2. [g] JARRIC, lib. iii. c. 13. MARM. OSSOR. RAMUS. DAVITY, & al. ub. ſup.

terrible

terrible figure in its wars, that of the *Imbis*, as they are called, *people, described.* is one of the moſt fierce, barbarous, and impious, of any upon theſe coaſts, if not of any upon the whole globe. The reader will ſee in the margin (B) the beſt account we can find concerning their extract and ſpreading themſelves into divers parts of *Africa*, in prodigious colonies. They have been ſo powerful formerly in this kingdom, that their monarchs could raiſe and lead an army of 80,000 men into the field. *Way of fighting.* When theſe are upon the point of engaging the enemy, their cuſtom is to cauſe whole herds of cattle to march at the head of their ranks. Theſe are followed by a number of men who carry fire before them; a dreadful emblem this, ſignifying no leſs, than that all who are made priſoners muſt expect to be roaſted and devoured by thoſe canibals. After theſe fire-bearers come the king's life-guard, armed cap à pied, and he in the center; after whom follows the body of the army. Dread- *Cruelty to their captives.* ful is the fate of thoſe who fall into his mercileſs hands, and the country through which he paſſes, where every man, wo-

(B) This monſtrous generation is ſuppoſed to be the curſed ſpawn of ſome of thoſe barbarous canibals that are ſettled in the neighbourhood of the *Cape of Good Hope*, being, like them, tall and well ſet, fierce and warlike, living altogether upon rapine and plunder, and feeding on the fleſh of their captives, and even of their own kindred, diſpatching thoſe that are ſick, in order to fit them for the ſhambles. Their drink is chiefly human blood, and their drinking-veſſels are made of mens ſkulls. Their weapons are poiſoned arrows, and long poles burned at each end (4).

This kingdom is not the only one into which they have diſperſed their infernal colonies; they have formerly overrun not only a great part of the eaſtern coaſt of *Africa*, but have penetrated even as far as *Arabia*, and committed the moſt horrid ravages, butcheries, and devaſtations, in ſome parts of it. And though they were either happily deſtroyed or driven out, yet we ſhall find them ſwarming in many other parts of *Africa*, though under other names; as the *Gallas*, and *Agans*, which infect the empire of *Abiſſinia*, the *Jaggi*, or *Jaggos*, in the kingdom of *Metamba*, and other parts of *Afric*, under that compound one of *Jambagettas*. But under whatever names we chance to meet with them in the ſequel, they retain their accurſed cuſtoms, and are juſtly looked upon as a moſt dreadful ſcourge from heaven, and by none more than by the *Abiſſinians*, where they have ſettled themſelves in ſeveral frontier provinces, and from thence make the moſt horrid incurſions into others, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

(4) *Jarric, Theſ. Ind. lib.* iii. *c.* 13. *Purchas Relat. lib.* vii. *c.* 18. *Davity, & al.*

man

man, and beaſt, are alike doomed to the moſt ſhocking and inhuman death and deſtruction, and every place to plunder, fire, and ſword.

Impious monarchs.

THESE helliſh monarchs are, by their diabolical ſubjects, worſhipped as gods, and aſſume the title of emperors of the whole terreſtrial, as the *Portugueſe* kings do over the aqueous globe; and that all the inhabitants of the earth ought to ſubmit to their yoke, and obey their commands. They carry their impiety ſtill farther, even againſt the Deity itſelf; and whenever annoyed either by rain or ſunſhine, arrogantly bend their bow againſt heaven, and, in revenge, let fly their impotent arrows and curſes againſt the ſun and ſkies [h]. And ſuch is the terror they ſpread where-ever they come, that the affrighted inhabitants chuſe to abandon their native dwelling, and throw themſelves under the protection of either the *Turks* or *Portugueſe*, rather than run the riſk of encountering ſuch a hoſt of incarnate furies. The former of theſe have indeed been ever zealous either to convert them to *Mohammediſm*, or to extirpate ſuch as refuſe it; but as that vermin is naturally of an unſettled and wandering nature, all they could do was only to drive them farther into the inland country, where themſelves have not yet been able to penetrate, and where they ſtill occupy vaſt regions unmoleſted, and practiſe the moſt deteſtable and bloody cuſtoms, even amongſt themſelves, as well as cruel ravages and butcheries in their excurſions; of both which we ſhall have occaſion to give ſome dreadful inſtances in the ſequel. And thus much ſhall ſuffice at preſent for the deſcription and hiſtory of this kingdom of *Mombaſo*. We ſhall reſume the latter after we have gone through our next article, with which it is too cloſely connected and interwoven, as was lately hinted, to be ſevered from it.

The Turks *their greateſt enemies.*

They are diſperſed over Afric.

ARTICLE II.

The Deſcription and Hiſtory of the Iſland and Kingdom of Quiloa, *al.* Xiloa.

The iſle and kingdom of

THIS iſland is ſituate, according to moſt geographers, near or upon the mouth of the river *Cuava*, or *Cuabo* and *Quiſimajugo*, under 8 degr. 20 min. of ſouth lati-

[h] De his vid. JARRIC Theſaur. Ind. lib. iii. c. 13. PURCHAS Relat. lib. vii. c. 2. §. 3. OSSORIO, lib. i. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

tude,

tude [1] (C), and was first discovered by the *Portugueſe*, *an.* 1498. It hath its name from its capital, a large opulent city, of which we ſhall ſay more in the ſequel. The kingdom which likewiſe bears its name, lieth on the continent over-againſt it, and extends itſelf about 200 miles along the coaſt, from north to ſouth (D); but how far towards the weſt, or inland, is not known. It is divided from the iſland by a narrow chanel, and the ſoil of both ſo near the ſame for goodneſs and fertility, that they are thought to have been for- Quiloa. *Its extent.*

[1] Fitau Hiſt. Conq. of the Portug. tom. i. p. 11. Davity, La Croix, & al.

(C) This ſo us ſeems a great miſtake of Father *Fitau*, and thoſe who have followed him (5); the mouth of the *Cuabo*, according to the lateſt diſcoveries, lying under the 17th and not the 8th degr. of ſouth latitude, unleſs we will ſuppoſe two rivers of the ſame name. *D'Anville* places the mouth of one, to which he gives the name of *King*, near the town of *Quiloa*, which bids fair to be that on which the iſland lies, and anſwers well enough to the 8th degree of latitude above-mentioned (6).

(D) We are told, however, (7) that the king of *Quiloa* was maſter of a great number of iſlands, very fruitful and well peopled; inſomuch that his dominions along this coaſt are ſaid to have extended near 300 leagues in length, when the *Portugueſe* appeared firſt in theſe parts; who had not been long acquainted with them before they ſtripped him of a conſiderable number of them. For at that time, we are told, that he reigned over the kingdoms of *Sofala*, *Cuama*, *Angos*, and *Mozambico* (8); though long ſince reduced to that only one of *Quiloa*, which is reckoned 400 miles from that of *Mozambico*.

Linſchot moreover tells us that, in his time, the *Quiloan* king was tributary to the emperor of *Monoemugi*, and that his whole kingdom was confined to that one iſland: if ſo, his caſe is ſtill much worſe, having been probably deprived by that potent prince, of his inland dominions, as he hath been of all his other iſlands on the coaſt; and, with this double aggravation to his misfortunes, his being become tributary to the one, and deprived by the other of a conſiderable branch of his former commerce with the kingdom of *Sofala*, which thoſe invaders have engroſſed to themſelves; ſo that at preſent there are but few veſſels that go from the one to the other, and the traffic dwindled to little or nothing, in compariſon of what it was when the *Quiloan* monarchs uſed to ſend their fleets thither, and brought thence vaſt quantities of gold, amber, and other valuable commodities, amounting to an immenſe value.

(5) *Fitau Conqueſt. des Portugais*, *Davity*, *Dapper*, *Martiniere*, *La Croix*, & *al.* (6) *See his map of Africa.* (7) *Vincent Le Blanc World ſurveyed.* (8) *Od. Barboſ. Linſchot. Guin. c. 8. part* ii. *c. 4. Oſſor. l. i. Davity, & al. Ramuſ. ſub Xiloa, & al. plur.*

merly

Inhabitants. merly contiguous. The king and his ſubjects are *Mohammedans*, and the latter partly black and partly tawny. They *Language.* all ſpeak the *Arabic* and ſeveral other languages, which they learn from the nations they traffic with. Their dreſs is that of the *Arabian Turks*, and much the ſame with that of *Mombaſa*, lately deſcribed; neither do they come behind-hand with them either in the finery and richneſs of it, or in the elegance *Elegant living and dreſs.* of living, as they enjoy the ſame plenty of all neceſſaries here as well as there [k]; the women eſpecially affect to go fine and gay, and with variety of ornaments about their necks, arms, wriſts, and ankles; one ſort in particular; *viz.* bracelets, made of ivory, curiouſly wrought, which, upon the death *Manner of mourning.* of a parent, huſband, or near relation, they break in pieces, in token of ſorrow; whilſt the men expreſs theirs by ſhaving their hair, and abſtinence from food [l].

We cannot give any certain dimenſions of this iſland, but have a much better account of its metropolis, which is large, rich, and well built. The houſes are of ſtone and morter, handſome, and after the *Spaniſh* manner. They are ſeveral ſtories high, and have each a pleaſant garden behind, well watered and cultivated, here being plenty of ſprings of freſh water; though that which they are forced to draw in ſome parts of the iſland is not near ſo pleaſant or wholeſome, which is owing to the lowneſs of the land about it. The houſes are finely furniſhed within, and terraſſed on the top with a hard kind of clay; and the ſtreets ſo narrow, like thoſe we ſpoke of in the laſt article, or, indeed, of moſt cities on this coaſt, that one may eaſily go from one ſide to the other from the top. On one ſide of the town is the citadel, where reſides the *Mohammedan* prince. It is adorned with ſtately towers, and ſurrounded with a flat-bottom ditch, and other fortifications. It hath two gates, one towards the port, whence one may ſee the ſhips ſailing in and out; and the other looking towards the wide ſea.

Fertile ſoil and climate. The country about *Quiloa*, though low, is yet very pleaſant, and fertile in rice and millet, fruits and good paſture; ſo that they breed abundance of cattle, beſides poultry of all ſorts, both wild and tame. They have fiſh likewiſe in great plenty, and very good [m]. The climate is likewiſe affirmed by moſt travellers to be very temparate and healthy; *Sanut* being the only author we know of who hath ventured to aſſert the contrary in all theſe reſpects; though this was probably done to excuſe the *Portugueſe* abandoning it [n].

[k] Id. ib. Ossorio, lib. i. Ramus. & al. [l] Vinc. Le Blanc Travels, pt. ii. c. 4. [m] Marmol, Ossorio, Davity, & al. ub. ſup. [n] Lib. xii.

We

WE read of another *Quiloa* on the continent, which ſome authors will have to be the ſame with the *Repta* of *Ptolemy*, becauſe diſtinguiſhed by the name of the old city [o]. It was built about 100 years ago, by the celebrated *Hali*, the ſon of *Hoſhein*, Soltan of *Shiraz*, or *Perſia*, who afterwards made it his reſidence. It is parted from that on the iſland by the river *Cuabo*, and a narrow arm of the ſea, on the ſouth of which it ſtands. That prince, being come into theſe parts, pitched upon that ſpot to build and fortify it, that it might be a kind of bulwark againſt the inſults of the *Caffers*: but whatever it might be in his and his ſucceſſor's time, it is ſince gone to decay, and is now but an inconſiderable place, and of no great commerce abroad; whereas this in the iſland, being chiefly inhabited by rich merchants, who traffic with the neighbouring kingdoms, and adjacent iſlands, for gold, ambergriſe, pearls, muſk, and other rich commodities, renders it one of the moſt opulent, as well agreeable cities on this coaſt [p]. Their trading veſſels are built much after the ſame manner as thoſe of *Mombaſa*; only with this peculiarity, we are told [q] that they are laid over, inſide and outſide, with a thick varniſh, made of frankincenſe inſtead of pitch.

City when built.

Bay and bulwark.

Opulence.

Trading veſſels.

IT is time now to come to the hiſtorical part of theſe two kingdoms; and, that we may proceed in ſuch order as to avoid all needleſs repetitions, and yet omit nothing worth our reader's notice, we ſhall begin with the foundation of the old city and kingdom of *Quiloa*, by the *Perſian* prince above-mentioned; that being the oldeſt tranſaction of moment we find concerning them. *Hoſhein*, who reigned in *Shiraz*, as we hinted above, left ſeven ſons behind him at his death; one of whom, named *Ali*, or *Hali*, being born of an *Abiſſinian* ſlave, and finding himſelf deſpiſed by the reſt of his brethren, reſolved to leave that kingdom, and to go ſeek his fortune elſewhere. As he was a prince of great prudence as well as courage, he quickly made choice of the coaſt of *Zanguebar* for the firſt trial, it being known to be a rich one, on account of its vaſt commerce, as well as of the gold mines on the continent. He accordingly embarked at *Hormuz*, with his ſmall company of friends and other adventurers, in two veſſels, and arrived ſoon after at *Magadoxa*, and thence proceeded to *Brava*, both which have been already deſcribed in this chapter [r]; but finding them already inhabited, he was obliged to proceed farther, and in queſt of ſome ſettlement

The hiſtory of Quiloa.

Hali, *the firſt founder, buys it of the* Caffers.

[o] MAFFE, Hiſt. Ind. lib. i. RAMUS. DAVITY, & al. ſup. citat. [p] MARMOL, OSSOR. SANUT, [q] OSSORIO, ibid. [r] Page 383, 385, & ſeq.

where

where he might be ſole maſter. He came at length to the bay of *Quiloa*, and having examined the advantageous ſituation of that peninſula, and conſulted in what manner he might beſt ſecure himſelf and his ſmall colony againſt the attempts of the *Caffers*, he eaſily obtained leave of them, by means of ſome preſents, to ſettle and fortify himſelf in it againſt the inſults of the *Arabs*, who were maſters of *Songo*, *Changa*, and other iſlands in that neighbourhood. It was not long before he had made his new ſettlement ſo ſtrong, and the harbour ſo convenient, as to be able to attempt the reduction of *Monfia*, and ſome other adjacent iſlands, by the aſſiſtance of his martial ſon; after which he aſſumed the title of king of *Quiloa*, and gave that name to this little ſtate.

Conquers ſome other iſlands. Aſſumes the royal title.

His firſt ſucceſſor *Hali*, ſurnamed *Bumalo*, reigned 40 years; and, for want of children, left the kingdom to his nephew, named *Hali Buſoloqueſe*, who reigned only four years and a half, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *David*. This laſt had not reigned above four years before he was driven out of his kingdom by the king of *Changa*, and retired to *Monfia*, which was one of the founder's firſt conqueſts, where he died. The king of *Changa*, now maſter of *Quiloa*, ſent one of his nephews, named *Hali Boubucoquer*, to be governor of it. He was two years after expelled by the inhabitants, who ſet up in his room *Hoſhein Solyman*, who was nephew to *David* the late diſpoſſeſſed king, and reigned ſixteen years. He was ſucceeded by another of *David*'s nephews, named *Hali Bendawd*, who, after a long reign of ſixty years, left the kingdom to his grandſon of the ſame name. This laſt had not reigned above ſix years before his ſubjects dethroned him for his tyranny, and ſet up his brother *Hoſhein Ben David* on the throne, who reigned twenty-four years. He was ſucceeded by *Soleyman*, a prince of the ſame family, who, after a two years reign, was beheaded by order of his ſubjects, who raiſed one of his ſons, named *David*, to the throne. *David* reigned 40 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Soleyman Hoſhein*, a warlike prince, who ſubdued the greateſt part of the coaſt of *Zanguebar*, and ſeized on the gold mines of *Sofala*, and of the iſlands of *Monfia*, *Pemba*, and *Zanzibar*. It was this prince who firſt raiſed the city of *Quiloa* to its greateſt ſplendor and opulence, and fortified it with a ſtout citadel, built of ſquare ſtone, flanked it with towers, and ſurrounded it with a ditch. He built alſo ſome handſome palaces, and other ſtately fabricks in the city, where moſt of the buildings were before of timber only. All which was completed within the ſpace of eighteen years, which was that of his reign. His ſon and ſucceſſor reigned only two years,

A liſt of his ſucceſſors drawn to the arrival of the Portugueſe.

A. D. 1500.

years, and left the kingdom to his brother *Talud*, who enjoyed it but one year, and left it to a third brother, named *Haſhen*, who reigned 25 years, and was ſucceeded by a fourth brother, named *Benji Soleyman*; who, during the 10 years of his reign, proved the moſt ſucceſsful of all his brethren, and was moſt proſperous in all his enterpriſes.

AFTER his death the crown fell to his nephew *Hali David*, who, after four years reign, left it to another prince, who held it 14 years, and left it to his grandſon *Haſhen*. This prince proved likewiſe very ſucceſsful during the 18 years of his reign, and was moreover an excellent prince. His ſon *Soleyman* reigned 14 years, and was treacherouſly murdered as he was coming out of the moſk. By his death the crown devolved on his eldeſt ſon *Haſhen*, who being then at *Mecca*, his brother *David* took the reins of government, and held them till his return, which was not till two years after, when he reſigned them to him again. *Haſhen* reigned 24 years, and left no iſſue, and, after his death, *David* reſumed the government, and enjoyed it the ſame number of years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Soleyman*, who was dethroned by his uncle *Haſhan*, 60 days after his coming to the crown. *Haſhan* died ſix years and a half after, and left it to his nephew *Taluf*, brother to the depoſed *Soleyman*.

TALUF reigned only one year, and after him another *Soleyman* reigned two years and four months, and was dethroned by an uncle of his name. This laſt reigned 24 years 4 months and 20 days, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Haſhan*, who reigned likewiſe 24 years, and left the throne to one of his brothers named *Mahamad*, who, after nine years, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Soleyman*, who reigned 22 years, and after him his uncle *Iſhmael Ben-Haſhan* 14 years. His ſucceſſor, who was prime miniſter, and raiſed to the throne by the people, had not reigned above a year before they depoſed him, and choſe one of the royal blood named *Mahmud*, but then reduced to extreme poverty, and whoſe reign proved as ſhort-lived, they having raiſed the old miniſter *Haſhan* to it, who reigned 10 years, and after him his ſon *Zayd* 10 more.

ZAYD was no ſooner dead than the prime miniſter ſeized on the throne, and held it one year. Upon his mounting it, he had ſubſtituted in his place of prime miniſter, one of his brothers named *Mahmud*, who had three brave ſons, againſt whom he conceived ſuch jealouſy, that he removed them as far as he could from his capital, under pretence of promoting them to ſome government; one of whom, named *Juſef*, was lord of *Sofala*. *Anaga*, who came to erect a fortreſs there, was ſlain, and the people choſe *Abd'alla*, the brother of

the late king *Zayd*, for their king. He reigned about a year and a half, and another brother of his about as long; after whose death the prime minister attempted to raise *Hasban*, the son of the late prime minister of the same name to the throne, but was opposed by the people, who chose in his room a prince of the royal family, named *Chombo*, but who was on the next year deposed, and *Hasban* again raised to the throne. Five years after he was again deposed in favour of *Braham* or *Ibraim*, the son of the late soltan *Mahmud*. *Ibraim* has not held the reins above two years before he was deposed in favour of his nephew *Alfudail*, whose reign proving but short, *Emir Braham*, the prime minister, declined making a fresh election of a king, but laid claim to the throne as being the son of the late *Soleyman*, and first cousin to *Alfudail*. However, tho' *Braham* was then master of the metropolis, the people never vouchsafed to give him the royal title, but only that of governor. And what helped to keep him up again them, was the contests which arose between the *Quiloans* and the *Portuguese* admirals. However we find that the *Alfudail* above-mentioned had left a son behind, whom he had by a *Abissinian* slave, who reigned afterwards in *Quiloa*, at the time when the kingdom was become tributary to that of *Portugal* as we shall see in the sequel of this history. We hope, in the mean time, our readers will not be displeased to have seen such a long series of monarchs preserved, and transmitted to us, through so many centuries, though little more can be found in it than their lineal descent from their first founder and the length of their reigns, as they have been conveyed to us by the *African* historian, often quoted in this part of the work * (E).

* Marmol, lib. ix. c. 38.

(E) It is plain however, by the short sketch which that author hath communicated to us, that those *Arabs* had a very regular method of preserving their records; and that the list above-mentioned is only an epitome of what was more fully deposited in them. We shall find in the sequel of this history that, at the time of *Almeid* the *Portuguese* admiral's reducing the city of *Quiloa* under tribute, there was a person in it eminent in power and learning, named *Mahmud Ancon*, on whom that commander would have bestowed the royal dignity, but who generously declined it in favour of one of the princes of the royal blood, whom he recommended to him, to which *Almeid* readily consented. And it is not improbable that it was upon this surprising occasion that the noble *Ancon* presented him with this extract of the *Quiloan* history, and regular succession of monarchs during the space of four hundred years, if not

IT is now time to return to our history of the *Portuguese* exploits and conquests on this coast, especially in the kingdoms of *Mombaso* and *Melinda*, where we left off.

THE reader may remember that their admiral *Vasco de Gama* left the king of *Melinda*, in pursuance of his order, with a special promise of taking that capital in his way, at his return for *Europe*. He proved as good as his word; and, among other valuable presents, sent by that prince to the king of *Portugal*, *Gama* took with him his ambassador to that court, who was to conclude a treaty of alliance and friendship between them [t]. He returned again on the following year, well satisfied with his reception and success at that court, and in the *Portuguese* fleet, bound for *India*, commanded by Don *Petro Alvarez de Cabral*, consisting of 13 ships and 1500 men. His orders were, among other things, to try, by all possible means, to obtain of the *Zamorin* of *Calicut* [u], a permission to built a fortress near that city, by which the *Portuguese* might be secure from the insults of their enemies in the carrying on of their commerce; and, in case of a refusal, to declare him an enemy, and treat him as such; and this we mention by-the-bye, to shew what methods they took to allure or frighten every prince or state into an alliance with the king of *Portugal*; and after what horrid and destructive manner they revenged the pretended affront of their refusal, not only on them, but on all their unhappy and innocent subjects, and all this under the specious cloak of religion, of which we shall quickly give some pregnant instances. However, what at present most chiefly concerns our subject, is, that *Cabral* was further ordered to take *Melinda* in his way, and to assure the king, in his master's name, that his embassy was very acceptable to him, and that he would omit nothing that was in his power to deserve the esteem and friendship of so worthy a prince.

Gama returns to Melinda, and sails homeward with an ambassador.

A. D. 1500. *Cabral brings back the Melindan ambassador.*

WE shall not enter into a detail of his adventures and disasters, which will be best seen in the history of *Portugal*, but relate only what passed on this coast between him and the

[t] Sup. p. 401, & seq. [u] De hoc, vid. sup. vol. ix. p. 274. & OSOR. lib. ii.

not the very archives from which it was taken. Accordingly *Marmol* adds, that *Ancon* assured him that the people were so displeased with *Ibraim* (as being only the son of a slave) that they would not admit of any king being set over them, unless he was descended from the royal family (10).

(10) *Lib.* ix. *c.* 38.

several kingdoms he stopped at, after his doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Arrival at Mosambico.

THE first place he touched at was the port of *Mosambico*, where he was to deliver some presents and a letter to the king from his master. But, in his way, meeting with two rich ships, lying at anchor near the coast, whose masters no sooner espied him than they made all the sail they could to escape him, he quickly came up to them, and took them; yet finding afterwards that they belonged to a prince related to the king of *Melinda*, he thought himself obliged to restore them, with all their gold and other valuables they had brought from *Sofala*.

Extent of the king's dominions.

HAVING performed his commission at *Mosambico*, and provided himself with a pilot for *Quiloa*, he went on coasting at a small distance from the shore, and observing the several fertile islands which lay in his way, and were either subject or tributary to that kingdom, extending in length about 200 miles [w]. Having at length reached the port of *Quiloa*, he sent a message to the king, named *Ibraim*, or, as others write it, *Braham*, or *Abraham*, acquainting him that he brought letters from the king of *Portugal*, by which he would easily perceive how desirous that great monarch was to enter into an alliance with him. He added, that he himself would have been proud of bringing them to his majesty, were it not inconsistent with his office, and the orders he had received not to leave the fleet on any pretence, begging of him, at the same time, to appoint some place upon the water, where he might have the honour of conferring with him about it.

Message to Braham.

His civil answer to it.

IBRAIM received the message with great marks of gratitude, and returned the following answer to the admiral: That he would chearfully embrace an opportunity of entering into an alliance of friendship with a prince for whom he had conceived the greatest esteem; and that seeing he could not have the pleasure of seeing *Cabral* on shore, he would give him the desired meeting on the water, by the very next day.

Reception at Quiloa.

Splendid interview with him.

He appeared accordingly, on the morrow, with his vessels, adorned in the richest manner, and attended with a splendid retinue, clad in purple embroidered with silver and gold, and armed with swords and daggers, the handles of which were set with diamonds; the water resounding with the music of their flutes and trumpets; whilst the *Portuguese*, on their part, saluted them with their cannon, and other demonstrations of joy; and *Cabral*, as well as the rest of the officers, who accompanied him in his long-boat, were cloathed in the

[w] OSOR. ub. sup. RAMUS. MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

most

moſt elegant manner. As ſoon as they were come up with the king's barge, *Cabral*, having ſaluted him in the moſt reſpectful manner, preſented him with the letters from king *Emanuel*, written in *Arabic*, and gave him the other particulars of his ambaſſy from him, all which were received with marks of the higheſt ſatisfaction and complacency; and it was agreed that *Cabral* ſhould, on the following day, ſend a proper perſon to land to give the finiſhing hand to the propoſed treaty of alliance. All this however was quaſhed before the time was come, by the intervention of the *Arabian* merchants of that city, who gave the king ſuch an odious and dreadful character of the *Portugueſe*, and their religion, with their conqueſts, piracies, tyrannies, reſtleſſneſs, and cruelty, wherever they got footing, that he was at once deterred not only from purſuing the negotiation, but from ever admitting them to trade in his dominions. And as he doubted not their giving him ſome ſignal marks of their reſentment on this occaſion, he ordered the garriſon of the city to be reinforced, and all other hoſtile preparations that are uſually made in ſea-port towns, when an enemy is in the harbour. *Cabral* was ſoon appriſed of all this, by the brother of the king of *Melinda*, then at *Quiloa*; and, to avoid all further hoſtilities and dangers, ſet ſail immediately for that kingdom, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy by the king, who took care to ſend him an immediate ſupply of proviſions and refreſhments, ſufficient for his whole fleet.

Ibraim *inſtigated againſt the* Portugueſe.

Breaks off with them.

Cabral *ſails away in a pet for* Melinda.

THE firſt thing which *Cabral* did, after his arrival, was to ſend the *Melindan* ambaſſador, whom he had brought back from *Portugal*, on ſhore, with the preſents which *Emanuel* ſent to his majeſty. The good old king was ſo highly pleaſed, that on that day he appeared on horſeback, richly dreſſed, and went to the ſea-ſide, where *Cabral* and his officers met and ſaluted him in the uſual form. *Cabral*, though earneſtly preſſed to make a longer ſtay, civilly declined it; and, having delivered two perſons into his care, who were ſent by *Emanuel* to penetrate into *Abiſſinia*, took his leave, and purſued his courſe for *India*, in which we ſhall follow him no further than by obſerving that he fell foul on all the *Arabian* ſhips that came in his way, in revenge of the diſappointment and affront which thoſe of *Quiloa* had occaſioned to him. However, the *Portugueſe* reſentment did not diſplay itſelf till the arrival of their new admiral upon this coaſt, four years after.

Is kindly received there.

Sails for India.

THIS was the ſame Don *Franceſco Almaed*, or *Almeid*, who was beſides inveſted with the character of viceroy of *India*; and after much ſlow ſailing and difficulty in doubling the *Cape*, ſteered his courſe directly for the iſland of *Quiloa*,

A. D. 1505.

Almeid's arrival. where he arrived about the latter end of *July*. The firſt thing which he did, upon his approaching the port, was to ſend a formal meſſage to the king with his compliments, and notice of his arrival, which that prince, however (whether out of hatred to his nation, or fear of his reſentment, or, as the *Portugueſe* hiſtorian words it, conſcious of his wickedneſs, inſtead of anſwering, left the city in the ſilence of the night *.

Braham abandons the city.

THE citizens, finding themſelves deſerted by their puſillanimous king, had immediate recourſe to the brave *Mahmud Ancon*, mentioned in the laſt note; and begged that he would lead them againſt the common enemy, promiſing to obey him, and fight in defence of their lives and liberties; whilſt *Almeid*, having waited ſome time for the king, or for ſome anſwer to his meſſage, and beginning to ſuſpect ſome hoſtile deſign, reſolved to attack the city in form, and ſtaid no longer than till the tide was at its height, which then commonly comes up to the walls of it, and then landed five hundred briſk fellows, whom he divided into two battalions; the one of 200 men, the command of which he gave to his ſon *Laurence*, and headed the other himſelf; at the ſight of whom, *Ancon* and his citizens fled alſo out of the town, ſo that the *Portugueſe* entered it without oppoſition. This failed not to alarm that ſuſpicious general, who, now dreading ſome treacherous deſign, ordered his men to halt, and his ſon, with his batalion, to proceed ſlowly, and with great circumſpection, and, on no account to ſuffer them to break their ranks. His precautions, however, proved needleſs, ſeeing the few that were left in the town were either ſuch as had neither courage nor ſtrength to oppoſe him; ſo that he ordered it to be plundered out of hand, and the ſpoil to be depoſited in a large houſe, where he diſtributed it amongſt his men, reſerving for himſelf one ſingle arrow.

The Portugueſe attack it, and enter it without oppoſition.

Builds a fort in it.

HIS next care was to ſet them about building a fort in a proper place, near the ſhore, to repel the enemy in caſe of need; and, whilſt that work was carrying on, ſent a meſſage to fetch *Mahmud Ancon* and the other citizens to him, who, upon their arrival, threw themſelves on their knees, and implored his mercy; but he quickly raiſed *Ancon* up, telling him and them that they had no cauſe to fear any thing from him, but rather to be thankful to be delivered from the uſurpation of a cruel and perfidious coward, and be reſtored to their liberty under the auſpicious reign, and by the ſingular clemency, of king *Emanuel*, a moſt powerful, and no leſs be-

Fair ſpeech to the inhabitants.

* OSORIO, ubi ſupra, lib. iv. & al. ſup. citat.

nevolent,

nevolent, prince. He then proceeded to recapitulate the many injuries and cruelties they had suffered under their daſtardly tyrant, and the bleſſings they might promiſe themſelves under the protection of the king his maſter; as a proof of which, he told them, he would raiſe *Mahmud Ancon* to the royal dignity, whoſe affection, fidelity, and conduct, they had ſo long and often experienced. Thus did the artful admiral cajole the now ſubdued and heartleſs *Quiloans* out of one ſlavery into a worſe; and, to conclude the ſcene with the greater ſhew of ſplendor, ſaluted him king of *Quiloa*, in the name of *Emanuel* his maſter, and placed a crown of gold upon his head; impoſing, at the ſame time, an annual tribute upon him, which he obliged him, by a ſolemn oath, to pay; and to behave, in all other reſpects, as a moſt faithful vaſſal to the crown of *Portugal* (F).

Mahammed *crowned king of* Quiloa.

THE admiral, having ſucceeded ſo far, beheld, with no ſmall pleaſure, the remainder of the people, who had abandoned the city, flock back again at the news of their old chief being now become their king; as well as the firſt marks of their loyalty

The citizens recalled to the city.

(F) It will not be amiſs to add here from *Marmol* ſome other ceremonies attending this mock kind of coronation, to ſhew our *Engliſh* readers a ſpecimen of the *Portugueſe* addreſs on theſe and the like occaſions. It was performed on a ſtage reared for the purpoſe, to which he made the new king ride in great pomp, mounted on a ſtately horſe, richly attired, and attended with the acclamations both of the *Quiloans* and *Portugueſe*. To his other royal ornaments he added a ſcarlet ſurtout, lined with white ſattin, and with gold buttons and button-holes, and a royal mantle of the ſame.

All the chief men of the city were ordered to be preſent at his inſtallation; and the nature of the ceremony eaſily drew thither the reſt of the people. Silence being commanded, a herald declared aloud the occaſion of their meeting in *Portugueſe*, which was interpreted to them in *Arabic*. The purport of which was, that *Braham*, or *Ibrahim*, *having, for his treaſonable miſdemeanors, forfeited his crown, the lieutenant-general of the king of* Portugal, *and his officers there preſent, having, by right of conqueſt, gained the poſſeſſion of it, did beſtow it in the name of the king their maſter, upon* Mahmud Ancon, *both as a reward of his merit and fidelity, together with the title of king; on condition that he ſhall pay the ſame tribute that* Braham *did to the crown of* Portugal.

The ceremony being ended, he was made to cavalcade it thro' the city in the ſame pompous manner, having a ſtandard borne before him, with the arms of *Portugal*, followed by all their trumpets, and other muſical inſtruments, the citizens marching behind, and crying, *long live king* Mahmud.

to their new lord the king of *Portugal*, which he had exacted from them, which were to assist his men in the compleating of the fort which he had begun, and, to stir them up to the greater dispatch, ordered his tent to be set up at the foot of it. He caused likewise some 8 or 10 of the adjacent houses to be demolished to make an esplanade between the city and fort, and on the sea-side caused some outworks to be made, and a large ditch to be dug round, to guard the place on that side, as well as on the land side. The fort, thus finished, was called *Fort St. James*, the patron of *Spain*, on account of their having entered the city on the eve of his festival. The last thing he did was to appoint a governor, and to leave a good garrison in it, together with a couple of vessels to guard the coast; eight days after which he steered his course towards *Mombaso*.

An esplanade made between the fort and city.

THUS far our two authors agree as to the promotion and coronation of *Mahmud Ancon*: but whilst the one leaves him in the quiet and chearful possession of his new kingdom, till he was treacherously murdered by an ungrateful prince, a friend of the deposed *Braham*, whom he had obliged, in a most singular manner, and afterwards to have been succeeded in the regal dignity by his own son [y]; the other [z] tells us, that that brave and noble prince, far from being satisfied with his exaltation to that dignity, took an opportunity, before *Almeid*'s departure, to divest himself of it in favour of a surviving son of the late king *Alfudail*, his particular friend, by an act of the most unprecedented gratitude and loyalty to the royal family; and prevailed upon the admiral to send for the young prince, and to settle the crown upon him, which was readily complied with, to the great admiration of all the *Portuguese*, who could not but highly applaud such a generous deed in an *Arabian* and *Mohammedan*, which, they were conscious, none of them could imitate.

Mahamed treacherously murdered.

A different account of it from Osorio.

A singular instance of his loyalty.

THE reader will see, in a few words, the substance of the two accounts, as they are differently related by our two authors, in the margin (G); whilst we resume the thread of our history,

[y] MARMOL, ubi sup. [z] OSORIO, lib. iv.

(G) According to *Marmol*'s account, the *Portuguese* were become so powerful and insolent upon that coast, that they made a prodigious number of rich captures, under pretence of their carrying contraband goods, making prisoners of the owners and sailors at their pleasure. Among others they took one coming from the island of *Angocha*, in which was the son of the king of *Tirendicanda*, then an inhabitant of *Quiloa*, whom the governor of the new fort caused to be seized and imprisoned, under

hiſtory. Whether it was *Alfudail*'s ſon, whom our author doth not name, or *Mahamed*, who was left in poſſeſſion of

der pretence that his father was at war with the *Portugueſe*, and a relation of the depoſed *Braham*. This, continues our author, induced the new king, who had not yet made any alliance with other princes, and was deſirous of being in friendſhip with his neighbours, to take this opportunity of laying an obligation on that prince, by redeeming his ſon, at the price of 3000 pieces of gold, and equipping him ſuitably to his rank, and ſending him back to his father; who no ſooner heard of it, than he diſpatched a meſſenger to him to thank him for his generoſity, and to invite him to an interview, to conſult about their mutual intereſt; adding, that he would then readily reimburſe him what he had laid out for his ſon.

The governor tried in vain to diſſuade *Mahmud* from the interview; alledging that the king, being an enemy to the *Portugueſe*, and a relation of *Braham*, he could expect no good reſult from it. *Mahmud* was deaf to his advice, and ventured himſelf with him in a veſſel attended by a ſmall retinue; and ſuch as ſhould carry the face of confidence and friendſhip, rather than fear or diſtruſt. But his ill-timed credulity coſt him his life, being ſtabbed with a dagger, as he was aſleep, by the perfidious prince, who palliated the horrid deed with ſaying, that he owed more to his own kindred than to him for the ſervice he had received him. His death occaſioned great conteſts in *Quiloa*, which were however quelled in part by the election of his ſon in his room. Thus far *Marmol*'s account.

That of the biſhop is as follows. When *Mahmud* came to pay his compliments to *Almeid*, after he had obtained of him the releaſe of the *Arabian* priſoners, he proceeded with a freſh requeſt to this purpoſe: "There having been a ſtrict "friendſhip between the late "king *Alfudail*, whom the "traitor *Braham* murdered, "and myſelf, and it being now "out of my power to reſign the "kingdom to him, I moſt earneſtly intreat you to let me "ſend for his ſon, and that you "will pleaſe to let me confer it upon him. I ſhall never prefer regal power or "wealth to my duty and allegiance; not that I think myſelf or my ſons unworthy of "that honour; yet, as the enjoying it and leaving it to "them, would be doing the "higheſt injuſtice to thoſe of "the late king, I ſhould think "I deſerve to be branded with "everlaſting infamy, and was "intailing the greateſt guilt "and diſgrace on my poſterity; I rather chuſe to leave "them this example of my fidelity and honeſty, than the "richeſt patrimony, or the "moſt opulent kingdom." This loyal requeſt was highly admired by the *Portugueſe*, eſpecially by the admiral, who ſent out of hand for *Alfudail*'s ſon, and inveſted him with the regal dignity, as the heir apparent to the crown (12).

(12) *Confer. Marmol, lib.* ix. *c.* 39. *& Oſor. lib.* iv. *Ramuſ. & al.*

the

the *Quiloan* throne, (though the latter seems to us the most probable, because he was actually slain, some time after, by *Tirecundus*, a friend of *Braham*, though not so soon after his elevation), it is certain that the face of affairs altered quickly after *Almeid*'s departure, and the good understanding that seemed to reign between the *Arabs* and *Portuguese*, was soon turned into distrust and resentment; king *Emanuel* giving the first occasion, by depriving the *Quiloans*, as well as the other kingdoms on that coast, of one of the most advantageous branches of their commerce; *viz.* that with *Sofala*, of which he was now become master, and was resolved to engross wholly to himself; for this proved the source of such frequent depredations, or rather piracies, under the specious pretence of searching for, or punishing those of the natives who carried contraband goods, as if the king of *Portugal* had been really what the chief of the *Imbis* called him, the absolute sovereign of the sea [a]. The commerce, both on that coast and adjacent islands, was almost wholly interrupted, and the natives quite impoverished; whilst the *Portuguese* gained immense riches by their tyrannic depredations.

New tumults in the city.

King Emanuel the chief cause of them.

Commerce at sea obstructed.

AT length such heavy and repeated complaints came from all these parts to the viceroy of *Goa*, that he saw it absolutely necessary to send one of his officers named *Vaul* thither, to put the most speedy end he could to these disorders, by forbidding all those dreadful piracies on the one hand, and going through all the trading ports, and inviting the natives to resume their wonted commerce, with promises that it should be free for the future from all molestation, and this in the viceroy's name, and that of the king of *Portugal*. This, in some measure, revived the spirits of the natives, and in particular of the *Quiloans*, many of whom had before abandoned that city, and gone to settle at *Mombasa*, *Melinda*, *Zanguibar*, and other parts, and returned again at this news, though a still greater number staid away.

Vaul sent to suppress the Portuguese piracies.

ALL this while the city of *Quiloa* was strangely divided, *Braham* having still a strong party in it, who preferred him, as being of the royal blood, though by a slave, to *Mahmud* or his son, who were of mean extraction; but the governor and his *Portuguese*, and as many of the *Arabs* as they had drawn into their interest, stuck so close to the new made king, that *Braham* finding he could gain nothing against him by open force, resolved to destroy him by treachery; and, to that end, hired a resolute fellow to assassinate him. Here again our authors differ afresh; one telling us that he missed

New dissensions.

[a] See before, p. 413.

his

his blow, and only gave him a wound in the arm, which did not however prove dangerous, though the aſſaſſin was ſeized and put to death [b]. Whereas the other affirms, that he actually murdered him, and that his ſon, named *Hagi Hoſhein*, whom *Almeid*'s governor had raiſed to that dignity, was choſen in his room, as we obſerved in the laſt note from him. But, adds the ſame author, this, inſtead of quelling, greatly increaſed the diſcontent, becauſe he immediately inſiſted upon waging war againſt *Braham*, as the murderer of his father; though in other reſpects he did ſeveral public acts to gain their favour; ſo that on a ſudden the city was broke out in open revolt, upon hearing that he had engaged *Mano Manſa*, a powerful neighbouring prince, to attack *Braham* by land, whilſt he, unexpectedly, fell upon him by ſea.

Braham *ravages the country.*

THIS revolt did not, however, divert him from his deſign; on the contrary, he and his ally ſucceeded ſo well in it, that *Braham* was forced to flee, whilſt they ravaged the whole country, and carried away priſoners all that had engaged on his ſide. *Hagi Hoſhein* at length was now grown ſo haughty and inſolent, as to ill treat the kings of *Melinda*, *Zanguibar*, and other *Arabian* princes; which ſo highly provoked them, that a war ſoon enſued, in which the *Quiloans* loſt many of their citizens, and ſuffered ſo much, in other reſpects, from thoſe princes, as well as from the *Caffers*, on his account, that his very name was become ſo odious, that it was not mentioned without ſome execration. At length both the citizens and *Arabian* chiefs agreed to ſend a deputation to the viceroy of *Goa*, to beg that, in order to put an end to thoſe deſtructive feuds, he would reſtore the depoſed *Braham* to the crown, or beſtow it on his nephew *Nicanto*, for whom they had already declared, and made ſome attempts to raiſe to the throne. The viceroy accordingly ſent orders to the governor of *Quiloa* to reinſtate the former; but the governor, not daring to truſt him ſo far, cauſed the latter to be crowned, and *Hoſhein* to be depoſed; who, not brooking his diſgrace, retired to *Mombaſa*, where he died ſoon after.

THE new king behaved, during the two firſt years of his reign, like a wiſe and good prince; but growing afterwards more debauched and tyrannic, became as odious to his ſubjects as he had been admired by them. And, to complete his misfortune, his friend the governor's time being expired, a new one arrived, who proved leſs favourable to him; whilſt, on the other hand, *Braham*, enraged to ſee him preferred before him, declared war againſt him. The Chriſtians ſuffered

Nicanto *grows odious.*

Braham *makes war againſt* Nicanto.

[b] OSORIO, & al. ſup. citat. ubi ſup.

greatly

The Christians great sufferers by it.

greatly in this conteſt, and many of them were ſlain in fighting againſt him. At length *Braham* got the better, and made his entry into *Quiloa*, at the head of his *Caffers*, who were commanded by his brother *Mingo*. The new governor and his nephew were ſoon after made priſoners, and *Nicanto* defeated at the head of forty Chriſtians, which were all that were then able to take up arms, and performed wonders in that encounter, to ſhew his fidelity to the *Portugueſe*. In the mean time there arrived an order to the governor for demoliſhing the fortreſs, (wherein the reaſons for building it were diſapproved) and he and his garriſon were to remove to the iſland of *Zocotora*, lately taken by *Triſtran de Cugna*. The governor had, it ſeems, before this time, depoſed *Nicanto*, and ſent his nephew to *Braham* to invite him to reſume the regal dignity. *Nicanto* had accordingly retired to the iſle of *Quirimbo*, where he died miſerably ſoon after, and *Braham* came and took poſſeſſion of the *Quiloan* crown; and having by his late depoſition and diſgrace become more prudent, governed the iſland peaceably and happily, and taught his children to do the ſame after him; that is, as our author words it, by a cloſe adherence to the ſervice and intereſt of the king of *Portugal*, and an expeditious diſpatch of his affairs[c]. Thus was this iſle and kingdom happily freed, if not from a ſtate of ſubjection and tribute, yet at leaſt from the tyranny and oppreſſion of a *Portugueſe* governor and garriſon, which were a conſtant nuiſance to the natives both at land and ſea.

Braham *enters* Quiloa.

Takes the governor priſoner.

The fort demoliſhed.

The garriſon ordered to Zocotora.

Nicanto *depoſed.*

Almeid *arrives at* Mombaſo.

IT is time now to follow the *Portugueſe* admiral to *Mombaſo*, the next kingdom on which he made a new and more ſucceſsful attempt than his predeceſſors had done. We have already obſerved that the capital of it is ſituated on a peninſula, made ſince into an iſland by cutting of a chanel on the land ſide[d]. It lies between *Melinda* on the north, and *Quiloa* on the ſouth, and pretty near at the ſame diſtance from both. As ſoon as the admiral came near it, he ordered his captain to ſound the depth of the ſhore all the way; for though he had two expert *Arabian* pilots, who aſſured him that there was a ſufficient depth of water for him to come cloſely to it, yet would he not ſo far confide in them as to venture nearer till he had it confirmed by him, that he might make his approaches accordingly.

His great caution.

[c] MARMOL Afric. in fin. lib. ix. & al. ubi ſup.

[d] See before, p. 408.

IT

It was on the 30th day of *Auguſt* when he anchored in view of the city with eleven large ſhips. The city had neither walls nor any other fortifications, ſaving two old towers towards the water-ſide, built of ſtone, and ſurrounded with a ditch, and an old bulwark of earth, on which the inhabitants had planted a battery of ſeven or eight cannon, which they had taken out of a *Portugueſe* ſhip which had been wrecked near it. With theſe they immediately began to annoy the above-mentioned captain *Gonzalo Pavia*, as he was ſounding the bay, who returned their fire with intereſt from his larger guns; a ſhot from which happening to light on their magazine of powder, ſet it on fire; which ſo terrified the garriſon, that they abandoned the bulwark, and fled into the city. By the next morning, *Almeid* was come up cloſe to the place with his whole fleet, which he divided into two ſquadrons, in order to attack it in two different parts, leaving his ſon *Lawrence* with one them before the city, whilſt he with the other went and poſted himſelf behind a nook of land, whence he ſent two armed barks to ſail round the iſland, and poſted two of his ſhips at proper places, to hinder the inhabitants from retiring into the continent, as thoſe of *Quiloa* had done. The two barks being come back, brought with them a *Moor*, whom they had taken, and who acquainted him that the king had hired 1500 *Caffers*, beſides his own garriſon, to defend the city, and that he had expreſsly forbid them all to go out of the city under pain of death.

One of his captains ſet a magazine on fire.

At this news *Almeid* thought proper, before he began any hoſtilities, to diſpatch one of his officers to the king with a meſſage of peace, and offers of friendſhip from the great and potent *Emanuel*, with large promiſes of his favour and protection, and a copious diſplay of the many advantages that would accrue to him and his kingdom by becoming his ally and tributary; adding, that it could be no diſhonour to the king of *Mombaſo* to acknowledge ſuch a mighty monarch for his ſovereign, ſeeing ſo many other conſiderable princes, both in *Africa* and *India*, had voluntarily ſubjected themſelves to his authority. He concluded, however, after the uſual manner of his nation on ſuch occaſions, with telling him, that if he refuſed his generous offers, he ſhould be obliged to compel him to it, and force him to live happy under the dominion of one of the beſt of princes. The meſſenger drew near accordingly, attended with one of the *Arabian* pilots, which they had brought from *Quiloa*, and deſired to be admitted to the king, and deliver the admiral's peaceful meſſage to him; but the inhabitants bid him at his peril to attempt to land, and threatened to tear him in pieces, if he did not immediately retire;

Sends an officer to the king;

who is repulſed with diſdain.

retire; bidding him, in ſcorn, to go back to his ſhips, and let his maſter know, that he had not now to do with the women of *Quiloa*, but with men of courage and valour, as he ſhould find them to his coſt, if he attempted to enter the port with his fleet. *Almeid*, provoked at his anſwer, was going to reply to it with the fire of his artillery; but, upon cooler thoughts, was willing to be firſt informed of the ſtrength of the place by better hands; and, on that very night, ordered a couple of his captains to go on ſhore, and ſeize on ſome of the inhabitants, from whom, by fair or foul means, he might get intelligence of the king's ſtrength and deſign. They accordingly landed with great ſilence; and brought back with them, ſoon after, a perſon who proved to be one of the king's domeſtics and friends, and acquainted him, that the king his maſter, upon hearing of the taking of *Quiloa*, had, beſides his own army, taken into his ſervice 4000 mercenaries, and expected 2000 more. That he had moreover, a large magazine of arms, and was provided with all other neceſſaries for a brave defence, and was able to repel a much greater army from his city and fortifications.

The ſtrength of the town, confirmed by freſh intelligence.

The ſiege of it reſolved on.

ALMEID, nothing diſcouraged at this report, reſolved to attack the place on the very next day, which was the 15th of *Auguſt*, and the feaſt of the Virgin *Mary*'s aſſumption; and ordered his ſon, with ſome of his officers, to land with all expedition, to ſet fire to that part of the town which ſtood neareſt the ſhore, and deſtroy the barricades, with which they had ſtopped up the entrance of the fleet on that ſide; but with orders, if they met with too ſtrong an oppoſition, to retire as faſt and as well as they could. His commands were executed with ſuch ſpeed and ſucceſs, that many houſes were all on a blaze, before the townſmen could make any oppoſition, the admiral having ordered a conſtant fire of his artillery to be made, to cover their deſcent. They at length collected their forces to that ſide, and attacked the beſiegers with great bravery. A fierce onſet ſoon enſued, in which 70 of the garriſon were killed upon the ſpot, and but two on the *Portugueſe* ſide. All this while the fire ſpread with ſuch fury and devaſtation, that the inhabitants were doubly diſtreſſed, being neceſſitated to fight the enemy, and extinguiſh the flames, which threatened the deſtruction of the whole city. And ſuch was the violence of the heat, that the *Portugueſe*, no longer able to bear it, were forced to retire to their ſhips.

Part of it ſet on fire.

The diſtreſs of the inhabitants.

Almeid *lands, and*

ON the next morning, before break of day, the fire ſtill giving ſufficient light to enter the town, the admiral, as had been agreed, eaſily gained the height of the ſea-coaſt, attended

tended with his men, and made towards the royal palace, without meeting with any oppoſition; but ſuſpecting there might be ſome ambuſh, forbore beginning the attack till it was broad day-light; when finding the ſtreets clear and defenceleſs, he ventured through them in his way to the palace; whilſt his ſon *Lawrence* headed his men againſt another quarter of the town, as there was no wall about it to obſtruct their entrance. Theſe, however, met with no ſmall oppoſition when they came into the ſtreets and lanes, which they found ſo narrow and crouded by the inhabitants, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty and danger that they could force their paſſage through vollies of ſtones and darts, which were ſhot at them from the windows and tops of the houſes, and obſtructed their purſuit of thoſe who annoyed them in front, after they had forced them to give way. This at length enraged them to ſuch a degree, that they ſet about burſting open the doors, and forcing their way, up the ſtairs, to the top; where, with incredible fury, they quickly cleared the row of thoſe annoyers, by throwing ſome down headlong, killing others, and putting the reſt to flight, the houſes being all contiguous, and the roofs a continued flat from end to end, as we have elſewhere obſerved [c]. But even then the inhabitants ſoon found out a way to ſpoil that deſtructive expedient, by demoliſhing here and there a houſe, and preventing the enemy's proceeding further; by which ſtratagem, *Lawrence*, who commanded the van, and *Novio*, who headed the rear, were ſo effectually parted, that they could no longer aſſiſt each other, but lay expoſed again to the ſtones and darts which were diſcharged at them on both ſides. This obliged them to have recourſe to their firſt expedient, and force their paſſage into the roofs of other houſes; where, leaping from one to the other, they re-united again, drove all before them, and got rid of all oppoſition and danger.

makes to the palace.

The Portugueſe *in imminent danger.*

Stratagem to ſave themſelves from it.

DURING the dreadful conteſt in this part of the city, *Almeid* and his men had been as cruelly infeſted in every ſtreet through which they were to paſs to gain the palace; the people diſcharging continual ſhowers of darts and ſtones from the windows and the tops of the houſes. But he had had the precaution to order a file of muſqueteers and bowmen to march juſt before him, and to make a continual diſcharge of their arms againſt the windows and terraces; while he did the like againſt thoſe *Arabs* who oppoſed him in front; by which means they got at length to the palace, without any great loſs.

Almeid gains the royal palace.

[c] See before, p. 409.

THEY

which is abandoned by the king.

THEY were not a little ſurpriſed to find the place deſtitute of guards within and without; but at all hazards began to burſt open the gates, and to crowd into it with great eagerneſs, meeting with only a few *Arabs* in their way, whom they quickly diſpatched, or put to flight; and, without any farther oppoſition, made themſelves maſters of it. For whilſt they were breaking into it, the puſillanimous king had given them the ſlip through a back gate, with his wives and family, and as many of his houſhold as could follow him, and was retired into a neighbouring wood of palm-trees, where they lay concealed for a while.

Lorenzo *marches to the palace.*

IN the mean time Don *Lorenzo*, being appriſed that the corps of reſerve was in danger, marched with all ſpeed to their relief; and, having repulſed the *Arabs*, joined his forces with them, and marched directly to the palace, which he found already taken, and guarded by *Pedro Bermudio*, by *Almeid*'s orders; and from him they learned the particulars of their forcing into the caſtle, and of the king's flight. This laſt news was no ſooner ſpread through the city, than the inhabitants and garriſon, who, till then, had behaved with great valour and conduct, in defence of the place, began to ſlacken their courage, and to think of their own ſafety, eſpecially after they found the *Portugueſe* had ſet up their ſtandard and the croſs on the walls of the palace, and burned ſome merchant veſſels that lay in the harbour; ſo that a general panic had already diſperſed the greateſt part, and the reſt lay concealed where they could avoid the enemy's reſentment.

The king ſends terms of accommodation;

WHILST the *Portugueſe* ſoldiers were refreſhing themſelves after their great fatigue, a new object appeared at a diſtance, which drew the attention of *Almeid*. It was one of the *Arabs*, who had followed the king into the wood, and was now come out with a white flag in his hand, which he waved to them, as if deſiring a parley. Upon which a man was immediately ſent to know what he had to offer; who anſwered, that the king would engage to become vaſſal and tributary to *Portugal*, on condition the city was exempt from being plundered; and that he begged to have an interview with him about it, and ſome hoſtage for his ſecurity. *Almeid* ſeemed at firſt willing to lend an ear to the propoſal, but would not ſend any other hoſtage than his gauntlet, and afterwards his helmet. But theſe not being looked upon as ſufficient pledges, and the king not appearing, the ſoldiers began to murmur at it, ſome being for plundering the city out of hand, and others for attacking the king in his intrenchments. But *Almeid*, thinking this laſt expedient would prove too danger-

which are rejected.

ous,

ous, and difficult, as the wood might ſerve them for an advantageous fence againſt him, rejected it, and contented himſelf with having made himſelf maſter of ſo conſiderable a place, and immediately gave it up to be plundered, and diſtributed its ſeveral quarters amongſt his men. The ſpoil was inconſiderable, according to ſome writers, the inhabitants having timely conveyed away their moſt valuable effects; though others will have it to have been ſo great that they were obliged to leave a great part of it behind [f]; but all agree that he found a great quantity of arms and engines of war. The number of the ſlain was, of the *Mombaſans* 1500, and of the *Portugueſe* only five, one of whom, an ancient captain, named *Ferdinand Decio*, died of a wound in his foot from a poiſoned arrow. About 2000 were made priſoners, of whom *Almeid* kept 200 of the moſt conſiderable, and ſome of the handſomeſt women, and releaſed the reſt. To conclude this cataſtrophe, the ſoldiers had no ſooner done glutting their avarice, than their general ordered them to ſet fire to the city at three different quarters, by which above three parts of it were reduced to aſhes; tho' the poor remainder of it helped to invite its forlorn citizens to re-people and re-build it by degrees. What became of the unfortunate king we are not told; it is not however improbable that he went and put himſelf under the protection of his next neighbour the emperor of *Monoemugi*, to whom he became a vaſſal and tributary for that part of his kingdom which lies on the continent, whilſt the city and iſland of *Mombaſa* quickly reſumed its ancient grandeur, by becoming the reſidence of the king of *Melinda*, the old friend and ally, as well as vaſſal, of *Portugal*, and of the *Portugueſe* governor of all that coaſt. As for *Almeid*, he ſet ſail ſoon after for *Melinda*, in order to ſettle, probably, with that prince, the conditions on which he was to become poſſeſſor of *Mombaſa*, under the king his maſter; but, being prevented by a ſtorm, was obliged to put into a bay about three leagues ſhort of it; whence he ſent his compliments and excuſe for not being able to wait upon him in perſon, with the preſents ſent to him by the court of *Portugal*. He ſtaid no longer here than till he had received an anſwer to his meſſage, and a plentiful ſupply of proviſions from that monarch; after which, being joined by ſome other of his ſhips, he ſet ſail again, in queſt of ſome rich *Arabian* ſhips, which he was appriſed, by good intelligence, would paſs by that way, in leſs than a month, and

The city plundered and ſet on fire.

Almeid's departure.

[f] Conf. MARMOL, lib. x. c. 2. OSORIO, lib. iv. RAMUS. & al. ſup. citat.

fall into his hands if he kept a good look-out [5]: but whither we ſhall follow him no farther.

SECT. III.

The Kingdom of Moſambico.

Kingdom of Moſambico.

SAILING ſtill farther ſouthward on the ſame coaſt, the next kingdom of any note (A) is that called *Moſambico*, from its capital of that name, ſituate on an iſland under the 16th degree of ſouth latitude, and is the chief of the three iſles which compoſe this kingdom; the others are called by

[5] Osor. ubi ſup. &c.

(A) We ſay of note, becauſe it would carry us beyond our bounds to deſcribe all thoſe that lie on this coaſt, concerning which we know but few particulars beyond their names and ſituation, worth our readers notice.

To give one inſtance for all, we meet with two ſuch kingdoms or ſtates between that of *Quiloa*, mentioned in the laſt ſection, and this of *Moſambico*; *viz. Mongalo* and *Angos*. The former is a ſmall kingdom near the mouth of the *Cuama*, well peopled, moſtly with *Arabs*, who are *Mohammedans*, and drive a good commerce with that of *Monomotapa*, in gold, elephants teeth, gums, &c.

The other is called *Angos*, from its capital, and by the *French* and *Italians Angoche* and *Angochia*, which ſignifies anguiſh; this capital is ſituate on another branch of the *Cuama*, about 160 leagues from its other mouth. This kingdom is much ſmaller than that of *Mongalo*, which is ſaid to extend far weſtward into the continent. Both of them are fruitful, producing abundance of rice and millet, and breed great quantities of cattle. The inhabitants of both are moſtly *Mohammedans*, but intermixed with Negroes, who are Idolaters, and are remarkable for the lowneſs of their ſtature. They go naked from the middle upwards; the reſt they wrap up with pieces of ſilk and cotton, wear a turban, or go bare-headed, according to their circumſtances. They are all given to traffic, and chiefly with the kingdoms of *Quiloa*, *Mombaſo*, *Melinda*, and *Monomotapa*, and in much the ſame ſort of merchandizes.

Theſe are all the particulars we know of theſe kingdoms, and that only with relation to the ſea-coaſt; but of the inland we know ſtill leſs, except that the inhabitants are a brutiſh generation, who go ſtark naked, and live chiefly on the fleſh of elephants and other wild beaſts (1).

(1) *De his vid. Od. Barboſ. ubi ſup. Pigafet. Congo. lib.* ii. *c.* 28. *Linſchot. Guin. c.* 7. *Le Blanc. pt.* 2. *c.* 5. *Davity, Dapper, La Croix, & al.*

the

the *Portugueſe St. George* and *St. James*, and all three lie on the mouth of the river *Magincata* or *Megincata*, between the kingdom of *Quiloa*, ſpoken of in the preceding ſection, and that of *Sofala*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the next [a].

THE celebrated *Vaſco de Gama*, often mentioned in this chapter, was the firſt *European* we know of, who diſcovered and came to an anchor near it, after his doubling the *Cape of good Hope*; and here it was that he informed himſelf of the inhabitants about the main deſign of his voyage, the finding out a way into *India* by ſea; and about the people who lived on this coaſt: and here it was that he was appriſed of the vaſt commerce which was carried on by them from one kingdom and ſea-port to another, and, among other particulars, that this iſland, which they told him was ſubject to the then king of *Quiloa*, was one of the moſt conſiderable marts on all the eaſtern coaſt; that it ſent ſhips into *Arabia*, and many other parts of the world, and was reſorted to by merchants from thence, who imported great variety of the richeſt commodities in great quantities: they added, that he had paſſed by a coaſt called *Sofala*, which abounded with gold mines, and was likewiſe a place of great commerce. For all which informations *Gama* gratified theſe kind *Arabs* with an elegant collation, and ſome ſmall preſents. *Firſt diſcovered*, A. D. 1497.

WE have had occaſion to mention the kind reception which he met with at firſt from the brave governor *Zacocia*, who ſuppoſed them to be *Mohammedans* like himſelf, and the greateſt part of the inhabitants, and the repulſe he gave him, upon the diſcovery of his being a Chriſtian †; which ſhews that the conqueſt and behaviour of the *Portugueſe* on the weſtern coaſt had by that time reached this, and had already rendered their name no leſs odious than dreaded: ſo that it was with great difficulty that the admiral eſcaped being deſtroyed by thoſe zealous *Mohammedans*. His ſucceſſors on the coaſt proved more fortunate in a ſhort time, as may be judged by the conqueſts they have made on it, and particularly on this iſland; upon which, having artfully obtained leave from one of thoſe *Arabian* cheiks to build a fort, which might be a ſafeguard to them both, they have ſince made themſelves maſters of it, ingroſſed the whole commerce, and made that port one of the ſecureſt harbours to reſt and refreſh; or, if the winds and weather do not favour, even to winter commodiouſly in, in their paſſage to and from the *Eaſt-Indies*. The only miſfortune is, that the iſland lying low, and the town ſurround- *The iſland deſcribed.*

[a] SANUT, OD. BARBOSA, LINSCHOT, PIGAFETA, DAVITY, & al. † See before, p. 402.

ed with marſhes, the air is not quite ſo healthy as could be wiſhed; but in all other reſpects it abounds with almoſt every conveniency for life and pleaſure, and with moſt products, as well as manufactures, of that and other parts of the world.

In want of water. It labours however under a ſcarcity of freſh water, having only one ſpring to ſupply it, which riſes among ſome palm-trees at a ſmall diſtance from the town, but which is quickly exhauſted: ſo that they are obliged to fetch moſt of it from a place called *Cabbacero*, on the continent, and to preſerve it in large earthen jars. They have likewiſe very large ciſterns to receive all the rain water they can, both for their kitchen and their gardens.

The iſland of *Moſambico*, though the largeſt of the three, is nevertheleſs very ſmall, not being above two bow-ſhots in breadth, and about ſix in length, and about two miles from the continent. The bay is about three miles in circuit, ſo that the points of land on each ſide advance into the ſea. The other two of *St. George* and *St. James*, lie on each ſide of it, facing the continent in a direct line with it. Over-againſt that of *St. George*, and about a mile from it, is the cape called by the *Portugueſe Cabo Cetra*, which is a ſmall peninſula, joined to the continent by a ſmall neck of land, which is covered with the ſea at high, but is fordable at low water. There are *Several other iſlands near it.* ſome ſmaller iſlands between that and the head-land, inhabited by *Mohammedans*, the moſt conſiderable of which are thoſe of *St. Chriſtopher*, of the *Holy Ghoſt*, *Magliaglia*, *Comoro*, *Anzama*, and *Majotta* [b]. The bay, which ſerves for a haven both for the iſlands and continent, is convenient and ſafe, ſeldom having leſs than eight or ten fathom depth of water, and that ſo clear that one may ſee every bank, rock, and ſhallow, and may ſail into it without a pilot. To make the town of *Moſambico*, one muſt ſail between thoſe of *St. George* and *St. James* and the continent, leaving the former on the right, and the latter on the left, from ſouth to north; by this rout one comes ſafely and eaſily to the fort, and the ſhips lie ſheltered from every wind [c].

The city deſcribed. The city of *Moſambico*, according to the *Dutch* pilot *Verheoven*'s journal, is very handſome, the houſes well built, eſpecially the churches and convents, and the fort or caſtle is about a muſket-ſhot from the town. Much the ſame deſcription of it is given by captain *Paul Caerden*, laſt quoted, who adds, that the convent of the *Dominicans* is likewiſe an

[b] Linschot Guin. c. 8. Moneth. voyag. & al. [c] P. Caerden 2 voyag. in India. Ramus. La Martiniere; Jarric, & al.

hoſpital for the ſick; and great need there is for ſuch a place, conſidering the inhabitants of the iſland, and the number of ſhips which winter there in bad ſeaſons, beſides thoſe which paſs to and from the *Eaſt-Indies*. The fort is likewiſe one of the ſtrongeſt and beſt contrived the *Portugueſe* have on this coaſt. It is of a ſquare form, and each corner is flanked by a bulwark, with ſome pieces of artillery, which are a ſufficient fence both to the town and the haven. It is ſurrounded with a threefold rampart, and a large ditch, and hath ſtood proof againſt all the attempts of the *Dutch* againſt it [d]. *The citadel deſcribed.*

UPON the whole, this port of *Moſambico* is, as it were, the key of the *Eaſt-Indies* to the *Portugueſe*, which, if once loſt, or wreſted from them by any *European* trading nation, they would hardly be able to carry on that extenſive commerce, it being almoſt impoſſible to continue their voyage without ſuch a place for making freſh proviſion of water, and other neceſſaries, for refreſhing their men, or even to winter in, as they often do, though againſt their will, when the weather will not permit them to proceed. To all this we may add, that it is alſo of great importance to them, as it is now become a means to keep ſo many kingdoms in awe, both along the coaſt and the adjacent iſlands, who are either their allies, or tributary to them; and ſecures to them the free, if not the ſole, commerce with thoſe of *Sofala* and *Monomotapa*, whence they export ſuch quantities of gold and other rich commodities. We need not therefore wonder at the *Dutch* having made ſo many ſtrenuous, though hitherto fruitleſs, attempts to wreſt it out of their hands, particularly *ann.* 1606, when *Paul Van Caerden* their admiral laid ſiege to it with 40 ſtout ſhips; but, after thirty-two days, finding all his efforts fruſtrated, was glad to raiſe it again, and continue his voyage to the *Indies* †. *The importance of it to the Portugueſe.*

THE ſoil of the iſland, like that of the ſhore, is nothing elſe but a white barren ſand; yet have the richer ſort found means to procure an artificial one in ſeveral parts of the iſland, on which grow very fine citrons, oranges, ananas, figs, and ſuch-like fruits, notwithſtanding their great ſcarcity of water: but the far greater part of their other fruits, pulſe, roots, and other eſculents, are brought thither from the continent. *Soil and produce.*

IT is far otherwiſe at land, where the ground is fat and fertile in rice, millet, variety of roots, pulſe, fruits, and plants.

[d] P. VAN CAERDEN, DAVITY, LE CROIX, & al. ſup. citat.
† PAUL CAERDEN'S voyage into India.

Among others of this last kind, they have one called by the *Portugueſe Pao D'Antak*, antak wood, which ſpreads itſelf along the ground not unlike the *ariſtolochum longum*, and bears a grain like our peaſe, but ſomewhat more longiſh and ſoft, of a green colour. But the chief virtue lies in the root, which, as they ſay, is a ſovereign remedy againſt the diſtemper of that name, which is occaſioned by a too great familiarity of the *Europeans* with the Negro women of that country; that being the only remedy they know againſt it [e]. They make likewiſe ſeveral pleaſant liquors from their fruits; but the moſt common among them is made of millet, and called *Huyembo*, or *Puembo* [f].

Antak diſtemper and remedy.

Liquors.

Wild beaſts, fowls, &c.

THEY likewiſe breed vaſt quantities of cattle, large and ſmall, particularly ſheep with large tails, often mentioned in this and other volumes. They ſwarm with wild beaſts of various kinds, as ſtags and wild boars, but eſpecially elephants, which are ſo fierce and deſtructive, that the inhabitants are obliged to kindle large fires round their ſown fields, to prevent their being devoured by them. Neither dare they ſtir far from their homes, without lighted torches or firebrands in their hands, to frighten them away; and even with theſe they have much ado to ſave themſelves from being deſtroyed, eſpecially by thoſe of the female kind which have young ones. The woods are likewiſe filled with wild fowl of all ſorts, and particularly with a kind of wild poultry, not unlike our common ſort, excepting that they are as large as our turkies, ſpotted with white and grey, though with ſmaller heads in proportion, and ſhort combs, but thicker, and of a more vivid red than ours. Their fleſh is black, but delicious above all other fowl, as their hogs, which are here in great abundance, are above all other fleſh; inſomuch that the phyſicians not only permit but preſcribe them to their patients, when they forbid them all other kinds. As to the fowl above-mentioned, it is not only delicious but healthy; and ſome of them eat them quite raw without reluctance or inconveniency. The only defect it hath is its blackneſs, which is ſuch, that when boiled it turns the broth of the ſame diſguſtful hue, not unlike ink; but it makes ample amends for it in its exquiſite taſte and flavour, as well as by the wholſome nouriſhment which it yields [g].

THE country hath likewiſe rich mines of gold, which is waſhed down by their rivers in great quantities, and makes

[e] Idem. ibid.

[f] TEXEIRA gen. de Perſ. lib. i. c. 6. DAVITY, & al. ſup. citat. & alib. citat.

[g] DAVITY, LA CROIX, DAPPER,

a chief

a chief part of its commerce. Ivory, ebony, slaves, and cattle, are likewise exchanged for *European* goods, such as little bells, knives, scissars, and razors. These last are so valued among them, that they will give fifteen cows for one of them [h]. They have also some mines of silver and other metals, but the inhabitants make no traffic of them; and are indeed so mistrustful of strangers, that they care not to have any dealings with them, but confine themselves wholly to the coasters, to whom they convey their merchandizes in little boats made of a single piece of timber. This is their usual way of conveying them along these coasts; but if the nature or quantity of their cargo requires a more capacious vessel, they commonly make them of planks, joined together with ropes made of the bark of palm-trees, without the assistance of nails or wooden pegs, which they either know not or neglect the use of; and, upon their return, they can untie the boards, and set them out to dry, against the next occasion.

The means made use of to carry on their commerce.

THE *Portuguese* however, of whom they stand in awe, are the only *Europeans* who are admitted into some of their sea-ports, whence they export, besides the commodities already mentioned, silver, copper, wax, rice and other provisions: but to all other *Europeans* they refuse all kind of access on any pretence.

THE truth is, the further one advances into the continent, the more fierce and brutish one finds them. They all go naked, men and women, and only cover their middle before and behind with a piece of cotton cloth, or with a broad leaf. So unnatural are they to one another, that the fathers will sell their children for slaves, for a shirt, a knife, some glass beads, or other such trinkets, and feast on the flesh of those whom they take prisoners in war. They are treacherous, thievish, and malicious, but stout and fit for labour, and seem designed by nature for slavery, which is a condition less dreadful to them than it is to the inhabitants of the opposite or western coast, as those of *Kongo*, *Angola*, *Loango*, &c. which will be taken notice of in the following volume. And as this continent is divided into a variety of lordships or petty kingdoms (B), who

The barbarous disposition of the inhabitants.

[h] PYRAR. DAP. DAVIT. tom. ii. c. 17. SANUT, lib. 12. LINSCHOT, Guin. c. 3. & al. ub. sup. [i] LINSCHOT, ub. sup.

(B) We know little or nothing of their policy and government: whether these lordships are hereditary or elective, nor whether they have any laws beyond the will of their petty kings; it being next to impossible to penetrate into these inland parts; and the natives, who come to the coasts to traffic,

who have each a particular language or dialect, and are frequently at war one with another, it is no wonder that such a commerce for slaves is carried on between them and the coasters. For those petty tyrants make a considerable gain of the prisoners they make, whether they condemn them to be sold for slaves, or for meat for the shambles, according as they will fetch the greatest price.

The inhabitants cruel and treacherous.

Their dress, finery and ornaments.

THOUGH they affect to go naked, yet they are not without their fondness for various kinds of finery, such as collars, bracelets on their arms and legs, whether of gold, silver, ivory, coloured glass, or any other materials, according to their rank. They likewise affect to have very protuberant lips; and, to render them the more so, will fix pieces of flat gold, amber, or bone, one above the upper, and the other under the nether lip, which is esteemed as rich an ornament to their black faces, as their fine white teeth. They have also a way of painting their bodies with a kind of red earth, especially upon some grand meetings or festivities, which gives them a very grim appearance, though they esteem it as a mark of their courage and fierceness. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, the hatchet and the dagger, together with any other kind they can procure by the way of traffic. *Linschot*, who did not penetrate into the inland country, affirms them to be partly idolaters, and partly *Mohammedans*; but what *Pyrard* says of them, is the most probable; *viz.* That they have no religion at all, but only, like the rest of the *Caffars*, observe some superstitious customs, not worthy to bear that name; and it is on the coasts alone, that many of them, by conversing with the *Arabs*, have been induced to become *Mohammedans*. We do not read of any manufactures or trades among them, except that of making their canoes, which we have already described, and that of weaving a kind of mats, which they do with some neatness, and of various sorts, and sell them after-

Weapons.

Religion.

Trades.

being exceedingly brutish, mistrustful, and incommunicative. However, we may safely suppose that they make at the best but an inconsiderable figure, if we may judge of them by that which a son of one of them made at *Mosambico*, who being brought thither by mere curiosity, and, as he said himself, to know why his father and brother were Negroes, and he white, came attended only with some slaves, and was glad to take up with the mean entertainment which his new host Monsr. *Mouquet* could afford to give him, during his stay in his little cabin (4).

(4) *See the 2d volume of his voyages, lib.* iv. *See also Dawity, La Croix, Dapper, & al.*

wards

wards to the coasts, whence they are exported to several parts of *India*.

The vast utility of this port to the Portuguese East-India ships and commerce.

If, therefore, we rightly weigh all the advantages of this island and its continent, its port, bay, and excellent situation, as at a middle distance, and a kind of place of refreshment for the *East-India* ships from *Goa* to *Lisbon*, or from *Lisbon* to *Goa*, we need not wonder that the *Portuguese* should so readily pitch upon it for that purpose, after their contest with *Ibraim* the king of *Quiloa*, lately mentioned, had obliged them to abandon it; much less at their preferring this to any other they had upon the coast, and forbidding all their *India* ships to land, refit, or refresh at any other port but this of *Mosambico*. For, considering the vast length of the voyage between *Lisbon* and *Goa*, the great inconveniencies and dangers the vessels are exposed to from the inclemency of the various climates, and intolerable heats they go through, the boisterous seas they cross, the hardships and diseases which men are liable to, whether through want or badness of provisions, not to mention a great variety of other accidents and disasters, which happen frequently to the men, the ships, or cargoes, during a voyage of seven or eight months, all which make it next to impossible to perform it at one stretch, especially as they are so large and heavy laden, as to take so many fathoms of water, it was, in a great measure, absolutely necessary to make sure of some convenient harbour, as near as they could, in the half-way between those two capitals; but much more still after their doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*, in their going out, and sailing by the dangerous coast of *Natal*, for them to sail to, and find a supply for all their wants, and a remedy for all their disasters. And so well doth this of *Mosambico* answer all those ends, that the kings of *Portugal* have spared no cost to fortify and garrison it against all attempts, and to provide it with a noble hospital for the sick, and a well-stored magazine, with all necessaries for the shipping, though the charge of keeping them up often exceeds the revenues arising from it. The next section will shew still some farther advantages which these places yield to them.

SECT. IV.

The History of the Kingdom of Sofala.

Kingdom of Sofala described.

Sailing still farther southward, along the eastern coast of *Africa*, one comes from that of *Zanguebar* to that of *Sofala*, or *Sofalo*, or, as others write it, *Zephala*, and *Cephala*, that famous and opulent kingdom, which, for its rich golden mines,

mines, hath been ſuppoſed by ſeveral learned men to be the *Ophir* whence king *Solomon* drew yearly ſuch prodigious quantities of that precious metal [a].

Its extent. It is, properly ſpeaking, a continued coaſt, extending itſelf from the river *Cuama* on the north, to that of *Magnica*, ſince called *Rio de Spirito Sancto*, on the ſouth; that is, from the 17th to the 25th degree of ſouth latitude; and having the *Cape Corientes* (not in the middle, between theſe two rivers, as ſome geographers have placed it [b] but) about two degrees ſouth of the latter, according to the lateſt obſervations [c]. It is bounded on the eaſt by the *Indian* ſea, and on the weſt by the empire of *Monomotapa*, hath its name from its capital, which *D'Herbelot* calls *Sofalat Al Dhebeb*, which, in the *Arabic*, ſignifies a low or hollow place, where is gold, or, more properly, a golden mine *. We muſt, however, obſerve here, with reſpect to the limits of this kingdom, that a late geographer, upon the authority of ſome new obſervations, hath, in his map of *Eaſtern Ethiopia* †, reduced it into a much narrower compaſs, and, in all likelihood, great alteration may have been made to them ſince the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* writers, of which we have had no particular account; for which reaſon we ſhall think ourſelves obliged to ſubjoin them in the margin, according as they are fixed in the ſaid map, for the ſatisfaction of our curious *Engliſh* readers (A).

[a] 1 Kings x. 14. & ſeq. & alib. [b] Dapper. [c] D'Anville. * Biblioth. Orient. † D'Anville.

(A) According to the above-mentioned map, *Sofala* is bounded on the north by the kingdom of *Monomotapa*; on the eaſt by the *Indian* ſea; on the ſouth by the kingdom of *Sabia*; and that of *Manica* on the weſt: ſo this laſt, in which are the richeſt mines, as was formerly part of that of *Sofala*, hath now changed its maſter, and become probly tributary to it, as that once was to the great one of *Monomotapa*, and is divided from it on that ſide by the river *Wadanculo*, which runs from weſt to eaſt, and falls into the *Indian* ſea. There is another which runs acroſs the kingdom from weſt to eaſt, and takes its name from it, and falls into the ſea near the city of *Sofala*. Between thoſe two rivers run four or five others, one of which is called *Te-be*.

The king hath his reſidence on the weſtern part of the kingdom, on the banks of the *Sofala*. Beſides the fortreſs of that name, the *Portugueſe* have built another about the middle on the ſame coaſt, named *Inbagueà*.

The ſame map adds two iſlands on this coaſt, one called *Bango*, on the mouth of the *Te-be*, and the other on that of the *Sephala*. This is all that is moſt remarkably new in it, with reſpect to this kingdom.

As

As to the metropolis of *Sofala* above-mentioned, it was, at the first arrival of the *Portugueſe*, but an inconſiderable town, neither large nor walled, but fenced only with a thorny hedge, but hath been ſince fortified, and, in every reſpect elſe, very much improved by them, and called *Cuama*, as well as the fort, which they built for its defence; but that name hath been ſince obliterated, and both pilots and geographers have retained its old one of *Sofala*. A. D. 1500.

Situation of the capital.

IT is conveniently ſituated on a ſmall iſland at the mouth of the *Cuama* above-mentioned; and beſides it there are two other towns on the coaſt, one called *Haulema*, and the other *Dardema*, and the villages of *Savona*, *Bocha*, and *Gaſta*, and ſome others, all of them mean, and worthy of no farther notice [d].

Gnaia *the* Portugueſe *admiral builds a fort upon the iſland.*

FRANCESCO GNAIA, or, as others call him, *Antiga*, the *Portugueſe* admiral of the *Eaſt-India* fleet, was the firſt who came to anchor at *Sofala*, with four of his ſmalleſt veſſels, the other two being ſo large that they could not enter the port, and obtained of the king, whom *Marmol* calls *Juſef*, a *Mohammedan*, and then blind with old age, the liberty of building a fortreſs near it, which, he ſaid, would be of great ſervice to his majeſty, as well as to himſelf. This favour, however, appears to have been granted to him at the recommendation of one *Zaoote* an *Arabian*, wholly in the intereſt of the *Portugueſe*, and in great credit and authority with the old prince, and helped both to forward that work, ſent them intelligence of every thing that paſſed at court, and informed them of every particular relating to the nature of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants. This fortreſs, of whatever ſervice it may have been to the good old king and his ſucceſſors, hath proved of the greateſt importance to the *Portugueſe*, as it is a ſafe harbour for their ſhips ſailing to and from *India*, as well as to ſecure their commerce with the *Caffers* of the inland; which is very conſiderable, as it conſiſts in gold, ambergriſe, ſlaves, and elephants teeth, which they exchange for ſilk, ſtuffs, cotton, glaſs beads of various makes and colours, and other ſuch trinkets. Both the fortreſs and the iſland, as tributary to the king of *Portugal*, are under the direction and government of *Moſambico*, ſpoken of in the foregoing ſection [e].

Its utility to the Portugueſe.

Commerce with the Caffers.

River Cuama.

THE river *Cuama*, on the mouth of which the city and fortreſs of *Sofala* are ſituate, had its name given to it by the

[d] SANUT, LINSCHOT, RAMUS. MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 2. & ſeq. OSOR. lib. iv. DAVITY, DAPPER, LE CROIX, & alib. [e] Id. ibid.

Portugueſe,

Portugueſe from that of the fort, which they likewiſe called *Cuama* at the firſt, or rather, as they pronounced it, *Cowama* (B); but is by the *Arabs* and Negroes called *Zambere* and *Empondo*. Its head-ſpring hath not hitherto been diſcovered by the *Europeans*, but it ſurrounds in ſome meaſure the kingdom of *Monomotapa*, dividing it on the weſt from that of *Abutua*, on the north from thoſe of *Chicova*, *Sacomba*, and *Mauruca*. It receives in its courſe, among others of leſſer note, the *Mangania*, *Mazeno*, and *Suabo*, and, dividing itſelf into two branches, diſcharges itſelf into the *Indian* ſea at four mouths, from north to ſouth, diſtinguiſhed by as many names; *viz.* *Kilimano*, *Linda*, *Cuama*, and *Luava*; or, according to others, the *Penhamez*, *Lunagoa*, *Arruyga*, *Manjovo*, *Guadire*, and *Rueriva*.

Al Zembere.

The Magnico;

THE other river was called formerly *Magnico*, and by the *Portugueſe Rio del Lagos*; but has ſince the name of *Rio del Sancto Spirito* given it by *Laurence Marſhes*. Its ſource is not better known than that of the *Cuama*, but is ſuppoſed by ſome geographers to be the ſame with it; *viz.* the lake *Goyama*; and that, after a ſhort courſe, it divides itſelf into the two ſtreams or branches above-mentioned; the ſouthern one of which was therefore called *Rio de los Lagos*, or the river of the lakes, but ſtill retains its old one of *Magnico*. Nothing can be affirmed concerning theſe two rivers deſcending from the ſame lake, and being branches of one and the ſame river. However, this we are ſure of, that the *Cuama* is by much the larger and deeper of the two, being increaſed by the three large rivers above-mentioned, and by ſeveral others not much inferior to them, is navigable above 150 leagues, and hath many large iſlands, beſides thoſe formed by its ſeveral mouths [f]. It likewiſe waſhes down great quantities of gold, which the Negroes gather, when the rivers are low, by diving into ſuch nooks as they know, by long practice, to have the greateſt plenty in them, and bringing the mud out of

gold found in it.

[f] MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 30. RAMUS. DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. See alſo DE LISLE and D'ANVILLE's maps.

(B) The name of *Cuama*, *Cowama*, or, as others write it, *Quama*, was given to the river from a fort built on the mouth of it by the *Turks*; after which the *Portugueſe* called it *Rio de los Lagos*, on ſuppoſition that this and the *Magnico* ſprung both from one lake, and ſoon after divided themſelves into two ſtreams or arms (1).

(1) *Vid. Jo. de Barros, lib.* x. *c.* 1. *Davity, Dapper, De Liſle, D'Anville, & al.*

them,

them, which, being properly levigated, diſcover the metal in large or ſmall grains, as it happens; and more a great deal might be found of it, were they not ſuch idle wretches that nothing can make them work but extremity of hunger and want [g].

THE three principal capes on the coaſt of *Sofala*, are called *Corientes*, *St. Catherine*, and *St. Sebaſtian*. The former of them, ſituate under the 23d degree of ſouth latitude, is noted for the many rocks, ſands, and ſhelves, which lie between it and the iſle of *St. Laurence*, or *Madagaſcar*, and which cauſe frequent ſhipwrecks along that chanel. The reſt of the land from the ſaid cape to the mouth of the *Cuama*, is called *Matuca*, and hath ſome gold mines, not far from the town of *Sofala*, and in the precinct called *Manico*. *The chief capes.*

THE inland part of the kingdom doth not extend itſelf far weſtward, being ſqueezed on that ſide by that of *Monomotapa*. *Marmol* computes it to be in compaſs 750 leagues [h]. The temperature, ſoil, and produce of it are much the ſame with that of *Zanguebar*; excepting that as it is by ſo much farther from the line, its heat is nothing ſo exceſſive, and the land is more fertile in rice, millet, and paſturage. But the moſt abounding part in this laſt lies between the *Cape Corrientes* and the river *de Santo Spirito*, where the greateſt quantities of cattle are bred, eſpecially of the larger kind, the inhabitants having ſcarcely any other fuel but cows dung, the country being much expoſed to the ſoutherly winds, which are equally piercing on that, as our northern ones are on this ſide of the line. And here it is alſo that the elephants herd in large droves, and are killed in ſuch prodigious quantities (their fleſh being the chief food of the common people) that, according to their report, they ſeldom deſtroy leſs than between four and five thouſand one year with another; which is in a great meaſure confirmed by the vaſt quantity of ivory which is thence exported by the *Europeans* [i]. *Soil and produce.* *Scarcity of Fuel.* *Vaſt numbers of elephants killed yearly.*

THE other part of the country on the contrary, that is, from the cape above-mentioned, quite up to the *Cuama*, and eſpecially all along that river, abounds with mountains, covered with large woods; the vallies are watered with variety of ſprings and ſmall rivulets, are very fertile and agreeable, and is that quarter in which the king and court ſpend the greateſt part of the year. Among other delightful advantages of this part, it enjoys, we are told, ſuch an odori-

[g] MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 30. [h] Ubi ſup. [i] Idem ibid. & al. ſup. citat.

ferous

ferous verdure, that, the coasts being low on that side, the fragrancy which exhales therefrom is frequently perceived by mariners at a great distance, before the land itself appears. The soil of the province of *Matuca* is rich and fertile, but from the cape of *Corrientes* to the river of *Santo Spirito*, it is rough and barren, and less inhabited, except by elephants, lions, and other wild creatures [k].

THE natives of *Sofala* are for the most part black, with short curled hair, there being but very few tawny or brown amongst them. Their shape is taller and more genteel than that of the Negroes of *Mosambico*, *Quiloa*, &c. and those who live near the cape of *Corrientes* are esteemed the most courteous of any of the *Caffers* that inhabit the coast from thence to that of *Good Hope*. Their common dress is the same with those of *Mosambico*, a piece of silk or cotton, wrapped round their middle, and covering them down to the knees, all the rest of the body being naked, except the head, the better sort wearing a kind of turban upon it; and all of them adorn their neck, arms, wrists, legs, and ankles, with rings of gold, silver, amber, or coloured beads, according to their condition. These stuffs and trinkets are mostly brought to them from *Bombay* by the *Portuguese*; and those of the better sort affect to wear swords with handles of ivory. All the coasters speak the *Arabic* tongue, which is their natural language; for, as we have before observed, they are not the original natives, but the descendants of the *Arabs*, who left their native country, and settled themselves more or less upon this whole western coast. But as these of *Sofala*, as well as most of the rest, carry on a commerce with the *Caffers*, they likewise understand their language as well as the *Portuguese*, since these last have settled among them [l].

Dress of the inhabitants.

Ornaments.

language.

THEY cultivate plenty of rice and millet, which serves them for bread; and eat the flesh of elephants, large and small cattle, besides fish, of which both the sea and rivers yield a great plenty and variety. They have likewise their beer made of rice and millet, and some other liquors made of honey, palm, and other fruits: the honey is here in such plenty, that a great part of it lies neglected; no more being gathered by the indolent people than serves that purpose, or for extracting so much wax out of it, as will procure them painted cotton or silk, and other clothes in exchange. For though they make great quantities of white cloths, they have not yet the art of dying them, and are obliged to send

diet,

and drink.

[k] DAVITY, DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al. ubi sup. [l] PIGAFETA Congo, lib. ii. c. 8. OD. BARBOS. DAVITY, & al.

them,

them, or at leaſt their thread, to be died in *Cambay* or other places, of ſuch colours as are moſt in vogue amongſt them [m]. They are often forced to buy the printed cloths, and undo the thread of them, in order to mix it in with their ſtriped ſtuffs, when they cannot procure it from abroad. Their chief commerce here is with the inhabitants of *Moſambico*, *Quiloa*, *Mombaſo*, and *Melinda*, who come hither in their ſambucs or ſmall barges, which are freighted with variety of the above-mentioned cloths of all colours, and they exchange them for gold, ivory, wax, or ambergriſe; which the *Sofalans* uſually go and exchange with the *Monomotapans* for gold, not by weight, but in ſuch quantities as ſhall ſatisfy the ſeller; ſo that the profit of the exchange amounts commonly to above 90 or 95 *per cent.* And this is the reaſon, that when the *Sofalans* perceive any of theſe veſſels at ſea, they ſignify their joy, and bid them welcome by lighting fires on the ſhore.

The great profit ariſing from their commerce for gold.

They invite the Arabs to trade with them.

BUT beſides the gold which they draw from *Monomotapa*, the kingdom of *Sofala* hath ſome very conſiderable mines of that valuable metal, and which, by the report of the *Portugueſe* inhabitants, yield to the value of above two millions of metigals yearly (each metigal valued at about 14 *French* livres); and that the merchantmen from *Zidem*, *Mecca*, and other parts, export, in time of peace, about the ſame quantity from the ſame mines. We are farther told that the governor of *Moſambico*'s ſalary, whoſe place laſts only three years, amounted to 300,000 crowns, excluſive of the pay of his troops, and the yearly tribute he is obliged to ſend to the king of *Portugal*, which *Davity* calls a third part of its product. As for the ſoldiery, they are paid in gold duſt, each according to his rank. And the ſame author farther aſſures us, that this gold, which is paid to them juſt as it is gathered, is ſo pure, and of ſo fine a yellow, that ours, compared to it, appears little better than copper. Hence it is, that *Mouquet* hath, after other learned men, ventured to affirm, that it was from theſe mines that *Solomon* had his, which is ſo highly commended by the ſacred hiſtorian; and that this kingdom of *Sofala* is the *Ophir* celebrated by them [n]; this being allowed to be the pureſt and fineſt in all *Africa* (C).

Rich gold mines.

Sofala ſuppoſed to be the antient Ophir.

AT

[m] Idem. ibid. DAPPER, & alib.

[n] MOUQUET, lib. iv.

(C) Some of the patrons of this hypotheſis, will even affirm it to be the fineſt in all the world. But that is ſaid gratis; it being well known that that of *Japan* not only equals but greatly

ly

Warlike weapons. AT the first arrival of the *Portugueſe* into theſe parts, the people uſed no other warlike weapons than the ſcymeter, the javelin, the bow and arrow, to which they ſometimes added the dagger and the hatchet. But they have been ſince taught the uſe of fire-arms both ſmall and great [p], and

[p] Osſor. lib. iv. Marmol, ubi ſup. Davity, & al.

ly exceeds it. We ſhall however go no farther out of our way after that trite controverſy (5), but refer our reader to what we have ſaid heretofore upon it (6). What falls now under our preſent ſubject is, that there are ſtill remaining, in the neighbourhood of the mines of *Sofala*, ſome ancient ſquat towers and ruins of ſtately edifices of large ſquare ſtones, one of them with inſcriptions over the gate, in character or hieroglyphic, which no one hath been able hitherto to decypher. From whence the partiſans of this hypotheſis conjecture that thoſe edifices were palaces or caſtles built by that opulent king of *Iſrael*. But is not the unintelligibleneſs of thoſe characters rather a ſtrong argument againſt ſuch a ſuppoſition? We never hear of *Solomon*'s having been in thoſe parts, nor of his having built any fortreſſes, or made any conqueſts either here or any-where but in the neighbourhood of *Judea*; and if he had cauſed any inſcriptions to be ſet up upon any of his edifices, is it poſſible they ſhould have become unintelligible or undecypherable? May we not therefore ſuppoſe from this laſt circumſtance, that they were hieroglyphics, and moſt likely ſet up by ſome of the *Gymnoſophiſts* of the iſle of *Meroe*, or by ſome of the learned prieſts of *Egypt*, ſome of whoſe monarchs carried their conqueſts as far as theſe remote parts of *Ethiopia*, for the ſake of theſe valuable mines, but might probably afterwards abandon them, on account of their great diſtance from their native dominions.

The *Portugueſe*, on the contrary, tell us, that the towers and fortreſſes above-mentioned reſemble others which are ſtill extant in ſome provinces of the empire of *Abiſſinia*; whence they conclude they may probably have been the work of ſome *Abiſſinian* monarch, who was then maſter of the gold mines. This region or province the *Abiſſines* call *Acachuma*, and pretend it was the reſidence of the queen of *Sheba*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Achuma*, and ſays it was well known in his time, on account of its rich gold mines; and it is there that he fixes the end or limits of the ſouth parts of the habitable world §. All theſe put together, afford us a more probable conjecture concerning the origin of thoſe ancient edifices, than that which aſcribes it to king *Solomon*; but we have dwelt long enough on that ſubject (8).

(5) *De hoc, vid. Huet. de Navig. Antiq.* (6) *See Anc. Hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 383. *vol.* iv. *p.* 102 (R). (7) *Marmol, lib.* ix. *c.* 31. *Ramuſ. Le Blanc, voy. p.* 2. *c.* 5. *Maquet. lib.* iv. *& al. mult.* § *Melem. Geogr. lib.* iv. (8) *De his, vid. Marmol, & Le Blanc, & al. ſup. citat.*

are

are become very dexterous in the uſe of them. Their king keeps a great number of forces in pay, but the *Portugueſe* are become ſo powerful that they keep the whole kingdom in awe; and their chief governor keeps his veſſels of obſervation to prevent what they have now made an illicit trade, particularly that of the exportation of gold without his ſpecial licence [q]. *Forces.*

THE *Mohammedan* religion is, according to *Rigafeta*, and the generality of *Dutch* writers [r], that of the king and court, and of a great part of the people, and accordingly *Oſſorio* ſtyles them *Saracens* and *Mohammedans*. But it is more likely, as *Jarric* obſerves [s], that the original natives live wholly without any, good or bad; and the *Arabs* alone, who ſettled on this coaſt, are the only *Mohammedans*, except ſome few proſelytes they may have made amongſt thoſe Negroes, for the ſake of commerce, ſeeing all the merchants who come hither from *Quiloa*, *Mombaſo*, *Mellnda*, &c. are of that religion. The *Arabs*, who had brought that religion with them, and been ſettled on that coaſt above two centuries, might be grown powerful enough, in that time, to have a king of their own probably, at the leaſt tributary to, and under the protection of, the emperor of *Monomotapa*, and have been able to ſubdue the inland natives, without forcing their religion upon them: eſpecially, if what *Marmol* ſays be true, that though they uſe no outward act of religion, have neither idols, altars, nor ſacrifices, yet they acknowlege one ſupreme being, whom they call *Mozimo*, or *Guimguimo*, but abhor the idolatrous rites and other ſortileges of the reſt of the *African* Negroes, and their prieſts, and puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity amongſt them; not ſo much out of a religious principle, as becauſe they think them deſtructive to ſociety [t]. And may they not have been taught all this, and more, by their *Mohammedan* maſters? *Religion partly* Mohammedans *and partly* Caffres.

FOR in the next place they puniſh two other crimes with the ſame rigour; *viz.* theft and adultery; and ſo ſevere are they with reſpect to this laſt, that they make it death for any man to be found ſitting upon a ſofa or mat with a married woman, though they allow of poligamy in as great extent as the *Turks* do, and with much the ſame ſubordination both of the wives and their children. They never marry a woman till ſhe hath had her monthly courſes, as deeming her incapa- *Theft and adultery ſeverely puniſhed. Poligamy allowed. Women when marriageable.*

[q] Idem. ibid. [r] Congo, lib. ii. c. 9. SPILBERG, & al'.
[s] THESAUR. Ind. lib. iv. [t] Ubi ſup. c. 32.

ble of having children till then; at which time the family makes a kind of rejoicing and festivity in her favour [u].

Ceremonies towards the dead;

If they have any thing like a religious ceremony, it is in observing some particular days of the moon, as the 1st, 6th, 7th, 11th, 16th, &c. on which they pay a kind of offering to their dead friends, particularly to their parents, whose bones, after the flesh is consumed (D), they preserve in a place appropriated to that use; and, in remembrance of their owing their being to them, set plenty of victuals before them, and make their requests to them, as if still alive, the chief of which is for the preservation of the king's life and prosperity. Their petitions ended, they sit down in their white garments, which is the proper colour on these occasions, and eat up what had been served to the dead, which concludes the ceremony for that time [w]. All this however may imply nothing more than a mere civil respect paid to their parents, ancestors, and other near relations, in the same manner as we have seen it practised in a much politer country, that of the *Chinese* [x], and instituted at first for wise and good purposes; seeing nothing can be well thought more effectual to curb the irregular passions of surviving children, than a firm belief that their deceased parents, ancestors, and near relations, are still present with them, and watchful over all their actions, in order to bless or chastise them suitably to their behaviour. As to the petition offered to them for the

a mere civil and wise institution.

[u] Marmol, ibid. [w] Id. ibid. [x] See before, vol. viii. p. 89, 261, & seq.

(D) The *French* translator of *Marmol*, or his reviser, adds here in the margin *ou mangé*, or eaten; and it must be owned that his author represents some of the *Sofalans* as a kind of unnatural canibals, who not only feed upon human flesh, but also drink the blood of some of their cattle, which they bleed for that purpose. We shall have occasion in the sequel to mention some whole kingdoms of still greater monsters of barbarity, and in the heart of *Africa*, whose greatest dainties are the bodies of their enemies and captives, whom they slay in great numbers; and, after having satiated themselves with their flesh, are emulous who shall drink the greatest quantity of their blood. But we can by no means persuade ourselves that these we are upon, and who, in other respects, appear to be more civilized, should use themselves to such brutish customs, as is there insinuated, of eating the flesh of their parents and relations, especially under a *Mohammedan* government (9).

(9) *See D'Ablancourt's marginal note on Marmol, lib.* ix. *c.* 32, *sub initio.*

king's

king's life and prosperity, we are not told directly whether it be intended for the king of *Sofala*, or for that of *Monomotapa*, to whom he was formerly, and a great number of others [y] are still, tributary. The latter seems however the most rational, as it is still practised by them, there being hardly any nation that pays a deeper regard to their prince than the subjects of that large empire, as we shall shew in the next section. Hence we may conclude, that the *Sofalans* had this custom from the *Monomotapans*, and observed it as long as they continued under his obedience; that is, till the *Portuguese* came and settled in these parts, and withdrew them from their obedience, in order to render them more serviceable to their own ends.

The king of Sofala once subject to Monomotapa;

We are told accordingly by *Pigafeta* [z], that one of those *Mohammedan* kings revolted from their ancient allegiance, and put himself under the protection of the king of *Portugal*. And we have elsewhere had occasion to mention the singular and hospitable reception which his admiral *Gnaja* met with at his first landing in this kingdom from the old blind monarch then upon the throne, and his obtaining leave of him to build a fort near his capital [a]; which (whether he was the same with that mentioned before or not) plainly shews his readiness to take the first opportunity that was offered to him to shake off the *Monomotopan* yoke. And might not this have been likewise the main motive which the *Portuguese* commander used to engage him to comply with his request, which he full well foresaw would prove an effectual means, on some pretence or other, of stripping the old dotard of his capital and kingdom, and seizing both for his own master, as it actually did, in the manner we are now going to relate, from one of their own writers [b].

but revolted from his allegiance.

The reader may remember the account we have given at the beginning of this section, of the first arrival of *Gnaia*, or *Anaya*, at *Sofala*, and of the kind reception he met with from the good old *Mohammedan* king *Jusef*, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the *Arabs* against his landing; the dangers, they told him, he must run, before he could reach the royal palace, and the difficulty he would find to get access to the king. *Gnaia*, who had been before informed by his friend *Zacote*, who had already secured him a singular welcome, sailed forward, and accordingly met with all the success he wished for, the king not only granting him free leave to build the desired fortress, but, as a farther token of his regard to his nation, delivered up to him about a score of his

[y] Marmol, ubi sup. [z] Congo, lib. ii. c. 8. [a] See before, p. 443. [b] Ossorio, lib. iv.

countryment, who had been lately ſhipwrecked on that coaſt, and of whom he had taken the moſt hoſpitable care.

Reception of the Portugueſe *diſapproved by the king's ſon-in-law.*

THE king had a ſon-in-law named *Mengo Muçaf*, a brave warlike prince, who made no ſcruple to lay before him his preſent apprehenſions at his reception and admittance of thoſe ſtrangers into his dominions, and much more ſo at his permitting them to fortify themſelves in them, at the imminent hazard of his own and his ſubjects ſafety. The old king contented himſelf, whatever his views might be, with diſſipating his fears, and telling him that time, which brings forth all things, would quickly diſcover to him his motives for thus encouraging theſe ſo much dreaded ſtrangers. You will, continued he, in a little time, perceive them dwindled into nothing, through the heat and inclemency of a climate they are unaccuſtomed to; and then it will be time enough to drive them out of their fort, if they do not abandon it of their own accord. The kind reception I have given them was merely to remove all ſuſpicion from them of my deſign. So the prince acquieſced to his reaſons, and the work of the fortreſs was carried on with double vigour, the king having ordered his ſubjects to give it all poſſible forwardneſs [c]. But what moſt alarmed his majeſty, and obliged him to alter his meaſures, was the pathetic remonſtrances of his faithful *Mohammedan* merchants, to awaken him to a ſenſe of his imminent danger from the well known perfidy of the *Portugueſe* nation.

The king's wiſe anſwer to him.

Forwards the building of the fortreſs.

The merchants addreſs againſt it.

WE have already had occaſion to mention more than once the ſtrenuous oppoſition which the *Arabians* ſettled on this eaſtern coaſt made againſt the prepoſterous encouragement which ſome of theſe princes, particularly thoſe of *Quiloa* and *Mombaſa*, gave to theſe new comers. They made the ſame ſtrenuous ſtruggle here againſt the weakneſs of their ſuperannuated monarch, and addreſſing themſelves to him in a body, reminded him of the repeated warnings they had given him of the treacherous views of the *Portugueſe*, who, under the maſk of friendſhip, conceal the moſt wicked deſigns, "To "what end", ſaid they, "do they build a fort in your do- "minions, but to increaſe their own power, in order to ſtrip "you of yours, together with your kingdom. Have they "not, by the like artifices, expelled the king of *Quiloa*, and "robbed many other princes in *Afric* and *India* of their "dominions? In ſhort, where have they ever got a footing "without leaving numberleſs traces of their villainy and cru- "elty? If therefore you have any regard for your ſafety and

Pathetic ſpeech to him.

[c] MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 34.

"welfare,

" welfare, deſtroy them before they are become too power-
" ful for you, leſt it ſhould not hereafter be in your power
" to avert the ruin and deſtruction which they will bring
" upon yourſelf and kingdom [d]." This ſpeech had the deſired effect, and the alarmed monarch began now to ſee his folly and danger, and to think of the propereſt means to avoid it. He accordingly gathered a ſufficient number of troops, and appointed a day to fall upon the *Portugueſe*, whilſt they were employed in building their fort. Unhappily for him, the *Arabians* had a traitor among them, whom we lately mentioned, under the name of *Zacote*, or *Acote* (E), who betrayed all his ſecrets to them, and failed not on this occaſion to ſend them timely notice of his deſigns againſt them; which gave *Gnaja* an opportunity of getting himſelf and his men in a condition to give them a warm reception. Accordingly, on the day prefixed, the *Sofalans* attacked the fort with great fury, by throwing vollies of firey ſtakes into it, whilſt others were aſſailing the walls with their warlike engines. The beſiegers, with *Gnaja* at their head, made the ſtouteſt defence they could againſt them; but, being reduced to 35 men, the reſt being either ſick or invalids, they would have had but a poor chance againſt 6000, had not, luckily for them, *Zacote* found means to enter the fort, at the head of 100 men; who immediately fell upon the beſiegers with ſuch bravery, that a deſperate conflict enſued, in which the *Portugueſe*, being thus timely reinforced, began to diſcharge their darts and artillery with double vigour; which, in a little time, ſo terribly annoyed and terrified them, that they fled with the utmoſt precipitation and dread, and left them in quiet poſſeſſion of their new fortreſs. Not ſo quietly did they treat them in their flight, for they purſued them with ſpeed and fury, not only into the city, but the royal palace, and forced their way into it. They even crouded into the very apartment where the old king had retired, and found him ly-

The king is alarmed againſt them.

Reſolves to deſtroy them.

Beſieges the fort;

which is relieved by Zacote.

The king repulſed.

Purſued to his palace.

[d] Ossorio, lib. iv.

(E) This villain was originally of *Abiſſinian* extract; but having been taken priſoner when young, by the *Mohammedans* of *Sofala*, had embraced their religion, and, by his addreſs, had raiſed himſelf to the higheſt degree of credit with the old king (12); but being afterwards bought over to the *Portugueſe* intereſt, made no other uſe of it than to betray him and his dominions to them, as the ſequel will ſoon ſhew.

(12) *See Marmol Afric. lib.* ix. *c.* 35. *Oſſorio Portug. long. lib.* iv. *See alſo before, p.*

His noble defence. ing on his couch; but their insolence soon roused up his courage and bravery, insomuch that, old and blind as he was, he hastily arose, and darted several javelins at them, some of which failed not of doing some execution among them, as they crouded so thick upon him. Several of them were wounded, and amongst them *Gnaja* in the neck, when on a sudden the *Portuguese* agent advanced with his drawn scimeter towards the king, and at one blow struck off his head, which filled his attendants with dread and horror.

Is murdered.

HERE *Gnaja*, fully satisfied with seeing the good old king weltering in his blood, and headless at his feet, whether to recover the *Sofalans* from the frightful prospect with which such a bloody scene must needs have filled them all, or to avoid their making some desperate attempt to revenge their monarch's death, had recourse to the old trite artifice, of feigned clemency, and immediately forbad his men to offer any farther violence towards a people whom he wanted to gain by acts of friendship and benevolence, rather than affright them with any further proofs of the *Portuguese* bravery and martial prowess; adding, that as they had by this time sufficiently experienced the one, he was now ready and willing to give them the most convincing proofs of the other, by acts of humanity, and tenderest compassion to their present distress. This plausible speech, whether it wrought most upon their fears or hopes, had the desired effect; and the *Sofalans*, finding they had to do with a nation that was too strong and artful, not only forbore all further hostilities, but patiently submitted their necks to a yoke which they have never been able to shake off from that day to this [e].

Gnaja's artful speech to the Sofalans.

Marmol's palliative account of that revolution. ONE of our authors, who hath added many palliatives to this transaction, in favour of the *Portuguese*, adds, that prince *Muçaf* having rallied his scattered troops, again laid siege to the fort, with fresh courage and fury, but met with such stout opposition, that he was obliged to raise it three days after; his tired *Arabs*, the best troops he had, being by this time become more sollicitous about the choice of a new king, than to revenge the death of the old one. The contest lay between the son of the deceased named *Soliman*, a great friend and patron of *Zacote*, and *Muçaf* his son-in-law, a prince of greater abilities and merit, and who would, in all probability, have been nominated to the succession, had not *Zacote*, or, as our author styles him, *Yacote*, by his interest and persuasions, obtained it in favour of *Soliman*, and prevailed upon

[e] MARMOL, OSSORIO, & al. sup. citat.

Gnaja

Gnaja to confirm him king of *Sofala*[f]. But the good bishop *Osforio*, far from mentioning any such instance of the *Portugueſe* admiral's regard to the ſon of the late *Juſef*, or of the perfidious *Zacote*'s ingratitude to that prince, aſſures us, in expreſs terms, that the former beſtowed the crown on the latter by his own authority, and as a reward for his great ſervices to the *Portugueſe*. His account of that remarkable tranſaction is as follows [g].

GNAJA, having ſucceeded ſo far, thought it now time to ſettle this newly ſubdued ſtate; and, as a mark of the *Portugueſe* generoſity and gratitude, to reward the perfidious *Zacote* for his friendſhip and fidelity to them in the ampleſt manner. He accordingly cauſed him to be ſent for in great pomp, and, with the uſual ceremonies, which we have deſcribed in a former note [h], to be, in his maſter's name, proclaimed king of *Sofala*, and enjoined the people to obey him as their ſovereign. He next obliged him to take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to the king of *Portugal*, and to promiſe to behave, on all occaſions, as his moſt faithful tributary [i]. *Gnaja crowns Zacote king.*

GNAJA had hardly begun to taſte the fruits of his ſucceſs, before he was cut off by a diſtemper which ſeized both him and his men, wholly owing to the inhoſpitableneſs of this new climate. We have already taken notice of the extreme unwholſomeneſs of the country, occaſioned by the vaſt number of its marſhes, which, being in ſummer dried up by the ſcorching heat of the ſun, infect the air with their peſtilential ſteams. The *Portugueſe* quickly found the ſad effects of it, being firſt ſeized with an exceſſive weakneſs in their bodies, and dimneſs of ſight, which, in a little time, turned into a waſting conſumption, and carried off a great number of them, and among the reſt the admiral above-mentioned; in whoſe room *Emanuel Ferdinando*, the old king's aſſaſſin, was choſen by the unanimous conſent of all the officers. The news of this was ſoon ſent to *Almeid* the governor of *Goa*, then in *India*, who received about the ſame time an account of the revolution which lately happened in *Quiloa*, by the murder of the new made king *Mahmud*, by the partiſans of *Braham* [k]. *Almeid* thereupon diſpatched *Novico Vaſquez Pereira*, with a commiſſion to ſail for *Sofala*, and take the government of the fort upon him; but with orders likewiſe to touch at *Quiloa*, and ſettle the commotions raiſed there on account of the king's murder, and to puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity all that had been acceſſory to it. *Gnaja's death.* *Succeeded by the murderer of the king.*

[f] MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 35. [g] Lib. iv. [h] See before, p. 423. [i] OSSORIO, ubi ſupra. [k] See before, p. 424.

A mortality amongst the Portuguese.

In the mean time the *Portuguese* garrison of *Sofala* was so dreadfully afflicted with the badness of the climate, and the diseases which then raged among them, had carried off so many of them, that *Ferdinand*, who had succeeded *Gnaja*, could with great difficulty restrain the small remainder from abandoning it, when, in a lucky hour, the *Portuguese* ships arrived at the port, with a fresh supply of men, arms, and other provisions, and enabled them to hold it till fresh troops and other reinforcements were sent thither from *Goa*, with the new governor, who soon settled the fortress and garrison in such a condition that they have held it ever since, and obliged the *Sofalans* to accept of such kings as they shall please to set over them; by which means they have kept that kingdom under tribute, and engrossed that rich and advantageous commerce to themselves, to this time. How long their new-made king, whether prince *Soliman*, or the perfidious *Zacote*, enjoyed his dignity, who were his successors, and other interesting particulars relating to that new conquest, we are left wholly in the dark. We are told indeed by a *Dutch* writer [l], that the king of *Sofala* was a *Portuguese* by birth, at the time of his writing his book. But *Jarric* will have it that he was only a tributary to *Portugal* [m]. But most writers agree that the kings of it were formerly tributary to the emperor of *Monomotapa* till *an.* 1507, when *Gnaja* and his successors reduced it under the power of king *Emanuel*. However it is not improbable that some of those emperors afterwards made themselves masters of the greatest part of the continent, and have confined the *Portuguese* to the sea-coast, in revenge for their shutting him in, and excluding his subjects from all foreign commerce with the sea-coast; though they have been since forced to refund it with interest, and to yield to them, besides some of their best gold mines, a tract of ground of above 160 leagues into their own dominions, both which they have kept ever since the year 1640, as we shall have occasion to shew under the next section.

Timely relief from Goa.

Kings of Sofala *since, not known.*

SECT. V.

The History of the Empire of Monomotapa, *or* Munemotapa.

Monomotapa, *whence so called.*

MONOMOTAPA is, next to the empire of *Abissinia*, one of the largest in all *Africa*. Some call it *Benemotapa*, and others *Benemoaxo*; and the name of *Benemotapa*, we are

[l] Spilberg. navig. 1601. vid. & Sanut, lib. xii. [m] Thes. Ind. Orient. lib. iii. c. 3.

told

told, is the common title of its monarchs, as *Cæsar* was that of the *Roman* emperors [a]; but according to *Texeira* it ought to be written *Muna Motapa*, because the kings who are seated beyond the *Caffers* call themselves *Mune*, instead of *Mani*. However that be, the *Portugueſe* do more juſtly ſtyle him the emperor of the gold, on account of the many rich mines which are within his dominions. *Monomotapa*, properly ſo called, lies contiguous to that of *Sofala*, laſt deſcribed on the eaſt, and is, like that, incloſed by the river *Cuama* on the north, and that of *Magnico*, or of the *Holy Ghoſt*, on the ſouth; extending itſelf weſtward between thoſe two rivers as far as their ſpring-heads: ſo that whilſt *Sofala* belonged to it, as it formerly did, it might be properly called an iſland, ſurrounded on one ſide with ſalt, and on the other with freſh water, and in extent between 700 and 800 leagues in circuit. It is ſituate between the 14th and 25th degrees of ſouth latitude, and between 41ſt and 56th of eaſt longitude, or 670 miles from north to ſouth, and 615 from eaſt to weſt [b] (A). But if we

Its extent, limits, and ſituation.

[a] MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 32. PURCH. Pilgr. lib. vii. c. 8. SANUT. lib. ix. [b] JOAN. DE BARROS, SANUT, lib. xii. LINSCHOT Guin. c. 7. RAMUS. DAVITY, & al.

(A) According to Meſſieurs *De Liſle* and *D'Anville*, the kingdom of *Monomotapa Proper* is bounded on the north by the river *Zambera*, or *Cuama*; on the eaſt by the *Indian* ſea; on the ſouth by the river of *St. Laurence*, and on the weſt partly by the *St. Laurence* and partly by the *Cuama*; ſo that, according to theſe limits, *Monomotapa* contains the kingdoms of, 1. *Quiteve*. 2. *Manica*. 3. *Sabia*. And, 4. *Inhabana*. To which *D'Anville* adds that of *Sedanda*, if it is not the ſame with the laſt. The firſt of which includes the provinces of *Zete*, *Bocuto*, *Maſtapa*, *Sena*, *Jubanico*, *Quiteve*; thoſe of *Sunbava* and *Sofala*; that of *Manica*; thoſe of *Montaqua*, *Sabia*; and the laſt, or *Inhabana*, that of *Tongua* (1).

But according to *De Faria y Souſa*, this empire is divided into the following twenty-five kingdoms; *viz.* 1. *Mongas*. 2. *Baroe*. 3. *Manika*. 4. *Boeſa*. 5. *Maſingo*. 6. *Remo*. 7. *Chique*. 8. *Chiria*. 9. *Chidima*. 10. *Boquizo*. 11. *Inabanzo*. 12. *Chiruvia*. 12. *Kondeſaka*. 14. *Daburia*. 15. *Makurumbo*. 16. *Munguſſa*. 17. *Rutuvaza*. 18. *Chovie*. 19. *Chungue*. 20. *Dixa*. 21. *Rombâ*. 22. *Raſſini*. 23. *Chirano*. 24. *Mokarango*. And, 25. *Remo De Beza*. To this he adds, that there are many lordſhips which have not the title of kingdoms, and that the greateſt of all thoſe that have is that of *Mongas*, which borders on the rivers *Cuama* or

(1) *De Liſle Atlas. La Martiniere Dict. ſub voc. Monomotapa. See alſo D'Anville's map of Eaſtern Ethiopia.*

Zambeze,

we take in all the other inferior kingdoms, which are either ſubject or tributary to it, it will extend itſelf vaſtly farther; *viz.* ſouthward almoſt as far the *Cape of Good Hope*, and on the north-weſt as far as the confines of the kingdom of *Congo*; for ſo far on theſe two ſides the authority of its monarchs is ſaid to extend itſelf; though on the weſt, and part of the north-weſt, it is confined by that of *Monoemugi* [c], of which we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel.

Climate, ſoil, and produce. THE climate of *Monomotapa* is temperate, notwithſtanding the far greater part of it doth lie within the ſouthern tropic; the air is clear and healthy, the ſoil fertile, and ſo well watered, as to abound with paſture grounds, on which are bred vaſt multitudes of cattle, eſpecially of the larger ſort, which the inhabitants ſet a higher value on than on their gold. Their ground produces plenty of rice, millet, and other grain, though no wheat. They have great variety of excellent fruit-trees, and abundance of ſugar-cane, which grows here without any culture. Their foreſts ſwarm with wild beaſts, and as various kinds of game; their rivers, of which they have a great number, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel, abounds not only with fiſh, but with gold likewiſe, which they ſweep away from the mines through which they run; yet, in ſpight of all this abundance, the country is, for the moſt part, but thinly inhabited, notwithſtanding ſome authors aſſertions to the contrary, particularly that of *Lopez*, who ſtyles the people infinite, and who probably computed them ſuch from what he obſerved on the ſea-coaſts, particularly on the iſlands formed by the four mouths of the *Cuama*, and other conſiderable ones, and of great length, which one meets with in ſailing up that river, as far as the towns of *Sena* and *Tele*, that is above 60 leagues diſtant from its mouth: all which iſlands are rich and fertile, and full of inhabitants, as well as on both ſides of the ſhore †. But, excepting thoſe lands which are watered by the *Cuama* and *Santo Spirito*, and a number of others which flow into them, the reſt of the inland parts are moſtly ſandy, dry, and barren; inſomuch that the few inhabitants that live in them are forced to go a great way for water to levigate their gold duſt, whenever their ciſterns fail them for want of rain, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

Plenty of all neceſſaries.

Yet thinly inhabited, excepting its iſlands.

† DE FARIA Y SOUSA, & al. ubi ſup. [c] Idem ibid. vid. & PIGAFETA Congo, lib. ii. c. 8. RAMUS. & al.

Zambeze, whoſe monarch is ſaid to be abſolute in his dominions, though a tributary or homager to the emperor (2).

(2) *Vid. Pigafet. Congo, lib. ii. p. 99, 192, & ſeq. Collection of voyages, 4to. an.* 1746 *p.* 396.

THEY

THEY have neither horſes nor any other beaſts of burthen; but vaſt herds of elephants, moſtly wild, of which they deſtroy ſeveral thouſands yearly, as may be eaſily judged by the vaſt quantity of ivory which is brought out of it, and ſold to the *Portugueſe*. They have a kind of dog they call Alſinge, of extraordinary ſize and ſwiftneſs; and oſtriches as large as oxen, whoſe greaſe or oil, either outwardly applied, or taken inwardly, is reckoned a ſovereign remedy againſt pains and aches, ſprains, and ſtiffneſs of the limbs [d]. *Wild and tame beaſts.* *Large oſtriches.*

THE natives are all black, with woolly hair, notwithſtanding their diſtance from the equinoxial line, and the coldneſs of ſome of their climates, and the ſnows which fall in ſuch vaſt quantities upon their mountains, as in the country of the *Belonghi*, and the proivnce of *Matuca*, that if any abide on them, they are ſure to be frozen to death: and, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, even thoſe who inhabit the countries beyond the ſouth tropic, as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, are all of the ſame dark hue; whereas the people in the moſt torrid regions of *Libya* and *America*, which have the ſun vertical over them, are ſtrangers both to that black tincture of ſkin and criſpneſs of hair. However, in other reſpects they are well ſhaped, robuſt, and healthy, and more ſprightly and docile than thoſe of *Quiloa*, *Mombaſo*, and *Melinda*. They delight much in war, which they prefer to the dull and low way of living by traffic. As for the lower claſs, they are commonly brought up to diving; and are ſo dexterous at it, that their chief buſineſs is to fetch ſand or mud from the bottom of rivers, ponds, and lakes, and to levigate the gold that is mixed with it more or leſs, which they afterwards exchange with the *Portugueſe* for cotton and other cloths, and variety of other merchandizes and trinkets, which they bring thither from *India* and *Europe*, as they are cloſely ſhut up from all commerce with any other coaſters [e]. *Inhabitants deſcribed.*

THEIR chief food is the fleſh of oxen and elephants, ſalted and dried fiſh, and a great variety of fruits. Amongſt theſe laſt there is one called Caſaema, not unlike an apple, very ſweet to the taſte, and of a lively violet colour; but ſo pernicious in its effects, when eaten in too great a quantity, that it never fails of cauſing violent dyſenteries and bloody fluxes. Their bread is made of rice or millet, baked into thin cakes, and their drink ſour milk, and oil of ſeſaman, or *Turkey* wheat. The richer ſort have ſome ſtrong ſorts of liquors made of honey, millet, and rice, and of ſome kinds of fruits. They have, among others of this ſort, *Their food and drink all highly perfumed.*

[d] PIGAFETA Cong. lib. ii. c. 8. ibid. JARRIC. Theſ. Ind.

[e] SANUT, DAVITY, & al.

the palm-wine, which is eſteemed a royal liquor, and drank much at court. This wine, which is drawn from the palm-tree by inciſion, is like the hydromel, and preſerved here, as in other parts of *Ethiopia*, in veſſels made of horn, curiouſly wrought; but the former is commonly mixed with manna, ambergriſe, muſk, and other ſuch high-ſcented perfumes, of which the courtiers and better ſort of people are very fond, not only in their meat and drink, but in their apartments, walks, *&c.* inſomuch that we are told the emperor conſumes daily as much of theſe ſorts of perfumes as is equivalent to two pounds weight of gold. All his flambeaux, which are burned before him, are perfumed in the ſame manner; and when he goes abroad he is generally carried in a ſtately ſedan or chair, borne by four perſons of quality, and under a magnificent canopy, richly embroidered, and beſpangled with pearls and precious ſtones; if the weather happens to be cloudy or miſty, four of thoſe lighted torches are carried before him, to clear and perfume the air [f]. The princeſſes and ladies of the higheſt rank always dreſs his victuals, bring and ſerve it at his table, and they take that office by turns, as do alſo his muſicians; but theſe laſt, before they come into his preſence, are obliged to be hood-winked, or have a veil before their face, to prevent their ſeeing him either eat or drink [g]. All the women in general, whether of quality or meaner rank, are fond of performing the ſame duty to their huſbands and families.

The king expenſive in it.

Dreſs of the people.

THE *Monomotapans* go naked almoſt as low as the girdle, but from thence downwards are covered with a piece of cloth of various colours, and dreſs more or leſs richly according to their rank or circumſtances. That of the common people is of dyed cotton; but that of perſons of quality is of *India* ſilks, or of cotton embroidered with gold, over which they commonly wear a lion's or ſome other wild beaſt's ſkin, with the tail hanging behind, and trailing on the ground. When they go into the country, they commonly cover their private parts with the rind of a calebaſſio, to prevent their being annoyed with the ſtings of venomous inſects: in other reſpects young men and maids go naked, except a bit of cloth with which they cover their middle: but after theſe are married, and have children, they cover their breaſts and all the reſt of their bodies [h].

Polygamy allowed.

THE men are allowed to marry as many wives as they pleaſe, or as they can maintain; but the firſt is always

[f] SANUT, OD. BARBOS. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ubi ſup. [g] Id. [h] Id. ibid.

looked

looked upon as the chief and miſtreſs, and her children as the father's heirs, whilſt the reſt are only deemed as ſervants. The king or emperor is ſaid to have above a thouſand wives, and all of them the daughters of ſome of his vaſſal princes; but the firſt is the only one who hath the title and honours of a queen. He never alters his dreſs, but goes attired in the ſame manner that his anceſtors did, neither allows he himſelf, or any of his wives or family, to wear any cloaths that are manufactured out of his dominions, for fear they ſhould have ſome poiſon or charm concealed in them. His uſual dreſs is a kind of long veſt or caſſock, which goes down to his knees; then croſſing between his legs, is again tucked up under his girdle. He wears alſo a ſtately brocaded mantle, waving over his ſhoulders, and buſkins on his legs, richly wrought and embroidered with gold, pearls, *&c.* His neck is adorned with a magnificent karkanet or collar, enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious ſtones, and going ſeveral times round, one under the other, down below his breaſt. Of the ſame rich materials is the hatband which goes round his turban [1].

The king's vaſt number of wives.

His dreſs deſcribed.

WHENEVER he goes abroad, which is either in his ſedan or palanquin already deſcribed, or mounted on an elephant or an Alſingo (B), he is always attended with a vaſt retinue beſides his own guards, and band of muſicians. On theſe occaſions, beſides his other regalia, he affects to wear hanging at his ſide a ſmall ſpade, with an ivory handle, and an arrow in each hand. Theſe he calls the enſigns or badges of his royalty. The ſpade is the emblem of induſtry, intimating that his ſubjects ought to apply themſelves to the effectual cultivating of their lands, leſt the neglect of it once reducing them to indigence, they ſhould be tempted to pilfer and ſteal: on which account one of the arrows in his hand points out to them his power and duty to puniſh ſuch, as well as all other

Retinue when he goes abroad.

[1] MARMOL, SANUT, RAMUS. & al. ſup. citat.

(B) The Alſingo, as hath been hinted already, is a kind of ſtag, but of an extraordinary ſize, ſtrength, and ſpeed, yet ſo wild that there are but few, eſpecially monarchs, who dare venture themſelves on their backs; tho' ſome of their ſubjects will, after they have, with great difficulty and danger, been broken to the bit and ſaddle; but examples of this are rare; and, as horſes are no leſs ſo, the *Monomotapan* emperors chuſe the moſt ſafe and noble beaſt to ride on; *viz.* the elephant (z).

(z) *Sanut, lib. Linſchot, lib.* ii. *Dapper, & al. ſup. citat.*

crimes,

crimes, as by the other he is repreſented as the protector and defender of his people from all foreign invaſions [k]. On occaſions of their going abroad in this public manner, whether to war or diverſion, or to viſit his dominions, his ſubjects, who pay him the moſt profound homage and reſpect, never fail of appearing in crouds to wiſh him all imaginable ſucceſs and proſperity; and ſacrifice, at proper diſtances on the road through which he paſſes, a deer, or ſome other victim; over which, whilſt the beaſt he rides on goes, their augurs, who always aſſiſt on ſuch occaſions, obſerve carefully the motions of the liver, heart, &c. of the dying creature, and from thence proclaim his enterpriſe or journey ſucceſsful or otherwiſe; if the former, they fill the air with ſhouts and acclamations, and if the latter, with doleful ſounds; and it is ſeldom that any of thoſe monarchs will proceed farther on their journey or deſign, whenever theſe pretended conjurers perſiſt in giving it a ſiniſter aſpect.

Sacrifices.

Superſtition.

Great number of tributaries.

THEY are however leſs liable either to revolts from within amongſt the great number of their tributary princes, or of invaſions from without, as they keep conſtantly a numerous ſtanding army, even when at peace with all the neighbouring nations, which ſecures them againſt the latter; and oblige all the ſons of their vaſſals and tributaries to be educated under their eye, and with their own family, where they are taught their duty and loyalty to them, and are kept as hoſtages of their parents fidelity. To this double policy they add a third, and no leſs ſucceſsful maxim, which is, to ſend once a year their ambaſſadors to all the grandees who are vaſſals to their crown, to give them what is ſtyled amongſt them the new fire. No ſooner do theſe ambaſſadors arrive at the court of a vaſſal, than they order them, in the emperor's name, to put out their fire, on pain of being declared rebels and traitors; which being complied with, they come and light it afreſh at that which the ambaſſadors bring with them for that purpoſe. Should any tributary refuſe to conform to this order, war is immediately declared againſt him, and military execution is put in force againſt him with the utmoſt ſeverity [l].

Three-fold policy.

Beloved by his ſubjects.

AND as they are thus careful to keep all their vaſſals within their due obedience, ſo are they no leſs ſollicitous to preſerve the affections of their ſubjects by acts of kindneſs and benignity. They exact no taxes or tribute from them, but ſome ſmall and inconſiderable free-gift or preſent, and that chiefly when they apply to them for juſtice, or ſome other fa-

[k] Id. ibid. vid. & OSORIO, lib. iv. & al. ubi ſup.

[l] MARMOL. OSOR.

vour;

vour; becauſe that is eſteemed a mark of reſpect from an inferior to a ſuperior, whenever they approach them. The ſame thing is obſerved by the merchants, who, at their fairs, or other places of ſale, commonly preſent him with ſome of their wares, not by compulſion, but of their own accord; and if any neglect that ſmall homage to him, their only puniſhment is, that they muſt not dare to appear before him, which is reckoned a great mortification and mark of contempt amongſt them. This ſingular indulgence makes them look upon themſelves as a free people, and by far more happy under ſuch a prince than any other *African* nation under theirs; and ſuch is their affectionate regard for him, that whenever he drinks, ſneezes, or coughs, one of the nobles in the preſence, cries aloud, "Pray for the health and "proſperity of the emperor:" upon which not only the place where he is, but as far on all ſides as their ſhouts can be propagated and heard, is filled with acclamations of joy and good wiſhes for him [m]. If he at any time doth ſummon them to labour either at the gold mines, or for any other ſervice, as is ſometimes the caſe, he never fails of ſending them cows and other proviſions, which makes them come with greater readineſs to his work.

His miniſters and officers, both civil and military, as well as his ſoldiery, who ſubſiſt by his pay, are indeed obliged, inſtead of taxes, to pay him a kind of ſervice of ſeven days in every month, either in cultivating his grounds, or any other work he thinks fit to employ them in; and the lords and nobles of the kingdom are likewiſe bound to the ſame ſervice when required, unleſs exempted from it by ſome particular privilege granted to their family or office.

All law-ſuits and conteſts may be brought before him by appeal, and the former judgments be either confirmed or annulled by his authority. He hath no goals nor priſons in his dominions, becauſe every tryal is ſummarily determined, either according to the report of the parties, or the evidence of the witneſſes, and every crime puniſhed immediately after conviction. If the complaint or crime be of ſuch a nature, that it cannot be ſo quickly adjudged, and there be any danger of the perſon accuſed making his eſcape, he is ordered to be tied to a tree, and a guard is ſet over him till he is either abſolved or condemned; if the latter, the ſentence is immediately executed in the open field, whether it be corporal or capital puniſhment; the former is commonly a more or leſs ſevere drubbing with a knotted cord, according to the nature

Law-ſuits how determined.

[m] Marmol, Osorio, Ramus. & al. ubi ſup.

ture

ture of the crime, or the favour of the prince, as it is not reckoned ignominious among them, though inflicted on a nobleman.

Witnesses how purged.

If any contraſt or doubt happens between the witneſſes, one of them is obliged to take a piece of the bark of a certain tree into his mouth, and to chew it into a powder, which is then thrown into ſome water, and given to the other to drink. If it ſtays with him he is abſolved, if not he is condemned. In the former caſe however, he that gave the water hath ſtill one way left to clear himſelf, by drinking ſome of it, and if it ſtays with him alſo, the law-ſuit is left undetermined, and an end put to it [n]. He exacts no ſervile proſtrations from his ſubjects, as the eaſtern monarchs uſually do from thoſe who come into his preſence, but obliges them all to a ſitting poſture (C), except the *Arabians* and *Portugueſe*, together with ſome few favourites, who are allowed the privilege of ſtanding before him, which is eſteemed one of the greateſt marks of his favour; the next to which is that of having the liberty of ſitting upon a carpet, at their own homes; and a third they add of having doors to their houſes or apartments. All which, but chiefly the laſt, only belong to the grandees of the empire, the reſt thinking themſelves ſecure enough under the protection of their prince, and is only granted to ſuch grandees as a mark of honour and diſtinction. If any other pre-eminence they have, it is more on account of the largeneſs than the richneſs of the materials, or elegance of their ſtructures, they being all built of wood, and thatched with leaves or reeds, and are round on the top, like a bell or cupola [o].

Privileges granted to nobles.

Capital deſcribed.

The metropolis of this empire is called *Benemataſa*, or *Banamataſa*, and by *Le Blanc* and others *Medregan* [p]. It is a ſpacious city, ſituate about ſix days journey from an ancient palace named *Simbaces*, and about 20 miles weſt of *Sofala*. The houſes are neat, and more or leſs high and lofty, according to the rank of the owners. They are moſtly white-waſhed within and

[n] Marmol, lib. ix. c. 32. [o] Id. ibid. [p] Le Blanc World Surveyed, part i. c. 6. Dapper, & al.

(C) As perhaps the leſs dangerous to his perſon, becauſe men in that poſture are leſs able either to offend, or to defend themſelves; whilſt at the ſame time it carries the appearance of an uncommon condeſcenſion and confidence, very unlike the ſtate and grandeur which the *Perſian* and other eaſtern monarchs exacted from thoſe who approached them, to have their hands muffled up in their ſleeves, and to remain proſtrate on the ground all the time they continued in their preſence.

without,

without, and adorned with beautiful cloths of cotton, finely wrought or dyed, which make the moſt conſiderable part of their furniture. But the greateſt ornament of the city is the imperial palace, which is a large ſpacious fabric, though of wood, well flanked with towers, and with four avenues or ſtately gates, conſtantly kept by a numerous guard. The inſide conſiſts of a great variety of ſumptuous apartments, ſpacious and lofty halls, all adorned with a magnificent kind of cotton tapeſtry, the manufacture of the country, wherein the beauty and livelineſs of the colours greatly raiſe the value of them above that of the gold with which they are embelliſhed. The floors, ceilings, beams, and rafters, are all either gilt or plated with gold, curiouſly wrought, as are alſo the chairs of ſtate, tables, benches, *&c.* and all beautifully enamelled, or curiouſly painted, if we may credit ſome travellers [q] and geographers. They uſe candleſticks and branches of ivory inlaid with gold, and hanging from the ceiling by chains of the ſame metal, or of ſilver gilt, and every thing elſe anſwerable to them. The flambeaux, which are lighted in them, are all perfumed with every coſtly odour, with the ſame profuſion. The emperor is ſerved at table upon the knee, and the diſhes taſted, not before he eats of them, but after they are taken away. He is commonly attended at ſuch times by a great number of officers, who keep a moſt profound ſilence. The plates, diſhes, and bowls, belonging to his table are of a ſort of porcelane, curiouſly wrought around with ſprigs of gold, reſembling thoſe of coral; but whether manufactured in his dominions, or brought from *India*, we are not told.

The imperial palace.

Rich furniture.

The king how ſerved.

THE ladies of the court are ſaid to make a moſt gallant figure, and to go richly clad, though in the manufacture of the country. The ſame we may ſuppoſe of the ſons of all the tributary princes, who are here brought up under the king's eye, and muſt be ſuppoſed to make the nobleſt figure they can. They have colleges and academies appropriated to their education, and at his charge. Theſe, joined to the retinue and equipages, and the great number of officers civil and military, who are obliged to attend on the court, may likewiſe be reaſonably ſuppoſed to make no inconſiderable addition to the brilliancy of it, as well as the opulence and ſplendor of that great metropolis [r].

Brilliant court.

THE empreſs, as well as ſuch and as many of his other wives as the emperor invites, are always glad when the time

[q] LE BLANC, ubi ſup. DAVITY, & al. BARBOS. LE BLANC, DAVITY, & al.

[r] SANUT, OD.

The empress presides over his harvest, in his absence.

comes to accompany him into the country, to assist at the gathering of his harvest; and if he be hindered by war or otherwise, she takes the whole care of it upon herself, and assigns to the other wives their several tasks under her; *viz.* to overlook a certain number of those soldiers or other subjects that are employed in that work. These are obliged, as was lately observed, to pay him the service of seven days in thirty, and to bring their own provisions with them, but are nevertheless commonly supplied, over and above, with cows, sheep, and other eatables, by his special bounty, especially whenever he is present *. And as he is always accompanied with a numerous band of musicians, jesters, and buffoons, each under their own captain or master of the revels, the evening, and even the whole night, is entertained either with the music of the one, or the songs, jests, and buffoonries of the other. And this pastime, we are told by some authors, is not only usual in the country, and upon these joyful occasions, but lasts most of the year where-ever the court is, whether in the capital or out of it †. We must, however, observe here, with respect to the female part of it, of what rank soever, that they are, every-where through this empire, treated with the utmost respect and decency; insomuch, that if even a prince of the blood meets a woman of ever so mean a rank in his way, he dares take no other notice of her than to give her the upperhand, and pass by her with a civil bow ‡.

The women very respectfully treated.

Other cities. Zinbas.

OTHER cities of note, though not considerable enough to deserve a description, are *Zimbas*, *al. Zimbaos*, in the neighbourhood of *Sofala*, and supposed to have some relation with the *Agasimba* of *Ptolomy*, as that word signifies properly a palace or castle, of which there are several antient ones, probably to guard the gold mines; so that *Agasimba* might then properly signify the region or country of castles or palaces. The relation published of this country by the Jesuits, *an.* 1624, mentions another city in this country named *Tele*, where that society hath the college of the *Holy Ghost* for their residence. *Sena*, inhabited chiefly by *Portuguese*, and one of their chief fairs, as the *Cuama* is navigable up to it, and to that of *Tele* last-mentioned, which is another of their colonies §. We might add that of *Tumbaro*, and some others of less note, but of which they give no particular account.

BESIDES these and other provinces and kingdoms, tributary to the *Monomotapan* empire, we are told of a province or

* OD. BARBOS. MARMOL, DAVITY, PURCH. Relat. of the World, lib. vii. c. 8. † PURCHAS. ubi. sup. & al. sup. citat.
‡ Id. ibid. § FARIA Y SOUSA Voyag. & al. sup. citat.

district, appropriated by the king for a set of female warriors, in all respects like the ancient *Amazons* we have spoken of in our ancient history [s], and observing the same way of living. These are said to be seated in a separate kingdom, on the confines of those of *Damot* and *Gorago*, belonging to the *Abissinian* empire [t]. And some add, that the kings of *Monomotapa* prefer them in their wars to their own standing troops. Many more wonderful things they tell us concerning their way of living, fighting, wounding and killing in their pretended flight, that we should be loth to vouch for, as well as absolutely to deny the real existence of such martial viragoes, against the evidence of so many, otherwise credible, authors [u]. The reader is at liberty to judge as he pleases.

A province inhabited by Amazons,

We have already hinted, on another occasion, that the emperor maintains a numerous army constantly on foot, for he hath no cavalry, there being but few horses, if any, in his dominions, at least fit for that purpose. Whenever he goes to war, either against an invading enemy, or revolted vassal, those heroines always make one part of it, as well as of his guard. They are armed and clothed like the men; their weapons are the bow and arrows, the javelin, scimeter, cutlace, and dagger, and some of them use also the hatchet, very keen and light, all which they handle with great dexterity, being trained up to it from their tender years, and frequently exercised in them. Where-ever the emperor incamps, they rear for him a large wooden house, in which a fire must be constantly kept burning, lest some conjuring spell against him should be concealed under the ashes [w]. He takes such of his wives with him as he likes best; and, besides his *Amazonian* life-guard, is always escorted by 200 large mastiffs, as the more trusty animal of the two, and in less danger of being bribed. In what order and manner his army marches, incamps, attacks, and fights, we are not told; only that neither he nor any of his soldiery are permitted to wash hands or face, till they have gained a complete victory: after which the spoil is divided between him, his officers, and common soldiers [x].

who are part of the king's army and guard.

Their weapons.

Spoils of war how divided.

The principal officers of his court, are the *Ningamesha*, or governor of the kingdom (a kind of grand vizier, or prime minister), the *Mokomasha*, or captain-general, the *Ambuya*, or lord high-steward, to whom, among other privileges, belongs

Principal officers of state.

[s] Univ. Hist. vol. vi. p. 57, & seq. [t] Sanut, lib. ii. Davity, Dapper, &c. [u] Le Blanc, Dapper, Pigafet. Linschot, lib. ii. & Beteri, Benemot, part i. & al. [w] Iid. ibid. [x] Iid. ubi sup.

that of naming a new empreſs when the old one dies, but ſhe muſt be either one of the ſiſters or near relations of the emperor. The *Inhantore*, or captain of the band of muſicians, who has a great number of them under him, and is himſelf a great lord. The *Nurakao*, or captain of the vanguard. The *Bukurumo*, which ſignifies the kings right hand. The *Mogando*, or chief augur or conjurer. The *Nelambe*, or keeper of the king's pharmacy, ointments, and other utenſils and ingredients uſed by the augur. The *Nehono*, or chief porter of the palace. All theſe are ſtyled lords, as well as the two chief cooks belonging to his majeſty, who are commonly his relations; and the under cooks, who are alſo men of quality. None of theſe muſt be above 20 years of age, for till then they are ſuppoſed to have been free from carnal commerce with women; and if any have, they are ſeverely puniſhed. As ſoon as they have attained the age of twenty, they are preferred to greater employments; thoſe within doors are governed by a captain, as are likewiſe thoſe without, much of the ſame nature as were formerly the *Alcalde de los Donzelos* [y].

Chief wives, their revenue and employ.

AMONG the many wives belonging to the king, there are nine who are immediately next to the empreſs, and enjoy ſome conſiderable employment at court. The firſt of them is ſtyled *Mazarira*, or mother of the *Portugueſe*, who ſollicits their affairs with his majeſty, and is gratified with large preſents for it by thoſe ſervants of hers who commonly accompany his envoys to them. The next is the *Inahanda*, who performs the ſame office in favour of the *Moors*. The third is the *Nabàiza*, who lives in the ſame apartment with him. The other ſix have likewiſe their reſpective titles, employments, and apartments, and all of them their ſeveral revenues ariſing from the reſpective kingdoms allotted to them, and ſufficient to enable them to live in great ſtate, and to keep a ſeparate court; and as ſoon as one of them dies, another out of the next rank, is named to ſucceed to her title, place, and income. All theſe have likewiſe a great number of women to attend them, as the king often goes to or ſends for them; if he ſees any of theſe that pleaſe him, he makes no ſcruple of taking them to his bed [z].

THE prince, as well as the ſubjects of this vaſt empire, are generally heathen; though neither polytheiſts, idolaters, nor given to ſuch bloody and deteſtable ſuperſtitions as the greateſt part of the *Caffers* are, which are here held in abhorrence, and ſeverely puniſhed where-ever any ſuch thing is found. They acknowlege a Supreme Being, Creator, and

[y] PIGAFET. Congo. p. 192, & ſeq. [z] Id. ibid.

Governor

Governor of the univerſe, and accordingly they ſtyle him *Mazira* and *Attuno*, terms equivalent to thoſe two attributes. They pay moreover, we are told[a], a ſingular veneration to a certain virgin whom they call *Al Firoo*, and have temples and nunneries erected in honour of her, and confine their daughters in them, much in the ſame manner as their neighbours the *Abiſſinians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* do, to perpetual celibacy; but whether this notion of the worſhip of that virgin be derived from any of them, or hath ſome other origin we will not venture to affirm; only thus much we may obſerve from ſome of their other ſuperſtitious rites, ſuch as praying to and for the dead, preſerving and paying a kind of religious regard to the bones and relics of their deceaſed parents, children, and other near or dear friends and relations, keeping ſtated anniverſaries to their memory, and ſome others of a lower rank; and more might we ſtill find, were we more fully acquainted with them; they all ſavour ſo much of the *Abiſſinian* ſuperſtition, that it is not unlikely they may have been formerly made proſelytes to that church, whilſt the country was ſubject or tributary to its emperors, but have ſince fallen away from the one, after their ſhaking off the yoke of the other. However that be, *Pigafetta* taxes them with being given not only to a great variety of ſuperſtitions, but to ſuch magical arts and practices, as quite eclipſe the luſtre of their belief in one Supreme Being[b]; though that belief is no ſmall preparative diſpoſition to their being made converts to Chriſtianity.

Chriſtianity introduced.

ACCORDINGLY we are told, that, in the year 1560, F. *Gonzales Silveyra*, a *Portugueſe* Jeſuit, had the good ſucceſs to baptize the then emperor and his mother. The former of them by the name of *Sebaſtian*, in honour of the king of *Portugal*, and the latter by the name of *Mary*, in honour of the bleſſed virgin. Their example was followed by above 300 noblemen belonging to his court, and quickly after by a great number of the greateſt lords of the empire. But if we may believe our author, who was of the ſame fraternity[c], a year was ſcarcely expired, before that young and inconſtant prince was ſo far exaſperated both againſt his new religion and its preacher, by ſome of his favourites, who were *Mohammedans*, and repreſented the *Portugueſe* Father not only as a dangerous ſpy, but as a great magician, and capable by his enchantments to overturn his whole empire, and to deſtroy the lives of his ſubjects, as to cauſe him to be murder-

Emperor baptized.

Cruel to his converter.

[a] PIGAFETA Congo, lib. ii. c. 8. [b] Ubi ſup. [c] JARRIC. Theſ. Ind. lib. iii. c. 9 & 10.

ed by eight of his domeſtics, whilſt the good father was taking his reſt, and to order his body to be thrown into the next river. He likewiſe cauſed ſome fifty of his neophites, whom he had baptized but the day before, to undergo the ſame fate; but repenting afterwards of his raſhneſs and too eaſy credulity, he cauſed thoſe *Mohammedans* to be publicly executed for their calumnies; of which the Jeſuits of *Kochin* were no ſooner appriſed, than they ſent two of their ſociety to him, who, by repreſenting to him the infinite benefit which they did to the world by their preaching and converſions, ſo far ingratiated themſelves into his favour, that he gave them at once the full liberty of propagating their religion, and to his ſubjects the full permiſſion of embracing it.

His ſorrow for it, and kindneſs to the new Jeſuits.

King of Portugal's *ill-timed expedition.*

THEY had now a fair proſpect of converting the whole empire, but which was not long after obſcured again by the indiſcretion of *Sebaſtian* king of *Portugal*; who, inſtead of ſending thither a freſh ſupply of preachers to accelerate the good work, equipped a new fleet, the command of which he gave to Don *Franciſco Baretto*, with order to enter *Monomotapa* in a hoſtile manner, and to revenge the death of the late Father *Silveyra* on the young emperor; and this, we are told, was done rather at the earneſt ſollicitations of that Jeſuit's illuſtrious family, as well as of a great number of grandees, than out of any inclination that prince had to fall out with the *Monomotapan* emperor. This proved however, a very unſucceſsful expedition both to the admiral, who is ſaid to have been taken off in that war, not by the arms, but by the treachery, of the *Arabs*, who cauſed his water and proviſions to be poiſoned; and to the greateſt part of his men, who died either in the ſame manner, or by the ill temperature of the climate. This is all the account we have given us of that fatal expedition; which, our authors however add, did not hinder the *Portugueſe* ſettled there from continuing their commerce with the ſubjects of that empire with the ſame freedom, aſſiduity, and advantage, that they had done before [d]. Our author adds, in a few words, that the Jeſuits were ſoon after ſucceeded in that miſſion by ſome Dominicans, who undertook the converſion of thoſe heathens (D), without

His admiral poiſoned.

Commerce ſtill continued.

Jeſuits ſucceeded by the Dominicans.

[d] JARR. ubi ſup. LA CROIX, DAVIT. DAPPER, lib. ii. c. 10. & al.

(D) We muſt leave it to the reader to make his own remarks on theſe ſhort detached pieces of hiſtory, where our authors, who are of the ſame fraternity, and equally concerned for the credit of their order, have thought proper either to conceal or palliate ſuch tranſactions and concurring circumſtances, as,

out telling us with what ſucceſs, which probably was but ſmall, ſince theſe have ſaid ſo little of it; and a celebrated traveller, who was there about the year 1570, tells us, that the then emperor, who had by that time reigned 47 years, and was in all reſpects a prince of great penetration, valour, conduct, and juſtice, and almoſt adored by his ſubjects for his excellent qualities, ſtill profeſſed the old *Monomotapan* religion [e]. However that be, the next paragraph will plainly ſhew that the *Portugueſe* proved more ſucceſsful in their ſecular affairs, in enlarging their conqueſts, and in the increaſe of their wealth and ſtrength; by which means the Jeſuits got freſh footing and credit in that empire. It is as follows [f].

In the year 1604, the *Monomotapan* emperor having invited the *Portugueſe* to come and take poſſeſſion of the mines which he had yielded to them, the Fathers *Franceſco Gonzalez*, and *Paulo Aleixo*, both Jeſuits, were appointed to accompany the army which was deſtined for that empire; from which vaſt advantages were expected to be reaped by both Portugueſe *put in poſſeſſion of ſome gold mines.*

[e] Vincent Le Blanc, part ii. c. 6 & 7. [f] Jarric, ubi ſup. c. 41. Davity.

as, if fairly told, would be likely to impair, if not ruin it. They need but confront them with what hath been related in former volumes of their boaſted converſions and unchriſtian behaviour, which have ended in a general perſecution and total extirpation of them and their religion, in the empires of *China* and *Japan*, in the kingdoms of *Tong-king*, *Kochin China*, *Siam*, &c. ‡ and more recently in the hiſtory of *Abiſſinia*, as well as what we ſhall have occaſion to take notice of in thoſe of *Kongo*, *Angola*, and other parts of *Africa*, to be enabled to form a more than probable conjecture about their motives for thus curtailing the *Portugueſe* tranſactions in this of *Monomotapa*. We may likewiſe conclude, from their being ſucceeded in that miſſion by the Dominicans, that they were by that time, on ſome account or other, become either obnoxious to the emperor and his ſubjects, or that their proceedings here, as well as every-where elſe, were diſpleaſing to the congregation *de propaganda fide*, at *Rome*, which, for many good reaſons, always kept a watchful eye over them, and ſeldom if ever failed of ſending other miſſionaries, either of the Dominicans or ſome other order, to be a check over them; witneſs the heavy charge and grievous complaints which were exhibited againſt them from *China*, *Japan*, and other parts, and their being frequently recalled from their miſſions, and other orders ſent in their ſtead, by that illuſtrious body, notwithſtanding the many friends they have in it, and their vaſt intereſt both in the conclave and the *Roman* court.

‡ *See vol.* viii. *&* ix. *paſſ. and before*, p. 7, *&* ſeq. 324, *&* ſeq. *&* *alib. paſſ.*

sides, the emperor confiding solely in the *Portuguese* for the reduction of his revolted vassals, and permitting them to build fortresses where-ever they thought fit, and even near his court, in order to their being nearer at hand to assist him against all emergencies.

Why their accounts are so short.

From these few historical fragments which we have been able to gather from the *Portuguese* writers, and from what we have occasionally observed in the last note, the reader will easily perceive the reason why we are so much in the dark, concerning the antiquity, foundation, and regular succession of this opulent and extensive monarchy; though, from a remarkable revolution which the *French* traveller last quoted hath transmitted to us, and in which the emperor then reigning was the chief actor, it appears to have been intailed by their laws in the male line, and might, if better known to us, have furnished us in all likelihood with a noble series of monarchs, of many illustrious reigns, and other remarkable particulars, worthy a curious reader's notice, especially if they bore any proportion to that signal one we are going to relate. We shall give it as near as possible in the author's own words, though stripped for brevity's sake of the many pompous eulogies and superfluous appendages with which the subjects of so greatly admired a prince, or perhaps the vanity of the author, may have thought proper to embellish it.

Bloody contest about the succession.

The emperor *Al Fumigar-bachi*, who reigned about 60 years before our author's arrival thither, being surprised with sudden death, in the 47th year of his age, without having time to appoint a successor from among the 64 sons he had by his several wives, a long and bloody contest arose between the most considerable of them, to which their respective mothers contributed all their efforts, interest, and riches, in order to bribe the most potent lords in behalf of their favourite sons. The struggle was so great, and the partizans so zealous, that each of the competitors strove to destroy the rest of his rivals not only by all hostile means, but by publicly setting the greatest prices upon their heads. At length, after many fierce engagements and much blood-shed, the candidates were reduced to four; *viz. Abgara*, *Adala*, *Cercut*, and *Gulman*, who having escaped the many snares laid for them by their other brethren, agreed to unite their interest and strength against them, and slew as many of them as fell into their hands, whilst the rest either fled into different provinces and strong-holds for safety, or continued the war against the four with incredible fury and obstinacy, insomuch that the two former of the four princes lost their lives in it. The two survivors proving more successful against the rest, and impatient

to

to reconcile the nobles to them, and reſtore peace to the empire, agreed to reign jointly and by turns, and that each ſhould hold the reins of government ſix months in the year, after the manner of the two *Theban* princes *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, mentioned in our ancient hiſtory, and almoſt exactly with the ſame tragical end[s]; for they had reigned peaceably ſome ſhort time, when *Cercut* unfortunately marrying an ambitious princeſs, named *Gildada*, was eaſily perſuaded by her, on ſome pretence, to ſend for his brother to court, and to put him privately to death. He reigned ſingly after this fratricide about 13 years, when an uncle of his, named *Nahi*, put both him and his wife and children to death, to the general joy of all the people to whom his reign was become odious on that account, and himſelf reigned in his ſtead.

Two brothers reign jointly.

THIS revolution ſoon brought on a dreadful war between him and *Gildada*'s father, then a powerful prince (E), in which vaſt numbers were ſlain on both ſides. In the mean time, one of the princes of the blood, who had eſcaped the horrid ſlaughter which his other brothers made againſt each other for the empire, had retired far enough into a diſtant kingdom, where he had bought a ſmall territory, which he cultivated himſelf, and on which he lived as a private man. Here he had alſo married a wife, by whom he had a ſon whom he named *Al-*

The hiſtory of the emperor Al-fondi.

[s] Vol. vi. p. 164, & 199.

(E) Our author, whether through forgetfulneſs or miſapprehenſion, ſtyles that prince king of *Dafila*; a kingdom nowhere to be found but in ſome geographers (12), who place it within the territories of the *Babrnagaſh* in the empire of *Abiſſinia*, on the confines of the coaſt of *Habaſh* or *Abex*. But thoſe geographers were miſled by ſome fabulous and erroneous maps: and had there been really a kingdom of that name on that coaſt, it muſt have been too inconſiderable and too remote from *Monomotapa* to have maintained ſuch a bloody war againſt it. It is therefore probable, either that he miſtook the name of the king for that of the kingdom, for want of rightly underſtanding his informer, or that his memory miſled him in this, as in another kingdom which he calls *Le Royaume d'Eli*, the kingdom of *Eli*, and his *Engliſh* tranſlator, by another miſtake, the kingdom of *Deli*, but which is as unknown to modern geographers as that of *Dafila*. However, as it is no ſtrange thing that a traveller ſhould make ſome miſtakes, in ſuch a variety of ſtrange names; ſo neither is it improbable that there may be a great number of kingdoms in the inland of *Africa*, which are ſtill unknown to the beſt geographers even by name.

(12) *Mercator, & al. de his, vid.* La *Martiniere, ſub voc Dafila.*

fundi,

fundi, who at the age of seven or eight years began to give signal prognostics of a rare elevated genius, and grew more and more beloved and admired as his years increased, by all who knew him. He began by times to display an undaunted courage in hunting of lions, tygers, and other wild creatures; and hearing at length of the cruel war that raged in *Monomotapa*, between his then unknown great uncle and the king of *Dafila*, resolved to set out as soon as possible for that kingdom; and having provided himself with some arms and a horse, he began his journey thither, attended only with a small number of brave youths like himself, whom he had engaged to accompany him.

His noble character.

Exploits, and rise at court.

He had not been long there, before he signalized himself by such brave exploits, as drew the eyes of all upon him; but more particularly, and by a kind of natural sympathy, those of his great uncle, who, though then wholly ignorant of the proximity of blood between him and the brave stranger, conceived such an affection for, and confidence in him, that he intrusted him with the command of a small corps of his troops to attack the enemy in some important post. On this occasion *Al-fondi* displayed so much conduct and bravery, and gained so signal a victory over the *Dafilans*, that their king left no means untried to bring him over to his interest, tho' all to no effect. The consequence was, that in the space of six months he gained so many battles, and performed such surprising exploits, that he rid the empire of that troublesome enemy; and, in recompence for his signal services and inviolable fidelity, his uncle gave him his daughter in marriage, without his having the least surmise of his true extract and near relation to him.

Marries the emperor's daughter.

His father arrives at court.

The first thing *Al-fondi* did after his advancement, was to send for his father, who still lived in his obscure farm, and upon his arrival at court, discloſed the whole mystery, and declared himself the son of the late emperor *Alfumigarbachi*, to the joyful surprize of his uncle and of the whole court and army. The uncle gladly resigned the crown to him as his undoubted due, and he at the same time, with the universal consent of all, transferred his to his worthy son *Al-fondi*, and his wife, who were accordingly crowned with the utmost solemnity and universal acclamations of the people, who gladly acknowleged him as their lawful sovereign, and honoured him as the restorer of the peace of the empire, and of the imperial crown to its ancient chanel, after so many long and bloody wars and contests about the succession [h].

Al-fondi *is crowned.*

[h] Le Blanc, part ii. c. 6.

This

This remarkable revolution happened in the year 1523; and that noble prince was ſtill on the throne, *an.* 1570, when our author viſited his dominions; who tells us, that he was ſtill the love and admiration of all his ſubjects, and relates ſome ſignal inſtances of his juſtice, equity, and other royal virtues, for which we ſhall refer the curious reader to his own book [i].

Before we diſmiſs this chapter, it will not be amiſs to give ſome account of the rich golden mines with which this empire abounds, and which we have but juſt occaſionally mentioned in the courſe of its hiſtory. The moſt conſiderable of them are in the kingdom of *Manica*, under the 23d degr. of ſouth latitude, and 31ſt of eaſt longitude, near unto which is ſituate the capital of the ſame name, called by ſome *Magnica*. They extend themſelves through a large ſpacious champaign, wild, ſandy, and barren, about nine miles in circuit, and ſurrounded with high mountains. The province is called *Matuca*, and the inhabitants who dig the mines *Batooge*. Their rule for diſcovering the places where the gold lies, is by the dryneſs and barrenneſs of the ground; as if nature ſo far exhauſted herſelf in the production of that precious metal, that it could yield nothing elſe, where it yielded that. The country moreover is ſo inhoſpitable in winter, tho' ſo near the ſouth tropic, that whatever creatures abide there during that ſeaſon, are frozen to death by the vaſt quantities of ſnow that fall, and the exceſſive cold that reigns throughout it [k]. But in ſummer the air is ſo ſerene and clear, that ſome *Europeans* pretend to have ſeen the new moon on the day of its conjunction. *The gold mines of Manica.* *Extreme cold of the region.*

These rich mines lie about 150 miles weſt of the mart, or place where the commerce for it is carried on; the misfortune is, that the *Caffers* who work at them, and are naturally lazy, find great difficulty in gathering the metal, which here is in duſt, for want of water to ſeparate it from the earth, ſo that they are obliged to carry it as mixed as they dig it out to other diſtant places, where they keep large ciſterns and reſervoirs for that purpoſe. One conveniency they have however, that they need not dig deeper for the ore than above ſix or ſeven ſpans; all the reſt underneath being ſolid rock. *Difficulty in gathering the gold.*

Next to thoſe of *Manica*, or indeed preferable by far to them, if what we are told of them by a *Portugueſe* traveller *Mines of Maſſapa.*

[i] Le Blanc, part ii. c. 6, & 7. [k] Marmol, lib. ix. c. 21.

be

be true, are thoſe which he calls the mines of *Maſſapa*[l], and others of *Afur*; from the affinity of which name he concludes them to be probably the ancient *Ophir*. In theſe, he tells us, have been found two lumps of gold, the one worth 1,200 ducats, and the other 400,000. He adds, that it is not only found among the ſtones, but grows up within the barks of ſeveral trees quite up to the top where the branches ſpread. But ſetting aſide this wonderful one, there are others in this empire not much inferior to thoſe of *Manica*; particularly thoſe of *Batua*, a kingdom bordering on the barren wilds lately mentioned, and extending itſelf from *The Mountains of the Moon* to the river *Magnico*, and whoſe prince is a vaſſal of the emperor.

Mines of Batua,

THESE are reckoned the ancienteſt mines in the whole empire, on account of ſome old caſtles in their neighbourhood, ſuppoſed to have been built as a ſafeguard to them, and carry the greateſt marks of antiquity. Thoſe of *Boro*, and *Kiticuy*, the one about 100 and the other 200 leagues from *Sofala*, and more particularly ſtill thoſe of the province of *Toroa*, in which are thoſe buildings or caſtles of which we have ſpoken in the laſt ſection [m], and which ſome learned have attributed to king *Solomon*. The reader may ſee the principal one of theſe ancient ſtructures deſcribed in the margin (F); by

Boro, &c.

[l] FARIA Y SOUSA, vid. & Collect. of voyag. 4to. 1746, vol. iii. p. 396. [m] Page 447 (C).

(F) It ſtands in the middle of a large ſpacious plain, round about which are ſcattered the mines above-mentioned, and therefore is reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been deſigned as a guard to them, eſpecially as the ſtructure rather reſembles a ſtrong fortreſs than a *Zamba* or palace; the name which the inhabitants give both to this and to all the others of the ſame conſtruction. Its walls are not high, but of the thickneſs of 25 ſpans; the ſtones are laid regularly one upon another, without either cement, or any other material to faſten them together. On the front, juſt over the great gate, is a larger ſtone than the reſt, and upon it an inſcription in characters, or more probably hieroglyphics, which no man hath hitherto been able to decypher.

Round this fortreſs, and at ſome diſtance from it, are ſeen ſeveral other ſuch ſtructures, all built on ſome eminence or riſing ground, and amongſt them a tower above twelve fathoms or ſeventy-two feet high. The wild natives, being unable to conceive how ſuch ſtructures could be reared, imagine them to be the work of demons. Thoſe *Moors* who have ſeen them and the *Portugueſe* caſtles in theſe parts, affirm that theſe are in no way comparable to them;

by which he may judge of the reſt, there being many more ſuch edifices in this empire, and all of them of much the ſame fabricature. They are computed about 170 leagues, or 510 miles weſtward from *Sofala* [n]. But there are ſeveral other conſiderable places where they have their fairs and markets, between the mines and the ſea-coaſt, particularly in thoſe towns which lie on the *Zebeze* or *Cuama*, and other rivers, which, as was hinted above, are navigable up to that of *Tele*, one hundred and twenty leagues from *Sofala*, and where the *Portugueſe* have built fortreſſes to keep the natives in awe, who come to thoſe markets to exchange their gold for *European*, *Indian*, and other commodities. The firſt of theſe towns is called *Luano*, or *Luancho*, and is about four days journey from the ſea; the ſecond is *Buento*, ſtill farther in the inland; the third *Maſſapa*, ſtill farther up; the fourth *Sena*, and the laſt *Tele* above-mentioned. *Markets for gold.*

THE commodities which the *Portugueſe* give the natives for theirs are chiefly cloths, of various kinds and value, glaſs beads of various ſizes and colours, and other ſtill more worthleſs trinkets, for which, beſides the gold above-mentioned, they give them ivory, furs of ſundry wild and tamebeaſts, and other ſuch valuable commodities, which makes that commerce very advantageous to them, eſpecially as they are in ſome meaſure their own carvers, and oblige the natives to ſubmit to their own terms. They have moreover in thoſe markets an officer of their own, who is appointed by the governor of *Moſambico*, and decides all conteſts and differences that ariſe about their traffic; that of *Maſſapa* in particular, who is nominated with the conſent of the emperor, ſeems to be the chief of them, and, we are told, is forbid to go into the country without his leave, under pain of death. They have likewiſe, in moſt of theſe towns, churches and monaſteries of the dominican order [o]. By the means of theſe ſeveral forts on the inland, as well as that more conſiderable one which they have on the mouth of the *Cuama* (all which, they tell us, the emperor *Portugueſe judges.*

[n] Conf. MARMOL, lib. ix. c. 31. & PURCHAS. Pilgr. lib. vii. c. 8.

[o] MARMOL, PURCHAS, LOPEZ, FARIA, & al. ſup. citat.

them; neither is there any fabric, ancient or modern, to be ſeen in all theſe vaſt tracts that bears any reſemblance to them, or indeed any thing elſe, but the low cottages, moſtly made of earth, or at beſt of wood covered with clay, in which the poor inhabitants dwell (13).

(13) *Marmol Afric. lib.* ix, *c.* 31.

allowed

allowed them to build in gratitude for the ſervice they had done to him in aſſiſting him to reduce ſome revolted vaſſals to their obedience, as well as to enable them, on all ſuch exigencies, to be near at hand to aſſiſt him) they have made themſelves maſters of a tract of land on both ſides of that river of above 160 leagues, and of ſome of the moſt conſiderable mines in the empire, and ingroſſed the whole commerce of it, both of the inland and of the coaſts, ever ſince the year 1640.

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of the Kingdom Monoemugi.

Kingdom of Monoemugi.

Its extent, boundaries, &c. uncertain,

and variouſly ſettled.

BEFORE we reſume our courſe round this *African* coaſt, it will not be improper to give our reader an account of the vaſt and potent kingdom, or, as ſome authors ſtyle it, empire, of *Monoemugi*, or *Munni Emugi*, or, as it is otherwiſe called, *Nimeamaye*, which extends itſelf along the eaſtern coaſts lately mentioned of *Sofala*, *Mongala*, *Moſambico*, *Quiloa*, and *Mombaſa*, as far almoſt as that of *Melinda* on the eaſt, on the north as far as that of *Abiſſinia*, from which it is ſaid to be divided by the *Nile*, and the dominions of the grand *Macocco* on the weſt it is ſaid to reach quite to the frontiers of *Kongo* and *Angolo*, and on the ſouth to thoſe of *Monomotapa* lately deſcribed[a]. We muſt own however that theſe limits are nothing leſs than certain for the moſt part; and that we know little of the kingdom itſelf, but what is chiefly founded on the report of their neighbours, with whom its monarchs are frequently at war, or from the Negroes who carry on a commerce with it, rather than from the teſtimony of any *European* travellers into it; and hence proceeds that diverſity of accounts of it we meet with among geographers concerning its extent, limits, diviſion, *&c.* which the reader may ſee in the margin (A); from all which he will be the more eaſily

[a] Sanson, Luitz, Purchas, Pigafet. Odoar, Lopez, Linschot, & al.

(A) This kingdom, according to *Sanſon*, is divided into three great provinces, which he calls *Monomotapa*, *Cafraria*, and *Kongo* (14). *Luitz* divides it into five; *viz.* the empires, as he ſtyles them, of *Monoemugi*, *Monomotapa*, and *Cafraria*, and the kingdoms of *Kongo* and *Biafara*; the two firſt of which are wholly

(14) *Atlas.*

eaſily convinced of what a late and more accurate geographer ſays of it, that the inland kingdom is in all thoſe reſpects little known to us [b]. Neither need we wonder at it, conſidering the great precaution, which, as we have often had occaſion to mention in this and the foregoing chapters, the *Africans* everywhere take, to prevent any *Europeans* penetrating into the inland parts. However, what all our writers moſt agree in is, that he is a powerful and rich prince, and hath ſubdued moſt of the petty kingdoms round about him to his obedience; tho' not ſo abſolutely, but that ſome of them, eſpecially on the north and ſouth ſide of him, frequently revolt, and put themſelves under the protection of the *Abiſſinian* or *Benemotapan* emperors. He is ſaid to have many rich gold, ſilver, and copper mines in his dominions, by means of which he carries on a kind of commerce with theſe two empires, as well as with ſome of the eaſtern coaſters, with whom he is forced to exchange that precious metal for *Indian* and *European* commodities, for want of having ſome port of his own on either the eaſtern or weſtern ſea. This obliges him to cultivate a conſtant peace with the maritime kingdoms of *Quiloa*, *Mombaſa*, and *Melinda*, whoſe merchants furniſh him with variety of ſilks, cotton cloths, and other ſuch merchandizes, together with cutlery work, and other ſorts of trinkets; and amongſt the reſt, thoſe little round balls or beads from *Cambaja*, made of a tranſparent red bitumen, with which they affect to adorn their necks, arms, and legs, and which they likewiſe uſe inſtead of money. Elephants being here alſo very numerous, vaſt quantities of ivory are exported by them into thoſe kingdoms; from all which that emperor reaps a conſiderable yearly profit, and his ſubjects no leſs a conveniency, thoſe *Indian* ſtuffs being their only apparel, and that only from

Its riches and power.

Commerce.

[b] See D'ANVILLE's map of Africa.

ly inland, and the other three maritime, and watered by the *Ethiopic* ocean (15), by the enlargement of whoſe dominions he doth of courſe remove its limits ſtill farther northward and ſouthward. But we have already ſeen that *Monomotapa* is no part of, but a boundary to this empire; and ſhall ſhew in the ſequel that thoſe of *Kongo* and *Angola* are no more ſubject to it than that; unleſs we will ſuppoſe, what is far from improbable, that being contiguous to and frequently at war with both, he hath conquered ſome provinces from them, and aſſumes a title over the whole, without having either tribute, or perhaps regard, paid to him from either.

(15) *Introduct. ad Geograph. Ethiop. ſect.* iv. *c.* 6.

their

their middle downwards, and those beads and trinkets their only ornaments, for which they gladly exchange their gold dust, which is of no value to them on any other account. He lives likewise in friendship with the grand Macaco, another prince on the north of him, on account of the Negro merchants who trade with the *Portuguese*, at the great markets of *Fongeno*, *Pombo*, and *Ocango*, and must traverse through his dominions in going and coming, and drive a considerable traffic likewise with him and his subjects.

WHAT kind of people the natives of *Monoemugi* are in other respects, what their religion is, if they have any (for we do not find that *Mohammedism* hath reached them) what their laws, customs, and other particulars, we are wholly in the dark. The *Arabs* who inhabit the coasts of *Zanguebar*, and are all *Mohammedans*, call them by the name of *Caffres*, or *Caffers*, that is, infidels, or men of no religion. We learn moreover that the frontiers of this empire, as well as some of the other provinces of it, are inhabited by the barbarous nations *Giachas*, or *Giagas*, or *Agags*, lately described, whom we take to be of the same extract, if not the same nation, with those whom the *Abissinians* call *Gallas* and *Agaus*, of whom we have elsewhere spoken [c], and are a wild, fierce, and warlike people, of a whiter complexion, taller, and more stout by far than the *African* natives, and who live altogether upon plunder, and have spread themselves over most parts and even some of the most potent kingdoms of *Africa*, where, though they are called by different names, they plainly appear to have been originally the same people. They have no fixed habitations, but, like the wild *Arabs*, elsewhere described [d], wander about in tents or portable houses, and spread dread and destruction where-ever they come. They have a way of marking their faces and bodies with iron instruments, and turn their upper eye-lids upwards to appear more terrible; and indeed one can hardly imagine any appearance more frightful, especially when joined to the idea of their other and still more barbarous customs, of butchering all that oppose them in their incursions, feasting on the flesh of all that unhappily fall into their hands; and, like the horrid *Imbii*, elsewhere described [e], proclaiming death, fire, and destruction, where-ever they come.

Caffers whence so called.

Giagas settled among them.

Their vile character and customs.

THESE savages, who scarcely knew the use of any weapons except their darts, the emperor of *Monoemugi* hath found

[c] See before, p. 39, & seq. 70, & seq. [d] Anc. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 376, & seq. [e] Before, p. 410, & seq. See OD. LOPEZ voyag. lib. i. c. 13. lib. ii. c. 9. PURCH. lib. vii. c. 10. §. iii.

means

means to faſten them to his intereſt; and it is chiefly thoſe whom he makes uſe of in his wars againſt thoſe of *Abiſſinia* and *Monomotapa*, and againſt the kingdoms of *Kongo* and *Angola*, in all which they committed ſuch dreadful ravages and butcheries, that the poor inhabitants have no other way to avoid them, than by abandoning their country at the firſt news of their approach, and carrying off all they conveniently can with them in their flight. And it was probably in ſome ſuch expedition as this, that, we are told, they forced the king of *Kongo* to abandon his dominions, and to retire into a a little iſland on the *Zayr*, where they kept him ſo cloſely blockaded that he died ſoon after of the dropſy, and the people that were with him were famiſhed to death [f]. We are likewiſe told that this powerful emperor employs theſe bloody canibals againſt a commonwealth of female warriors, otherwiſe called *Amazons*, ſituate on ſome of his ſouthern frontiers, from whence they uſed to make frequent inroads into his dominions; but are ſince kept in awe by them, not ſo much out of fear of their ſuperior valour and ſtrength, as of their inhumanity, and the dread of being roaſted alive by, and made a banquet of to, that accurſed foe. And hence it is that whenever they are attacked by them, the fight is commonly very bloody on both ſides, there not being any of thoſe martial females that will truſt to their heels when routed, though extremely ſwift of foot; but will fight to the laſt gaſp, and chuſe to die ſword in hand, rather than yield themſelves priſoners to them.

Aſſiſt the emperor in his wars againſt his neighbours.

We ſhall not here inquire how far we may give credit to the various accounts we read concerning theſe female heroins, both in that and other parts of the world, but refer our readers to what we have ſaid concerning them in our ancient hiſtory [g]. But as to this infernal generation in human ſhape, we ſhall have ſuch frequent occaſion to mention inſtances of their horrid cuſtoms in other parts of *Africa*, beſides what we have already ſaid of them in a preceding chapter, as will put that matter out of all queſtion. And ſhall only obſerve here, that thoſe emperors who can encourage and make ſuch frequent uſe of their aſſiſtance againſt their neighbours, whoſe chief and laudable aim is to ſuppreſs and extirpate them, cannot come very ſhort of their ſavage and inhuman nature. Yet in ſpight of all their help, and his ſtrength and opulence, it is plain he hath not hitherto been able to extend his conqueſts ſo far as to gain one maritime port on either coaſt; though from what we have obſerved above, he

His attempts on the weſtern coaſt

[f] Od. Lopez, lib. ii. c. 5. [g] Anc. Hiſt. vol. vi. p. 82, & (I). vol. ix. p. 533.

hitherto ineffectual.

hath made more than one attempt, on the weſtern ſide, on *Kongo* and *Angola* to that intent.

We do not hear of any conſiderable towns in this empire, but only of ſome ſmall ones, which are ſituate along the river *Cuama*, which is ſaid by *Luyts* to run through part of it, and to keep up the commerce with the maritime kingdom of *Sofala*, or rather, according to our more modern maps, the *Cuabo*, which runs from this kingdom to that of *Quiloa*; and theſe are rather a ſort of villages, where fairs are kept at ſettled times of the year, and reſorted to by the people on each ſide for the ſake of traffic. We meet with an account of ſome large lakes in it; but theſe have been ſince found to be fabulous. The *Portugueſe* however, who traffic with thoſe Negroes we lately ſpoke of, have been aſſured by them that there is a large one, out of which ſpring ſeveral great rivers, and which was filled with a vaſt multitude of iſlands, inhabited by Negroes. They farther told them, that on the eaſtern ſide of it, from the land, one frequently heard the ſound of bells, and perceived ſome ſtately ſtructures like the Chriſtian churches; and that ſome people of a dark ſwarthy complexion came and trafficked with thoſe iſlanders. Thoſe Negroes being aſked how far they reckoned that lake from their own country? anſwered, that it took them up full 60 days travelling ſtill directly eaſtward [h]. We are further told, that the country which lies between that lake and the ſmall territory of *Ocango*, or, as Mr. *D'Anville* writes it, *O Cango* (B), is pleaſant and fertile, and watered with great plenty of ſprings. It abounds with variety of fowl and four-footed creatures, and

[h] Od. Lopez, ubi ſup. Pigafet, lib. ii. c. 9. Dapper, & al.

(B) Mr. *D'Anville*, who, in his map of *Africa*, hath given us a ſketch of that lake as we ſuppoſe from its ſituation (for *Dapper*, who mentions the particulars above-noted, but takes no notice of that name), calls it *Maravan*, and repreſents it as extending itſelf above five degrees from ſouth to north, but exceeding narrow, from end to end, in proportion; and at the ſouth end of it places a city of the ſame name, on what authority we know not.

As for the ſmall canton of *O-Cango*, it is ſituated on the frontiers of *Kongo*, and about thirteen degrees north-weſt above-mentioned. All that whole tract however is no leſs unknown to us than that of *Monoemugi*; no miſſionaries or *Europeans* having ventured farther eaſtward (excepting Father *Cavazzi*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel) than the duchy of *Sundi*, that is, the third province in the kingdom of *Kongo*; or if any have, no account hath been publiſhed of it that we can hear of.

with

with palm-trees, from which the inhabitants draw both wine and oil; and honey is there in ſuch plenty, that the Negroes cannot conſume one third part of it, and ſuffer the reſt to be loſt; the misfortune is, that the air and climate are ſo unhealthy, that no miſſionaries or other *Europeans* dare venture ſo far into the inland, eſpecially as the *Giachas*, who inhabit theſe parts, and are reckoned the moſt fierce and cruel of all cannibals, infeſt all the roads, and maſſacre all that come in their way [i]. *Unwholſome air. No miſſionaries venture thither.*

THE greateſt part of the kingdom is very mountainous; and among other long and lofty ridges of them, is ſaid to run that famed one called by the antients *The Mountain of the Moon*, ſuppoſed by *Ptolemy* to be thoſe where the *Nile* had its ſource [k]. We ſhall refer our readers to what hath been ſaid in confutation of that notion [l], and aſcertaining its true ſource to be as far on this ſide the equator, as thoſe mountains are beyond it. Here we muſt conclude our account of this large and opulent empire, for want of further intelligence. For though ſome authors have inſerted in their deſcriptions many other particulars concerning its cities, towns, rivers, lakes, traffic, *&c.* yet they differ ſo widely from each other, that no dependence can be had on any of them; and the beſt that can be ſaid of thoſe relations is, that they have been taken on the credit of thoſe Negroes who traffic thither, and who might have no other view than to amuſe the inquiſitive, and too juſtly ſuſpected, *Europeans* with fabulous reports, the more effectually to conceal every thing that might invite them to penetrate farther into thoſe parts. All, therefore, we ſhall add with relation to this unknown empire is, that Mr. *De Liſle*, in his Atlas, divides it into the five following kingdoms or provinces; *viz.* 1. The *Maracates*. 2. The *Moſſagueres*. 3. The kingdom of the *Bengas*. 4. Of *Maſty*. And 5. Of *Maravi*. The laſt of which Mr. *D'Anville* places on the ſouthermoſt verge of the lake of that name, which is all we can find concerning them. *Reports about it not authentic. Empire how divided.*

THE farther we move ſouthwards towards the *Cape of Good Hope*, the farther we may be ſaid to travel in the dark; though all our maps unite to embelliſh both coaſt and inland with ſuch proſpects, and pompous names of empires, kingdoms, and countries, crouded cloſe to each other, as might induce an unwary reader to imagine thoſe countries to be as fully known, as thoſe of *Europe*; and were he to compare the vaſt ſhew they make in thoſe maps with the little he finds in *The more ſouthern parts of it why ſo little known.*

[i] Id. ibid. [k] Geograph. lib. iv. in fin. [l] See Anc. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 407, & ſeq. See alſo before, p. 99, & ſeq.

the relations and accounts of the *African* writers, might be apt to conclude from the former, that the far greater and moſt conſiderable part of the latter, like thoſe of the ancients, have been unhappily loſt or deſtroyed. And this we think ourſelves bound to appriſe our readers of, leſt they ſhould be induced to aſcribe our leaping over ſuch a vaſt tract of land, overlooking ſo many ſeemingly-conſiderable kingdoms and ſtates, to our neglect, rather than to what it is really owing, the want of proper intelligence, and ſo loſe their time in a fruitleſs ſearch after them, amongſt that variety of authors that have written of this part of the world. The truth is, the *Arabs*, as well as the natives who inhabit this whole eaſtern coaſt, are too jealous of, not to ſay incenſed againſt, all *Europeans*, to give them any intelligence of the inland parts; much leſs to let any of their miſſionaries penetrate into them, as they have more luckily done in the weſtern. So that all the knowlege we have been able to gain of them, is chiefly founded on the precarious report of thoſe trading coaſters, and extends little farther than the names and ſituation of thoſe kingdoms, which make ſo fine an appearance in our maps; and might probably be repreſented by them in ſuch a light as might rather deterr than encourage ſtrangers from attempting any farther diſcoveries about them; though perhaps no better, if not inferior, than that poor beggarly one of *Dancali*, of which we gave an account in a former chapter [m].

The rudeneſs and poverty of the inhabitants render it unfrequented.

But whatever they are muſt be left to time to diſcover, as well as what extends itſelf farther towards the ſouth, which is no leſs unknown to us, and commonly goes by the common name of *Caffraria*, or land of the *Caffers*, quite to that of the *Hottentots*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the next chapter. One thing we know however of that great tract of ground, that it is moſtly barren and uncultivated, inhabited by wild barbarous nations, or rather tribes, diſtinguiſhed among themſelves by varions names; though by all appearance all of the ſame wild and ſavage extract; and all, on that account, comprehended by the *Arabs* under the common one of *Caffers*, or men of no religion or knowlege of a Deity; though whether really ſuch we will not affirm, ſeeing they give the ſame opprobrious name to all that diſbelieve the *Mohammedan* creed. However that be, the poverty and barrenneſs of their country rightly accounts for the ſmall acquaintance the *Europeans* have with either.

[m] See before, p. 355, & ſeq.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

The Hiſtory of Cafraria, *or the Land of the* Caffers, *or* Kaffers, *and various nations ſo called.*

WE have already obſerved, that the name of *Caffers*, or *Kaffers*, is a kind of nickname, given in contempt by the *Arabian Mohammedans* to all the *Africans* in general, who are either idolaters, or even of a contrary religion; that word ſignifying *without law*, or lawleſs, and is often applied to Chriſtians as well as to Infidels. But geographers confine it to thoſe wild nations only who live in the moſt ſouthern part of *Africa*, and comprehend their whole country under the general name of *Cafraria*, though they are not agreed about aſſigning its boundaries on the north ſide[a]; and no wonder, conſidering the little commerce the *Europeans* have with them. So that the generality of them make them begin at *Capo Negro*, on the weſtern, and the mouth of the river *Cuama* on the eaſtern coaſt, and to extend quite to that of *Good Hope* on the ſouth, including therein the whole nation of the *Hottentots*, who inhabit the moſt ſouthern part, tho' theſe laſt plainly appear, in all reſpects, to be a different race from all the other *Africans*, as we ſhall ſhew in the next chapter *. But if by *Caffers* and *Cafraria* we muſt underſtand all the heathen and idolatrous nations who inhabit this ſouth ſide of *Africa*, it is certain thoſe northern limits will extend themſelves much farther on that ſide, at leaſt on the inland, and will include not only the kingdoms of *Monomotapa* and *Monoemugi*, already deſcribed, together with thoſe of *Anzico*, *Fungono*, *Metamba*, and others we ſhall ſpeak of in the ſequel, but the countries of the *Gallas*, *Jagoes*, on the ſouth ſide of *Abiſſinia*, the *Monſoles*, and other nations of the ſame kind, which extend themſelves between that empire and the kingdoms of *Kongo*, *Loango*, *Angola*, *&c.* as far northward as the *Mountains of the Moon*, and how much further, is beyond our power to decide, with any tolerable probability, from the diſſonancy of our geographers and their maps. We may even add, that they ſometimes contradict themſelves, as one may ſee by the difference there is between the map which Mr. *De Liſle* gave us of this country, in conjunction with that of the kingdom of *Kongo*, and that which he publiſhed of the

Caffers and Cafraria, *whence ſo called.*

Northern boundaries uncertain.

[a] De hoc, Confer. int. al. SANUT, LINSCHOT, RAMUS, PURCHAS. & al. DAPPER, LA CROIX, & al.

* De his, vid. ſup. vol. x. p. 475, & ſeq.

whole continent of *Africa*, the one in 1708, and the other in 1722 [b]. The truth is, there is really no country properly ſo called, and the *Portugueſe* having miſtaken the *Arabic* word *Caffer* for the name of a country, inſtead of a reproachful epithet, have led the reſt into the ſame error; for which reaſon we ſhall forbear ſaying any thing more of it under the former notion, but only add, with reſpect to the latter, that all the vaſt tract of inland from the *Hottentots* to the equinoxial line, and beyond, may juſtly be called by that odious name of *Cafraria*, or Infidel land, ſeeing the whole race of its inhabitants are not only all idolaters, but addicted to the vileſt and moſt inhuman ſuperſtitions and witchcrafts, perhaps of any nation in the world, and ſuch as the very *Hottentots* are utter ſtrangers to; but on which we ſhall not here enlarge, becauſe we ſhall have occaſion to mention them in the ſequel, in our route along the weſtern coaſts, ſo far at leaſt as our miſſionaries have dared to penetrate amongſt them. The misfortune is, that the ferocity and cruelty of thoſe ſavages, joined to the exceſſive heat and unhealthineſs of theſe climes, hath proved a conſtant diſcouragement to thoſe good fathers from riſking the loſs of their lives and labours amongſt them. So that there have been but very few who penetrated far into the inland; and of theſe one part died ſo ſoon, either through the heat of the climate, badneſs of the food, and the terrible fatigues they were expoſed to, or were deterred by their ill ſucceſs from ſtaying any time among them; and at their return home gave ſuch a dreadful account of this miſſion, that few, if any, have been ſent thither ſince, except to ſuch maritime places where the *Portugueſe* or other *Europeans* are ſettled †: and hence it is that we know ſo little of that vaſt inland tract, notwithſtanding what *Dapper*, *La Croix*, and others, have written concerning it from hearſay reports; authorities to which, we think, no credit can ſafely be given, except only what more immediately relates to the *Hottentots*, with whom they have plainly, though abſurdly enough, confounded them. Inſtead therefore of troubling our readers with a long detail of nations, of whom we know little elſe but their names, even if theſe may be relied on, we ſhall now readily cloſe up this chapter, in order to open our way in the next to thoſe more remote natives of *Africa*, as well as thoſe kingdoms and nations who inhabit its weſtern coaſt, with whom we are much better acquainted.

[b] Confer. De Lisle's map, 1708, & not. D'Anville. † Vid. P. Cavazz. Hiſt. of Kongo, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hiſtory of the various Nations of the Hottentots, *with their Coaſts; together with the* Dutch *Settlements on or about them.*

SECT. I.

THE *Hottentot* coaſt, which ſurrounds the empire of *Monomotapa* in the form of a horſe-ſhoe on the eaſt, ſouth, and weſt, extends, according to *Magin*, from the weſt of *Cabo Negro* as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, and from thence northward to the river *Magnica*, or *Rio de S. Spirito*, including *Mattatan*, a diſtinct kingdom. According to *Sanut*, this coaſt, beginning at the *Mountains of the Moon*, under the tropic of *Capricorn*, in 28 deg. and a half of ſouth latitude, extends north beyond the *Cape* to the coaſt of *Zanguebar*, having the *Indian* ſea on the eaſt, the *Ethiopic* on the weſt, the ſouthern ocean on the ſouth, and on the north the kingdoms of *Matatan*, *Monomotapa*, and the coaſt of *Zanguebar*, or rather the *Mountains of the Moon*, which divide it from the reſt of the continent [a]. *Situation and extent.*

THE natives, whoſe original name has been miſtaken, and believed by *Tachart*, *Marklin*, *Dapper*, *Arnold*, and others, a nickname only, call and diſtinguiſh themſelves by the name of *Hottentot*; who, though generally confounded by *Europeans* with, and denominated *Caffers*, from *Cafri*, an *Arabic* name, as we have ſhewn in the cloſe of the laſt chapter, are a diſtinct people, of different colour and manner of life, who know not, nor have any traditional account, of any national appellation antecedent to the arrival of *Europeans*, who have remained where they are ever ſince the deluge, or originally deſcended from the ancient *Troglodytes*, the poſterity of *Abraham* by his wife *Cethura*. Their language is a compoſition of the ſtrangeſt and moſt diſagreeable ſounds, deemed by many the diſgrace of ſpeech, without human ſound or articulation, reſembling rather the noiſe of irritated turkies, the chattering of magpyes, and whooting of owls, juſtly conſidered the monſter of languages, attainable only by youth, and children born in the country, and never to be acquired by ſtrangers, the ſound depending on extraordinary vibrations, inflexions, and claſhing of the tongue againſt the palate. On this account the *Hottentots*, who are hardly intelligible when they ſpeak other languages (though there are inſtances of ſome *Original name.*

[a] ROBBE Geogr. vol. ii. p. 242. LA CROIX Relat. vol. iv. p. 12. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

who have expreſſed themſelves roundly) are eſteemed a nation of ſtammerers [b] (A).

Coaſt.

THE coaſt is extremely mountainous, abounding in capes, bays, and roads. Thirty leagues to the eaſt of the *Cape of Good Hope*, ſituated in 24 degr. 21 min. of ſouth latitude, is another cape more ſouth, beyond deg. 25, called by the *Portugueſe*, who firſt doubled it, *Cabo das Agulhas*, or *Cape of Needles*, the needle of the compaſs appearing to them, when oppoſite this eminence, to turn from north direct ſouth; though later mariners have remarked, that it ſtill inclines five or ſix degrees to the north-weſt. Near this cape is a flat ſhore, with plenty of fiſh, which begins in the weſt near a freſh water river, and extending 15 leagues in the main ſea, ends in the eaſt near *Fiſh Bay*. *Cabo Falſo*, ſo called by the *Portugueſe*, who, returning from *India*, miſtook it for the *Cape of Good Hope*, is between theſe two capes, eight or nine leagues eaſtward beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*; the *Portugueſe*, who believed there were no more capes, called this, which they afterwards diſcovered in the ſame courſe, *Cabo Falſo*. Along the coaſts, on both ſides of the *Cape of Good Hope*, are many fine bays, where ſhips may ride in the greateſt ſafety. Twenty-ſeven leagues to the north-weſt is *Saldanha Bay*, ſo named from a *Portugueſe* captain ſhipwrecked on that coaſt. The largeſt and moſt commodious is *Table*, or *Vaſel*, *Bay*, on the ſouth, and near the mountain of that name, ſix leagues in circumference, with four fathom water cloſe to the beach, and ſheltered from all but north-weſt winds, which blow ſtrait up. Oppoſite this bay is *Robu Eilan*, or the *Iſland of Rabbits*, in 34 degr. 40 min. of ſouth latitude, to the eaſt of *Cabo das Agulhas*, and 67 leagues from the *Cape of Good Hope*. *Peter Both*, in 1661, diſcovered a bay which he named *Uleeſt*, ſheltered only from north winds, in which is a ſmall iſland, and on the weſt a rivulet of freſh water, extremely convenient for *European* mariners. Twenty-five or thirty leagues farther eaſt *Both* diſcovered *Maſhell Bay*, afterwards named by the *Portugueſe Seno Formoſo*. Next to this is *Seno do Lago*, from its reſemblance of a lake. There are ſeveral roads in the extent of this bay, and an iſland called *Ilha dos Caos*. *Cabo do S. Franciſco*, and *Cabo das Serras*, are marked upon

[b] KOLBEN, Eng. edit. 8°. vol. i. p. 28, 30, 31, 300. LA CROIX, vol. iv. p. 38. & al. ſup. citat.

(A) If ſo, ſhould not our authors have appriſed us here when and by whom, ſuch a ſeries of proper and well articulated names of perſons, tribes, &c. which the reader will find in the following pages, were firſt coined for them, and reduced into a public ſtandard?

charts

charts between theſe two bays. The iſland *Contento*, and *Cabo do Arecito*, are near *Cabo das Serras*; and ſomething more north-eaſt is *St. Chriſtopher's River*, called *San Chriſtovano* by the *Portugueſe*, and by the *Hottentots Nagoa*. The country beyond this river was called by the *Portugueſe*, who diſcovered it on the feſtival of our Lord's nativity, *Terra do Natal*. Between the *Cape of Good Hope* and *Cape das Agulhas*, are the *Sweet*, *Salt*, and *Jaquilina* rivers, which run into the ſea; the *Sweet-water* river flows from the bottom of the *Table* mountain, though the ſpring is aſſerted to riſe on the weſt of lake *Galé*, between the *Mountains of the Moon*, and to run into the ſea near *Cape Falſo*. *Pigafetta* miſtook this for the river *Camiſſa*, which runs from that lake, and whoſe mouth is more eaſtward, and nearer *Terra do Natal*. The company of the ſhip *Mauritius*, wrecked on this coaſt in 1662, began a fort oppoſite this river, in order to defend and ſecure a watering place, but the work was never completed. The mouth of the *Salt-water* river, ſo called from the extreme white ſalt, made therein by the ſun, in hot and droughty ſeaſons, is on the eaſt. This receives the freſh water of three rivers, about nine or ten leagues up the country, and of a rivulet which ſprings up in the ſands about half a league from the ſhore. The mouth of the river *Jaquelina* is alſo on the eaſt, and half a league diſtant from the *Table Gulph*[c].

THERE are no conſiderable kingdoms throughout this large extent of country, the whole being inhabited by different nations or tribes of *Hottentots*, governed by different Honquers, or chiefs, who have no fixed reſidence, living, like the *Arabs*, in huts or portable houſes, and removing their Kraals, or villages, whenever the paſture becomes too bare for the ſubſiſtence of their cattle, and upon the natural or violent death of an inhabitant. The known nations, according to our author (who eſteems the ſeveral details of the *Hottentot* nations, given by *Dapper*, *Anderton*, *Tachart*, and others, for the moſt part made up of invention and hearſay) are the *Gunjeman*, *Kochaquan*, *Suſſaquan*, *Odiquan*, *Chirigriquan*, *Greater* and *Leſſer Namaquan*, *Attaquan*, *Koopman*, *Heſſaquan*, *Sonquan*, *Dunquan*, *Damaquan*, *Gauros* or *Gouriquan*, *Houteniquan*, *Chamtover*, and *Heikom*[d]. Hottentot nations.

THE *Gunjeman* nation, who ſold their territory, ſtill live promiſcuouſly among the *Dutch*, holding a ſmall part only of their ancient poſſeſſions. This nation, called alſo *Goringhaiquas*, pretend to the property of the *Cape*, of which they are ſaid Gunjeman.

[c] KOLB. ubi ſup. p. 61. & alib. paſſ. [d] Id. ibid. p. 13, 33. & alib. paſſ.

to

to be natives. They conſiſted of about 95 families, and ſent into the field 3 or 400 men capable of bearing arms [e].

Kochaquan. THE *Kochaquan*, called *Saldáchaters* by *Dapper*, border northward on the *Gunjeman*, and hold the greateſt part of their territory, the meadows excepted, which are extremely fine and numerous, and poſſeſſed by the *Europeans*, who furniſh the company's ſhips with proviſions. The *Dutch* keep a conſtant guard in this country for the ſecurity of their ſalt pits, to watch the ſea, and to give notice to the *Cape* of ſhips in ſight. The chief of this nation, conſiſting of 450 families inhabiting Kraals a quarter of a league diſtant from each other, and containing 30, 40, and 50 families, aſſumes the title of *Scheck*, and pretends to the ſovereignty over all *Hottentots*, 75 leagues round the *Cape of Good Hope*. *Oldaſoa*, who had but one wife, being extremely chaſte for a *Hottentot*, was the reigning *Scheck* in 1661, of a well proportioned body, and of the ſweeteſt and moſt peaceable diſpoſition. This prince, who avoided broils and contentions with the *Dutch*, dying of a lingering diſorder, left one daughter, the princeſs *Ramis*. His viceroy *Gonnomoa*, extremely corpulent, and known to the *Europeans* by the name of the *Black Captain*, had three wives and ſeveral children; and *Caucoſoa*, the third perſon in the ſtate, of a genteel appearance for a *Hottentot*, was a courteous and polite man [f].

Suffaquan. THE *Suſſaquan*, or *Saſſiquan*, border northward, at ſome diſtance from *Saldanha Bay*, on the *Kochaquan* nation. A great part of this tribe were numerous and rich in cattle, till plundered by *Dutch* freebooters, who, in the infancy of their ſettlement, pillaged and robbed the *Hottentot* nations, forced them to abandon their country; and the ſooner, on account of the ſcarcity of ſpring water. This nation ſeems to be the *Chainonquan*, mentioned by *La Croix* [g], a numerous and rich people, who, with their aged chief *Souſoa*, and his ſon *Goboa*, married to *Camiſoa*, retreated from the neighbourhood of the *Cape*, to a more diſtant country, towards the *Cobonas*, the blackeſt of the Negroes, with long hair, and, by the account of the *Cape Hottentots*, a canibal nation, poſſeſſed of mountains producing plenty of the greateſt curioſities. The *Hottentots* diſdain deſcent kindred, and connection with theſe people.

Odiquan. To the *Suſſaquan* adjoins the *Odiquan* nation. Theſe two tribes having entered into a perpetual confederacy againſt the *Chirigriquan* neighbouring nation, with which they have had long and bloody wars, join upon the leaſt injury or affront

[e] LA CROIX ib. p. 15. & al. ſup. citat. See alſo before, vol. x. p. 474. [f] KOLBEN ibid. p. 23. [g] Id. ibid. p. 245.

given

given by the *Chirigriquam*, in purſuit of ſatisfaction and revenge.

THE *Chirigriquan* is the next nation; a numerous people, remarkably ſtrong in body, and famed amongſt the *Hottentots* for their dexterity in throwing the Haſſagaye. The *Elephant River*, ſo named from the great number of elephants frequenting its banks, runs croſs this country, whoſe ſoil is ſuperior to the *Suſſaquan* and *Odiquan*. There are many hills, whoſe tops, like moſt others in *Hottentot* countries, are covered with meadows and a large thick wood, divided by ſeveral roads, yet extremely dangerous to paſs, on account of lions, tigers, leopards, and wolves. This nation, with which a regular commerce has been eſtabliſhed, were extremely furious againſt *Europeans*, having greatly ſuffered by the *Dutch* freebooters, who robbed them in the moſt barbarous manner of their lives and cattle. Chirigriquan.

THE two *Namaquan* nations, of the ſame name, yet different in form of government, and manner of life, of the beſt ſenſe amongſt the *Hottentots*, and able to take the field with 20,000 men, are greatly reſpected for their ſtrength, valour, and diſcretion, and the women are extremely gay and artful. The *Leſſer* lies on the coaſt; the *Greater* is the next nation eaſtward. Both territories are mountainous, ſtoney, and ſandy, the ſoil of the vallies indifferent, with little wood, and but one ſpring. The *Elephant River*, which runs thro' the two countries, principally ſupplies the inhabitants with water. There are numbers of wild beaſts, and a particular ſort of deer in theſe countries, ſpotted white and yellow, never ſeen ſingle, but herding in hundreds, and ſometimes in thouſands together. The fleſh is generally fat and delicate, but of different taſte from *European* veniſon. The *Namaquans*, who, like the *Chirigriquans*, were extremely exaſperated againſt *Europeans*, by the cruelty and rapine of *Dutch* freebooters, who, without quitting the field, had maintained a battle for three days, and, deſpairing of victory by force, had, by ſtratagem, vanquiſhed and defeated a *Dutch* party, who, finding their propoſals of peace rejected, had reſolved upon giving the moſt diſtinguiſhed proofs of their courage, appointed and ſent a deputation to Mr. *Van Aſſenbourg*, who arrived at the *Cape* in 1708, to aſſure that governor of their readineſs to enter into and obſerve exactly a treaty of alliance. The deputies wore a ſmall plate of poliſhed iron, in the ſhape of a half-moon, on their foreheads; and having waited on the governor, and diſcharged their commiſſion with ſurpriſing ability and diſcretion, to the great honour of their reſpective nations; and, having been liberally entertained for Namaquan.

ſome

ſome days at the company's expence, returned extremely ſatisfied, and complimented the governor at their audience of leave, that they promiſed themſelves from his perſonal virtues all peace and ſecurity; and that they ſhould not fail of making the ſame impreſſions on their countrymen, which they had themſelves received of his integrity, diſintereſtedneſs, and generoſity.

THESE *Hottentots* travel 150 and 200 leagues from the *Cape*. *Riebeck*, governor of the *Dutch* ſettlement in 1661, ſent 13 *Dutchmen* in an equipage drawn by four oxen, in order to eſtabliſh a correſpondence, and to diſcover gold or other curioſities among the *Namaquans* †. The ambaſſadors having travelled 150 leagues, at length diſcovered the *Namaquan* Kraals, and were received with great courteſy and civility. They were firſt entertained for four hours by a band of one hundred muſicians with a concert of *Namaquan* compoſition, conducted afterwards to the palace, and introduced to king *Acambia*, whoſe three daughters were of gigantic ſtature, and regaled by his majeſty with milk and mutton. The ambaſſadors having preſented the king and people with bits of copper, grains of coral, ſome brandy and tobacco, and inſtructed the *Namaquans* in the uſe of that weed, with which they were before unacquainted, returned perfectly ſatisfied with and convinced of the extraordinary ſtature of the *Namaquans*, and the beauty of the ladies, whoſe perſons and apparel were beſmeared with greaſe, though adorned, like the *Songuas*, with umbrella's of oſtrich feathers. On *November* 14 of the ſame year, 13 more ſet out from the fort for a more accurate diſcovery of this nation, 12 only returned on *February* 13, in the following year, who gave an account that one of the company had been killed by an elephant: that having travelled 150 leagues, without a lucky or amuſing adventure, they had diſcovered one *Chirigriquan* hut near the place, where the *Namaquans* had before reſided who, they learnt, had departed, and gone to a diſtant country, nor would they be heard of in leſs than a year [h].

Attaquan. THE *Attaquans* are a brave, ſprightly, contented nation, who are ſeldom at war, living in tranquility, in ſmall bodies, at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, the ſoil of their country being indifferent, and ill provided with water. Theſe *Hottentots* make fires at the tops of the higheſt mountains when under apprehenſion of an enemy. Upon theſe ſignals the moſt able to bear arms repair to a fixed place of rendezvous, and a numerous army is immediately aſſembled.

† De hoc, vid. ſup. vol. x. p. 470, & ſeq. [h] Idem, p. 28.

THE

THE *Koopman* nation, ſo named from one of their captains, lies ſouthward of the *Gunjeman*. The *Palamit*, a rapid river, receiving on both ſides ſeveral rivulets, and a conſiderable ſtream, called the *Black River*, has its ſource in *Drakenſtein* mountains, and runs, winding itſelf, through the vallies of this territory, into the ſea. There is a hot bath, and ſeveral ſalt-pits in this country, where *Europeans* are continually taking in many large and rich tracts of land, unemployed by the *Koopmans*. This territory is extremely fertile, abounds in wood, and is well watered. Koopman.

THE *Heſſaquan*, the richeſt of *Hottentot* nations, whoſe Kraals are the moſt numerous, and beſt peopled, border likewiſe on the *Gunjeman* nation. Theſe *Hottentots* trade conſiderably with *Europeans*; many enter into, and make fortunes in, their ſervice, employing their wages in the purchaſe of cattle. This territory, whoſe paſtures are covered with great and ſmall cattle, is eſteemed the moſt fertile, the *Heſſaquans* the moſt luxurious and effeminate *Hottentot* nation, and leſs inclined to war; are brave upon occaſions, but never purſue enemies beyond their frontiers. Heſſaquan.

THE *Sonquan* nation inhabit a mountainous, rocky, and poor country, to the eaſt of, and bordering on, the *Koopman*. The enterpriſing and lively *Sonquas*, who are dexterous in the management of arms, and in chace, take up in general the military profeſſion, ſerving as mercenaries the *Hottentot* nations. The *Sonquas*, 3 or 4000 in number, are great hunters, men and women; their diet is veniſon, and roots inſtead of bread; their dreſs buffalo ſkins, and the women adorn their heads with umbrella's of oſtrich feathers. The *Sonquas*, who are no admirers of honey, are famed at the *Cape* for engaging bees, barter great quantities with the *Europeans*, who mix it with water for refreſhing draughts. Sonquan.

THE *Dunquans* are next to the *Sonquan* nation; whoſe territory is leſs mountainous, and extremely fruitful, abounding throughout with cattle and game, and well watered by ſeveral rivulets running through into the *Palamit* river. Dunquan.

THE *Damaquans*, great hunters and admirers of the fleſh of wild beaſts, are the next and adjoining nation, poſſeſſing a more level tract of land, equally fruitful and plentiful in cattle and game, and producing water melons and wild hemp. There are ſeveral ſalt-pits; but great ſcarcity of wood; and a ſort of moſs, offenſive when ſet on fire, is made uſe of for fuel. The river *Palamit*, which turns and winds throughout this country, without any bridges, is extremely inconvenient to travellers; who are obliged to paſs it in ſmall canoes, or on floats of timber. Damaquans.

THE

Gauriquan. THE *Gauros*, or *Gauriquan*, who lie next to the *Damaquan*, are a numerous people, living in great eaſe and plenty in a ſmall territory, ſwarming with more wild beaſts than any country about the *Cape*. The ſoil is extremely rich and fruitful, well watered, and abounding with wood. The inhabitants, whoſe courage and dexterity are frequently exerciſed, diſtinguiſh themſelves by their apparel which is made of the ſkins of wild animals.

Houteniquan. THE *Houteniquan*, whoſe territory, full of woods, intermixed with meadows, produces a wonderful variety of herbs and beautiful flowers of exceeding fragancy, lie on the coaſt to the north-eaſt of the *Gauras*.

THE *Gauriquas* and *Houteniguas* are very probably the *Carigriquan* and *Hoſaan Hottentots*, who were ſhepherds and hunters, inhabitants of the lands round the vallies of *Saldanha* bay.

Chamtovers. THE *Chamtovers*, who border on the *Houteniguas*, poſſeſs a flat tract of land, extremely fertile, and abounding in paſtures, with ſmall woods of the moſt lofty trees, in the *Hottentot* territories. There is game and all kinds of wild beaſts; and ſeveral large ſtreams, enriched with various ſorts of river and ſea fiſh, divide and water the country.

Heykoms. THE *Heykoms*, who lie northeaſtward, and border on the *Chamtovers*, are expoſed and ſubject to great inconveniencies and ſhifts, from the want of water: yet the vallies of this exceeding mountainous country are fertile, and cattle of every kind thrive on the brackiſh water, and reeds on the banks of the rivers. All kinds of game and wild animals abound in this territory.

THERE are ſeveral nations, hitherto ſcarce known, that extend themſelves along the coaſt, from the *Gauros* as far as *Terra do Natal*; and the *Chorogaugaus* poſſeſs a large tract of country northward, bordering on the *Attaguas*, with many others between this nation and *Angola* [1].

Births and character of the Hottentots. THE *Hottentots*, who are brought into the world by the aſſiſtance of a decoction of milk and tobacco, to forward their births, and immediately rubbed with freſh cowdung, afterwards waſhed with the juice of *Hottentot* figs, and when dried by the ſun, beſmeared with melted butter or fat, then named by the mother or father *Horſe*, *Lion*, *Sheep*, *Aſs*, *&c.* according to their eſteem for the beaſt, and taught to ſmoak as ſoon as weaned, are of good ſtature, well made, both ſexes erect, from five to ſix feet high, the women excepted, who are ſhort, with ſmall and tender feet, ſubject to few diſtem-

[1] KOLBEN's Hiſtory, p. 78.

pers, and generally of long life. Their colour is of a nut or dingy olive: their heads are large, with piercing eyes, and noſes flatted by art, with thick lips, and teeth white as ivory, their wool, like Negroes, is ſhort, and black as jet, and their feet large and broad. The *Hottentots*, ſenſible of the noble fruits reaped from induſtry by *Europeans*, remain the moſt lazy people in the univerſe: neither ſex pares the nails of fingers or toes: they eſteem thinking as labour, and, abhorring both as capital plagues, paſs three parts in four of their lives with amazing ſtupidity in ſhameful idleneſs. They are, notwithſtanding, occaſionally, ſurprizingly active; they ſurpaſs in ſwiftneſs the fleeteſt horſe, and are famed for dexterity in diſcharging arrows, throwing ſtones, Haſſagayes and Rackum ſticks; and, though unacquainted with agriculture, and the qualities of tobacco, before the arrival of *Europeans*, excel, and are often conſulted by moſt reſident in the country, in the management of lands, and choice of tobacco. Their mutual affection, liberality, and benevolence, extends to each other in the moſt friendly manner, and naturally compaſſionating diſtreſs; are extremely hoſpitable to ſtrangers of every nation. They are of good ſenſe, and in integrity, in the expeditious execution of juſtice, and in chaſtity excel all or moſt nations in the world, yet practiſe, in the midſt of theſe eminent virtues, the moſt barbarous and unnatural cruelties, upon the bare authority of *Hottentot* cuſtoms, the foundation and ſole reaſon of all their inſtitutions [k].

Barbarous cuſtoms.

On the birth of twin girls, or of a boy and girl, if the parents are rich, and the mother complains of the want of milk, or the ſame plea, or poverty, is ſet up by the indigent, the worſe-featured of the girls, who always ſuffer in other births, is allowed by the whole Kraal, aſſembled purpoſely to determine, to be buried alive, or expoſed, ſtretched on the back, or tied to the bough of a tree, to birds or beaſts of prey.

If the eldeſt, and, in default of ſons, the next male relation, who inherits all *Hottentot* eſtates, which are never divided, nor deſcend to women, who are debarred even of legacies but with conſent of the heir, determines to get rid of his father, mother, or relation, who are regarded as ſuperannuated when incapable of any uſeful domeſtic performance, the Kraal is convoked, and informed of the condition and requeſt of the heir; conſent is never refuſed, and a day is immediately appointed for the removal of the ſuperannuated man or woman, whether captain, the wealthieſt, or obſcureſt,

[k] Ibid. vol. i. p. 38, 117, 141, 211, 324. & alib. paſſ.

amongſt

amongſt them, and the perſon is compelled to ſurrender his whole eſtate to the claimant, whether ſon or male relation, who entertains the Kraal that bids farewel, and attends the ſuperannuated perſon, who is conveyed upon a carriage ox, placed, left, and abandoned by all, without any other comfort or aſſiſtance, in the middle of a lone hut, but that of a ſmall proviſion within reach, to die of age or hunger, or to be devoured by wild beaſts, without remorſe or ſcruple of affection, duty or reſpect. And the moſt impious practice of *Hottentot* youth, made men, of reproaching, inſulting, and beating their mothers with impunity, is an indulgence, equally barbarous and cruel in the father, as unnatural and vicious in the ſons, and muſt render the *Hottentot* race the moſt brutiſh and abominable of the human ſpecies.

Dreſs. THE Kroſſe, or ſkin of a ſheep, or wild beaſt, prepared with cow-dung and ſheep's fat, and afterwards greaſed with butter or fat, freſh or ſtinking, according to the rank or wealth of the *Hottentot*, hangs, like a mantle, over the ſhoulders, high or low, and open or cloſed before, according to the ſeaſons, or cuſtom of the tribe. The men, who have no covering but a compoſition of fat, ſoot, and dirt, in the moſt raging heats, wear cat or lamb-ſkin caps in cold and wet ſeaſons. The face and fore part of the neck are always bare; and, the verenda excepted, which are covered with a Kull Kroſſe, or piece of wild beaſt ſkin, they go naked from the hips downwards. Leather ſtockings, and ſandals cut out of the raw hides of elephants or oxen, are uſed occaſionally, in driving their herds to paſture, or in paſſing ſands or rocks. A greaſy pouch hangs about their necks, with a knife, pipe, tobacco, Dacha, and a ſmall piece of wood called *Suſa*, burnt at both ends againſt witchcraft. Three ivory rings adorn the left arm, to which, on journies, is faſtened a bag of proviſions. The *Kirri* and *Rackum* ſticks are in the right hand, and another is carried in the left, with a buſhy tail of a wild cat, fox, or other animal faſtened to it for a handkerchief. The Honquers and captains, who were formerly diſtinguiſhed only by fair ſkins of tygers or wild cats, appear at preſent at the head of the army, in councils, and on every ſolemn occaſion, with braſs crowns, and braſs-headed canes. Theſe ornaments were preſented by the *Dutch* to the chiefs and captains of the nations in their alliance, and are now annexed to, deſcend with, and are eſteemed an unalienable property, and diſtinctive badge of their dignity. The women, whoſe hair, like the men's, is ſhort, woolly, and black, conſtantly wear caps made of the ſkins of wild animals, pointing ſpirally up from the crowns of their heads, and two Kroſſes, the leſſer undermoſt; which being

ſhaped

ſhaped and worn like thoſe of the men, open, the fore part of the body appears naked down to the *Pudenda*; a wonderful broad and callous excreſcence growing above and flapping over the *Pudenda*, ſeems deſigned by nature to conceal thoſe parts, which are always covered with a Kut Kroſſe, made of ſheep-ſkin ſtripped of the wool, and three times larger than the Kull Kroſſe worn by the men; the poſteriors are hid by a ſmall Kroſſe, faſtened round the waiſt, which reaches below the hams, and their legs are encircled, from the knee to the ankle, with ſlips of leather, reſembling one ſmooth continued ſwathe.

BOTH ſexes are fond of ornaments; the men diſtinguiſh themſelves by bladders of wild beaſts, blown up and tied to the hair, which is powdered with buchu; and bits of braſs plates, looking-glaſs, and buttons, are intermixed; the rich add pieces of mother of pearl, which the *Hottentots*, ſhape and poliſh in the moſt curious manner. Braſs and glaſs beads are ornaments the moſt eſteemed and worn by both ſexes in necklaces, bracelets, and girdles; the beads for the waiſt are ſtained with various colours. The ladies, whoſe wool is concealed by their caps, plaiſter their foreheads with greaſe and buchu, and make a red ſpot over each eye and cheek, upon the noſe and chin. The bodies of both ſexes, who hold the fat of fiſh in the utmoſt abhorrence, are beſmeared from the crown of the head to the ſole of the foot with fat, butter, and ſoot intermixed; and the rich diſplay their luxury in the intenſeneſs of greaſe, their diſtinctive mark of quality and wealth.

Manner of eating and dreſſing victuals.

THESE people, reſtrained by traditionary laws from the fleſh of hogs, hares, rabbits, and fiſh without ſcales, eat in the moſt ravenous manner, when their humour or appetite calls, in the open air when fair, and within doors in windy or rainy weather. Hares and rabbits are allowed to the women, but the pure blood of beaſts, and fleſh of moles are permitted only to men, who eat ſeparate, the wedding-day excepted, when the bridegroom is indulged in eating with the the women. Their food is the fleſh and entrails of cattle, and other wild beaſts, with fruits and roots of various kinds. Theſe are gathered by the women, whoſe choice is directed by the hedgehog and *Bavian* ape. The *Hottentots* eat no ſort of fruit or roots but thoſe which theſe animals feed upon; and between their *Anderſmakens*, or ſolemnities, no fleſh but of cattle that die naturally, and of wild beaſts or veniſon. The fleſh and entrails are boiled in blood, and ſometimes in milk, which, according to our author, would be extremely agreeable, but for the filthineſs of the cooks. Lice are commonly

eaten, and old ſhoes, made of raw hides of oxen or deer; the hair is ſinged off, when they are ſteeped in water, and broiled on the fire. No ſalt or ſpice is made uſe of in dreſſing *Hottentot* diſhes, yet they devour with great avidity the ſalted and high-ſeaſoned victuals of *Europeans*. The uſual and ordinary drink is cows milk and water; ewes milk is permitted only to women: but both ſexes, who are inexpreſſibly fooliſh and extravagant when drunk, are immoderate lovers of wine, brandy, and arrack; and their paſſion for tobacco, dacha, or wild hemp, and buſpach, or a mixture of dacha and tobacco, and the root kanna, is without bounds.

Government. THE chiefs, or Konquers, of each nation, who are hereditary, engage before inſtalment, which is performed in a ſolemn manner, to preſerve the ancient form of government, the prerogatives and privileges of the Kraals and people. The command of the army, and conduct of negotiations of peace, are their province, who preſide alſo in the councils, which are compoſed of the nobility, or captains of each Kraal, and collect the votes, the majority of which make the reſolutions of theſe aſſemblies held at the reſidence of the chief. The captains of every Kraal equally engage not to alter the laws and cuſtoms of the Kraals. Their office is to preſerve the peace, adminiſter juſtice, and, in time of war, to command, under the chief, the troops of their ſeveral Kraals. All civil and criminal cauſes are heard and determined by them, ſtate criminals excepted, who are tried by the chief, or Konquer, and the captains of every Kraal, aſſembled juridically[1].

Hottentot *Kraals, or villages.* THE *Hottentot* Kraals, or villages, conſiſt of low huts like ovens, whoſe area is oval, about 14 feet diameter, ranged in a circle, built with ſticks, and covered with mats made of flags and bulruſhes, interwoven by the women, in the cloſeſt manner, when dried by the ſun. The huts appertaining to the rich have two coverings; the uppermoſt is of ſkins, not penetrable by exceſſive heat or violent rain. None receive light but by the entrance, an arch about three feet high, and two broad, with a ſkin faſtened to it to take up or let down, according to the ſerenity or inclemency of the weather. The generality of Kraals contain from three to four, and ſome five hundred inhabitants, the families conſiſt of ten or twelve perſons, young and old, who lie in ſeparate holes dug round the huts; in the middle of each is a hole about a foot deep, for the fire-place. The furniture of theſe ſmoaky huts, not ſubject to fire, are a few pots for cooking and drink-

[1] KOLBEN's Hiſt. p. 84, 217, 223. & alib. paſſ. Op. LOPEZ, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. mult.

ing,

ing, a few earthen veſſels for milk and butter, with Kroſſes, bows and arrows, Haſſagayes, Kirri and Rackum ſticks.

THERE is but one narrow entrance into a Kraal, whoſe area is green, and is the lodgment for calves and ſmall cattle: the great are ranged round the Kraal on the outſide, with their heads cloſe to the huts, and tied two and two by the neck, to prevent ſtraying: no watch is appointed to guard them from wild beaſts, the cattle giving notice of the approaching enemy by a general lowing: an empty hut is preſerved in every Kraal for calves and lambs too weak to follow their dams, which are drove to paſture between ſix and ſeven in the morning, and back to the Kraal between five and ſix in the evening.

Manner of herding cattle.

THE *Hottentots*, whoſe hearts are ſet upon their cattle, their only wealth, and ſole objects of their care, who are extremely affected by the flouriſhing or declining condition of the herds, alternately drive and tend them to paſture, in proportion to the herds and number of men in the Kraal, where a ſingle ſheep belonging to the pooreſt *Hottentot* is guarded with equal care as thoſe of the richeſt in the Kraal. The Backeleyers, a ſort of fighting oxen, choſen by the moſt ſkilful *Hottentot* for the purpoſe, tamed and trained like elephants in *Aſiatic* nations, for war, are of great uſe in the conduct of the herds, who bring and preſerve ſtragglers within compaſs. Theſe warriors know every inhabitant of the Kraal, and furiouſly run at and attack the *Buſchies*, or robbers of cattle. The bulls and rams run with the cows and ewes the whole year: theſe the *Hottentots* geld when increaſed beyond the proportion of the herds, the bulls at one year, and the rams at half a year old. The bulls are thrown upon their backs, and their horns fixed in the ground, their legs are extended to the full ſtretch, by ropes faſtened to ſtakes drove into the ground; the teſticles are tied up in the bag as tight and cloſe as poſſible, to ſtop all communication with the veſſels above: the animal is then let looſe in this condition, and the teſticles rot off in time. The rams teſticles are tied up in the ſame manner, but bruiſed to maſh before ſet at liberty.

Manner of gelding bulls and rams.

Phyſicians.

IN every Kraal is a phyſician, an officer called *Suri*, cow-doctor, and midwife, all elective, and without ſalary; a ſmall preſent and entertainment, occaſionally accepted, being their only perquiſites. The health of the inhabitants is the province of the phyſician, whoſe practice is attended with ſurpriſing ſucceſs, and who keeps his preſcriptions and remedies inviolably ſecret. The *Suri* directs the religious, performs the marriage and funeral ceremonies, and is the operator in

the cuſtom of depriving the males of one teſticle. The cow-doctor, who ſtudies the diſorders incident to, inſpects and watches the health of the cattle. The midwife, choſen by the women, out of the moſt able in the Kraal, holds her office for life.

Peculiar cuſtom.

THE operation on the male children, peculiar to *Hottentot* nations, who confeſſedly ſurpaſs in agility all others in the univerſe, induced *Saar*, *Vogel*, *Tachart*, *Boeving*, and moſt writers, to believe their ſurpriſing ſwiftneſs owing only to the exſection of the teſticle, and the original cauſe of the practice. Our author, notwithſtanding the accounts of ſome *Hottentots*, who confirm this opinion, affirms the practice religious, aſſerting the intelligent *Hottentots*, who keep with great ſecreſy the origin of their cuſtoms and ceremonies, to be quite frank when queſtioned on this point, and declare the obſervation a law, of the breach of which they have no memory, that has prevailed throughout all generations, *That no man ſhould have carnal knowledge of a woman before he is deprived of the left teſticle:* that, to ſecure the obſervance, the operation is performed on the children, when eight or nine years of age: that ſhould a marriage be conſummated previous to the exſection, the man and woman would be expoſed to the mercy of the chief, and the woman probably tore to pieces by her ſex, who have a prevailing opinion that a man with two teſticles conſtantly begets twins. In treaties, therefore, of marriage, the friends of the contracting party, to avoid an immodeſt examination, certify and aver the operation [m].

Manner of courtſhip, and nuptial ceremony.

THE candidate for this ſtate diſcovers his intention to his father, if living, and, in caſe of his death, to the next in authority of his kindred, whoſe approbation is abſolutely neceſſary, who repairs with the youth to the father of the woman, and demands, in his name, the daughter in marriage: the mother is inſtantly conſulted by the huſband, who returns an immediate anſwer, ſeldom negative, unleſs the damſel is already contracted: in this caſe both depart directly. If the iſſue is favourable, and the youth is already made a man, according to the *Hottentot* ceremonial, two or three of the fatteſt oxen, in proportion to the figure of the family, are drove to the reſidence of the lady. The relations of both parties attend the nuptials, thoſe of the bride receiving the relations of the bridegroom with the utmoſt civility; the oxen are killed; the whole company beſmear their bodies with the fat and buchu, and the women, to appear more brilliant, daub their foreheads, cheeks, and chins, with red chalk. The

[m] Ibid. p. 113, 117, 118, & alib. paſſ. & al. ſup. citat.

nuptial

nuptial ceremony approaching, the men and women ſquat themſelves on the ground, in different circles, at a ſmall diſtance from each other; the bridegroom ſquats himſelf in the center of the circle formed by the men. The Suri, or maſter of religious ceremonies, who is always the Suri of the bride's Kraal, enters the circle, and advancing to, piſſes on, the bridegroom, who receives with great eagerneſs, and rubs the urine into the furrows of the fat with which he is covered, till the Suri returns from the woman's circle, where he performs the ſame ceremony over the bride, who receives the ſtream with equal reſpect. The ceremony ends with the ſtock of urine, and the following wiſhes, which are pronounced aloud by the Suri; *May you live long and happily together; I wiſh you much joy; may you have a ſon before the end of the year; may this ſon prove a man of courage, and a good huntſman; may this ſon be a comfort to you in your old age.* An entertainment of feaſting and dancing concludes this and every *Hottentot* ſolemnity; but it is remarkable that theſe people, the greateſt lovers and admirers of muſic, ſhould admit none in their marriage feſtivals. Polygamy is allowed; and marriages, upon ſatisfactory cauſe ſhewn to the Kraal, may be diſſolved amongſt *Hottentots*; a man who is divorced from his wife may marry again, but a woman divorced from her huſband cannot; nor can firſt or ſecond couſins intermarry: relations in theſe degrees of conſanguinity, convicted of marriage or fornication, are cudgelled to death, without any regard to wealth or power; and adultery is alſo puniſhed with death †.

Education of the Hottentot youth.

THE *Hottentot* youths, who converſe only with the women (not being permitted to ſpeak to men, till ſummoned into their ſociety, and made men) are inſtructed in the laws and cuſtoms of the ancient *Hottentots* by theſe female repoſitories of their opinions and traditions. On theſe ſolemnities the inhabitants aſſemble in the middle of the Kraal, where the men ſquat in a circle on the ground. The oldeſt *Hottentot* who propoſes the youth's introduction into the aſſembly, receiving an unanimous aſſent, advances to the candidate, who ſits ſquatted near by, but within five or ſix inches of the ground, and informs him of his admittance; that his thoughts, words, and actions, from that time, are to be manly, and that all converſation with his mother, which would baniſh and render him unworthy of the ſociety of man, muſt ſubſide for the future. The elder then piſſes on the youth, who rubs the urine into the fat and ſoot with which his body is beſmeared, while he pro

† Ibid. p. 157, 158, 159.

nounces aloud, *Good fortune attend thee; live to old age; increase and multiply; may thy beard grow soon.*

Manner of war. *HOTTENTOTS*, like other nations, sensible of injuries, and keen in resentment, seek for redress in war, upon invasions of right, and national affronts. Every *Hottentot*, fired with revenge, flies to arms, and the place of rendezvous, whence deputies are dispatched, previous to acts of hostility, to remonstrate the injury, and demand satisfaction. Upon refusal or delay of justice, the armed nation marches in search of the enemy: the attack begins with the most frightful noise, showers of arrows are instantly discharged, the *Hottentots* continuing the battle in alternate sallies and retreats to the main body; when the Hassagayes are spent, throwing Rackum sticks and stones, for want of arrows, and warding off those of the enemy with the Kirri sticks, till the fortune of the day declares victory, which depends greatly on the judgment and conduct of the chief, in the direction of the time and place for driving on the Backeleyers. These animals stamp, kick, and gore with incredible fury and activity where-ever they break in and penetrate, and, if well followed by the men, speedily rout the enemy.

A BATTLE generally decides the war; a *Hottentot* army once routed never rallies. The conquerors triumph and pursue the flying enemy with astonishing roarings, shoutings, and exclamations. All prisoners are killed, and both armies bury their dead, which are never insulted or plundered.

DESERTERS and spies are immediately put to death. On treaties of peace, part are delivered up by the contending nations, and the rest pass the remainder of life in contempt and want.

THE *Chantover* and *Heykom* nations are governed, during the battle, by a pipe like a flagelet, played upon by the chief. These people retreat and renew fighting as the pipe ceases or continues playing; and pursue in the same manner, or desist pursuing, the flying enemy.

THE *Namaquan*, *Suffiquan*, and *Odiquan* nations, fight with the utmost bravery, till acquainted that their loss is superior to that of the enemy, when they leave the field.

SEVERAL nations continue fighting while the general lives, whose custom is to conquer or die.

THE *Damaquan* and *Gauriquan* nations fight while their generals are in sight; and their armies always fly when the generals disappear or are slain.

THE *Hottentots*, who are esteemed the most religious observers of national faith, who fight with equal ardour and resolution to support, and never desert, the cause of their allies, keep

keep up and perform mock battles in time of peace, in order to train the youth, and preſerve the old in the practice of arms [n].

GENERAL hunts amongſt *Hottentots*, fond of the fleſh of wild beaſts, and particularly that of tigers, take place in a ſcarcity of cattle, or when the neighbourhood is infeſted with thoſe animals. The arms of chace and war are the ſame, and the whole Kraal is engaged in the purſuit, relieving each other with incredible ſpeed and reſolution, and exhibiting ſurpriſing activity and addreſs in their attacks and engagements with lions, tygers, leopards, *&c.* They ſurround, if poſſible, thoſe animals, by dividing into different parties, each avoiding the efforts and leapings of the beaſts, raiſed to fury when galled by ſhowers of arrows. *Manner of hunting.*

A *HOTTENTOT* who has encountered ſingly, and killed a lion, tiger, leopard, elephant, rhinoceros, *&c.* is eſteemed and diſtinguiſhed as an hero. Upon his return to the Kraal, he repairs to, and ſquats down in his own hut, where an ancient *Hottentot*, deputed by the Kraal, viſits and compliments him in their name, at the ſame time giving notice of their expecting his coming to receive the honours due to his exploit. The hero riſes upon the meſſage being delivered, and attends the deputy to the middle of the Kraal, where he ſquats down on a mat, ſpread for the ſolemnity in the center of the men, who ſquat round him in a circle. The deputy then advances, who pronounces certain words, and piſſes upon him from head to foot. The deputy afterwards lights a pipe of tobacco, and having ſmoaked two or three whiffs, delivers it to be ſmoaked out in turns by the aſſembly, and the aſhes are ſcattered by the deputy on the hero, who inſtantly riſes, the whole circle riſing with him, and receives the perſonal compliments and thanks of the Kraal for the ſignal ſervice rendered to his country. The ceremony finiſhed, the hero returns to his hut, where he is three days ſumptuouſly entertained, at the expence of the Kraal, with the niceſt rareties, and called out to no public action; nor is his wife admitted till the evening of the third day, when the hero receives the lady with the greateſt marks of fondneſs and affection; a fat ſheep is killed, and the neighbours are entertained, who congratulate the lady upon her being reſtored to the arms, and become a partner of her huſband's glory. Every *Hottentot* enjoys the liberty of hunting, and purſuing his game throughout the *Hottentot* countries. Hottentot *heroes.*

[n] Ibid. p. 284, & ſeq.

Manner of fishing. *HOTTENTOTS* fish in the sea and rivers, and many are fishermen by profession, who supply the *Cape* with rock-fish, or fish without scales, from which they are restrained by law. They are esteemed extremely dexterous by *Europeans* in casting and drawing nets, angle well, and take fish with the spear, or pointed rod, and by groping or tickling. Their fish-hooks are *European*; the spear is used in rivers and creeks, where they wade, higher than the middle frequently, and treading upon the fish, pierce and bring them up with the spear. In shallow water they take fish with their hands, and grope in creeks and basons formed by nature on the tops of the rocks near the shore, upon the fall of tides. The *Hottentots*, who fish from the rocks with lines made of guts or beasts sinews, baited with muscles, whistle upon the discovery of a valuable fish, and shout if the whistling is drowned by the roar of the sea, which allures and brings great shoals of fish round the baits.

Excellent swimmers. THE *Hottentots* swim from the shore to the rocks and back again, loaded with fish. Their manner of swimming is extremely surprising; they swim erect, with their necks out of water, and balance themselves with their arms, extended upwards, and rise and fall with the waves in raging seas, without apprehension, in great chearfulness and security, and seem, when swimming, to walk upon firm ground.

Butchers. THEIR butchers, who observe near the same method in killing great and small cattle, proceed anatomically in the dissection and separation of the parts of slain animals. The flesh, bones, membranes, muscles, veins, arteries, *&c.* are parted and entire, in a surprising shortness of time; yet the deaths of the animals are lingering and shocking to *Europeans*. The sheep is stretched with the back on the ground, two persons hold the hind and fore feet, which are tied extended, and a third, having ripped up the belly, tears with one hand the guts from the carcase, and stirring the blood with the other, to prevent congealing, avoids, with great exactness, the breaking of the blood-vessels about the heart [p].

THE horns of great cattle, thrown likewise on their backs, are fixed in the ground, and the legs, stretched to the full length, are fastened to stakes. The physicians, who are surgeons also, are generally present, and attentive to the motion of the heart. Every part but the excrement is made use of; and the bones, which are curiously extracted from the flesh, might be quickly reared into perfect skeletons.

[p] Ibid. p. 228.

THE

THE reeking ſheep ſkins are rubbed with fat only, if dreſſed for a ſtranger, and with freſh cow-dung and fat alternately, till black and ſtinking, for a native. The hides are tanned by rubbing wood aſhes into the hair, which they ſprinkle afterwards with water, and lay, rolled up, two days in the ſea.

THE ſkinners or taylors inſtruments for ſewing, are a bone of a bird, for an awl, ſplit ſinews or veins of the back-bones of cattle, dried in the ſun, for thread, and a knife for ſhaping the Kroſſes, and cutting the hides into ſtrops. Theſe ſtrops are of great uſe in *Hottentot* œconomy. *Skinner and taylor.*

THE ivory-workers make ornamental rings for the arms: a knife is the only tool; and the rings, when finiſhed, are as round, ſmooth, and bright, as the moſt expert *European* can produce. *Ivory workers.*

THE mat-makers are moſtly women, and weave with their fingers only. Neither light, wind, or rain, penetrates their work. The mats are uſed for covering huts, and are made of flags, reeds, and bulruſhes, dried in the ſun. *Mat-makers.*

HOTTENTOT ropes, made of the ſame materials, are equally ſtrong, neat, and durable, as the beſt *European* made of hemp. The flags, reeds, *&c.* are twiſted ſeparately into ſmall ſtrings, and tied afterwards to the length of four yards; theſe lengths are twiſted one round another, to the thickneſs of an inch and a quarter. Though the rope-makers have no tools but their hands, frequent experiments have been made on the ſtrength of theſe four yard ropes in length, and inch and quarter thick, which no pair of oxen could ever break. *Rope-makers.*

ALL *Hottentots* are potters, and make their earthen veſſels of the mould of ant-hills, firſt cleared of ſand and gravel, and kneaded well afterwards with bruiſed and incorporated ant-eggs. They beat upon a flat ſtone, faſhion and ſmooth with their hands the mould or clay, in the form of a *Roman* urn, and leave it two days in the ſun; then place it in the oven or hole in the ground, of the depth of the pot, and thrice larger in circumference, with a quick fire round and over it, that burns out of itſelf. A cement runs from the ant-eggs in the burning, which ſpreads through the whole, and binds the matter to a ſurpriſing firmneſs, giving it a jet black colour, which never changes. *Potters.*

THE ſmiths, who are ingenious and work hard, melt iron from the ore, in holes dug upon riſing ground in proportion to the intended quantity. The hole is heated properly before the ore is put in, when a large fire is made and kept up till the iron melts, and runs through a narrow chanel into another *Smiths.*

ther hole, or receiver, dug upon the deſcent, at the diſtance of a foot and a half.

THE cold iron is broke into pieces with ſtones, and heated again in other fires, when wanted for uſe. The ſmiths have no hammer but a roundiſh ſtone, with which they beat and ſhape the iron into weapons, upon the hardeſt flat ſtone, and upon this grind and poliſh in the neateſt manner. Their work is valuable for beauty and ſervice.

THE copper ore is melted in the ſame manner; and the ſhaping and poliſhing of copper trinkets is equally beautiful and ſurpriſing.

Muſical inſtruments. VOCAL and inſtrumental muſic are in great eſteem among *Hottentots*; the muſical inſtruments are the grand and leſſer *Gom-gom*, the *Potdrum*, and pipe. The leſſer *Gom-gom* is a bow made of iron or olive-wood, ſtrung with twiſted ſheeps guts or ſinews, with the barrel of a ſplit quill fixed at one end, through which the ſtring runs: the quill is put to the mouth of the performer, whoſe various modulations of breath direct the different notes of the *Gom-gom*. The grand *Gom-gom* is made by running the ſtring through two holes near the brim of a cocoa-nut, prepared and ſawed in the manner of a hanging-cup, with the mouth upwards. The performer on this inſtrument varies the ſound by moving the ſhell nearer or farther from the quill, kept cloſe to his mouth. There is a ſoftneſs, with charms for a delicate ear, according to our author, in a concert of three or four *Gom-goms*, played by ſkillful performers; who likewiſe believes the grand *Gom-gom* worthy of the ſtudy of the moſt judicious *European* muſician. The pipe is an inſtrument played upon by the chiefs in time of battle. The *Potdrum*, reſembling a *Roman* urn, is covered on the top with a ſmooth dreſſed ſheep-ſkin, tightly braced on with ſinews and ſheeps guts, like a kettle-drum. This inſtrument is peculiar to the ladies, who, with their fingers, play but one tune upon it of a few notes [q].

Vocal muſic. THE vocal muſic conſiſts of the monoſyllable *Ho*, ſung by both ſexes, on religious ceremonies, in concert with the *Gom-goms*.

Manner of dancing. ON the making of *Sam-ſam*, or peace, and other public rejoicings, the inhabitants of a Kraal dance in turns; and when all have danced, the ceremony breaks up. The men and women dance in couples together, two couples at a time; they begin face to face, at the diſtance of ten paces from each other, ſometimes meeting, and at others back to back, and never take hold of each other's hands. Every dance takes up

[q] Ibid. p. 273, & ſeq.

an

an hour: both ſexes are ſurpriſingly active, cutting clean and high capers. During the dance the women keep their heads in their boſoms in a manner, and their eyes fixed on the ground [r].

THE *Hottentots* have no money, nor idea of the utility or value of coin, ſome few excepted, who are neighbours to, and by converſation with, the *Dutch*, have ſome notion of the ſmall pieces; but which, as ſoon as poſſeſſed of, they part with for other commodities. Cattle are the riches, and the chief and capital produce, of the country; and barter is the eſtabliſhed method of traffic. *No money amongſt Hottentots.*

THESE people, who trade among themſelves for cattle, armour, and other goods, which they have purchaſed by traffic or labour from *Europeans*, get conſiderable returns of cattle by *European* commodities, which they barter with *Europeans*, receiving in exchange for cattle, elephants teeth, oſtrich eggs, ſkins of wild beaſts, horſes and aſſes, wine, brandy, tobacco and pipes, dacha, beads, fiſh-hooks, ſmall looking-glaſſes, knives, iron, bits of poliſhed glaſs, braſs and copper, braſs ear-rings, and ſometimes Kanna root. The *Europeans*, who are more expert in finding, make a great advantage of this root, extremely ſcarce, and highly valued; ornamental and rich manufactures for apparel, and uſeful furniture, are in no eſteem, and of no value amongſt *Hottentots*. *Trade.*

THEY trade in the moſt friendly and upright manner; the proportion obſerved by the way of price, in exchanging cattle for *European* effects, riſes and falls amongſt them, as in other countries, according to the ſcarcity or plenty, greater or leſſer demand of commodities. Their deareſt rate is a cheapneſs almoſt incredible; one pound of tobacco purchaſes a fat ox; half a pound a large ſheep; and a quarter of a pound a fat lamb.

THE *Hottentots*, who formerly brought droves of cattle to market at the *Cape*, being under other regulations, bring none now, but what are preſents to the governor; and are believed by the *Dutch* to have another market for their elephants teeth, and to trade with the people of *Terra do Natal*, and the *Moſambic Portugueſe*; their own conſumption in ivory rings, and the ſmall quantity brought to the *Dutch* by neighbouring *Hottentots* only, bearing no proportion to the vaſt numbers of elephants killed annually.

THE *Dutch* travel with a *Hottentot* attendant; and the natives, though no inſtance has been known of an *European*'s being murdered, are obliged, if an *European* dies amongſt them,

[r] Ibid. p. 281, & ſeq.

for

for the safety of travellers, to give a satisfactory account, that his death was natural [s].

Religion. THE great secresy with which *Hottentots* conceal their religious opinions and ceremonies from *Europeans*, and the many superficial and contradictory accounts, published before the histories of *Saar*, *Tachart*, and *Kolben*, rendered their faith uncertain, who acknowledge and firmly believe that there is a God, Almighty, whom they call *Gounja-Gounja*, or *Gounja Tinquoa*, or God of gods, the Governor of the world, endued with unsearchable attributes and perfections, who made heaven and earth, the sun, and every thing in them; who dwelling far above the moon, causes thunder and rain, and provides food for bodily sustenance, and skins of beasts for apparel [t].

NOTWITHSTANDING this profession and belief of the most intelligent *Hottentots*, who celebrate every signal event of life with previous offerings and solemnities, there is no festival or institution of worship amongst them, directly regarding the true God.

THE moon, named *Gounja*, an inferior and visible god, the subject and representative of the High and Invisible, is constantly adored and invoked at the full and change. Milk and flesh are offered to this deity, and the whole night is spent in alternate prostrations, dancing, singing, and loud exclamations of *Muffoke Atze*, or I salute you, you are welcome; and *Choraquâ Kakâ choriounquâ*, or grant us fodder enough for our cattle, and milk in abundance.

THEY adore likewise, and honour with the highest veneration, a small winged insect, with two horns upon the head, peculiar to *Hottentot* countries, with a green back and belly, speckled with red and white. Upon the arrival of this winged animal, or benign deity, regarded as the lord of the universe, the whole Kraal is covered with buchu, two fat sheep are killed in thanksgiving, and the inhabitants, believing all past offences purged, and buried in oblivion, resolve, as a new people, on a reform of life; who believing the immortality of the soul, though strangers to a preparation for death, in a spiritual sense, offer prayers and praises to good persons deceased; leaving, in the removal of Kraals, for the quiet of departed spirits, their huts standing, and their furniture and apparel untouched, in the persuasion of their return to the places where they died, and that they are never troublesome to the Kraal unless their property is stolen or carried off.

THE person of either sex, on whom this insect accidentally falls, is ever afterwards distinguished and respected as sacred,

[s] Ibid. p. 261, & seq. [t] Ibid. p. 92, 94, & seq.

and

and a favourite of this deity: the neighbours glory, and proclaim the honour done to the Kraal; the fatteſt ox is killed, as a thankſgiving offering; and the favourite, to whom the entrails are preſented, is obliged to wear about his neck the caul, twiſted like a rope, and powdered with buchu, till it rots off, and to anoint his body with the fat only of that ox till conſumed.

THESE people, who perpetuate a religious veneration of their ſacred and renowned companions, by conſecrating woods, mountains, fields, and rivers, to their memory, who ſtop, and, veiling their heads, contemplate, in theſe places, the virtues, and implore for themſelves and cattle the protection, of departed ſpirits, worſhip an evil deity, the father of miſchief, called *Touquon*, an inferior and crabbed captain, in their opinion, miſchievouſly reſtleſs in regard to *Hottentots*, the ſource of plagues, and author of witchcraft, arbitrary in declaring offences, and, on that account, honoured of *Hottentots*, who, in continual apprehenſion of his deſigns, yet ignorant of having offended, ſacrifice a fat ox or ſheep, believing him appeaſed and reconciled, when they have regaled themſelves with the fleſh, and anointed their bodies with the fat of the ſheep or ſlain ox.

ANOTHER cuſtom of ſprinkling their bodies with ſea or river water, when they intend to paſs or enter either, is punctually obſerved and performed, with great ſedateneſs and compoſure of mind, by *Hottentots*, who have adapted, ſince the arrival of the *Dutch*, and appropriated the term *Anderſmaken*, or alter for the better, to all religious ceremonies and acts; and the *Dutch* word *Anderſmaken* is the only anſwer given by *Hottentots* to *European* enquirers into the origin and ſenſe of their inſtitutions; who, wrapped in ſullen ſilence, and deaf to reaſon on the important point of religion, remain the moſt obſtinate, prejudiced, and infatuated people, knowing but little of God, and having leſs inclination to ſerve him; who, the moſt ſenſible amongſt them ſay, curſed their firſt parents, who had grievouſly ſinned and offended, and all their poſterity, with hardneſs of heart; who, according to another tradition which prevails, and is carefully preſerved throughout the different nations, were ſent by God himſelf, and came into their country through a window; that the man's name was *Nôh*, and the woman's *Hingnôh*, who taught their deſcendants to do many things, and keep cattle.

Dutch word uſed by Hottentots.

RELATIONS and friends ſurround the dying *Hottentots*, clapping their hands, crying, ſcreaming, and roaring in a hideous manner. The corpſe of the deceaſed is immediately wrapped in a Kroſſe, and, within ſix hours, buried in a hole, made

Funeral ceremonies.

made by a wild beaſt, in the ground, or in a cleft of a rock. The men and women of the Kraal aſſemble, and ſquat in different circles, crying out and repeating, *Bo, Bo, Bo*, or father, in a mournful ſtrain. When the corpſe is brought out thro' the ſide of the hut, which is always uncovered in funeral ſolemnities, the captain of the Kraal, or the relations, name the bearers, who carry the deceaſed in their arms, and both circles riſing, the men and the women, making grimaces, clapping hands, diſtorting their bodies, and inceſſantly repeating *Bo, Bo, Bo*, march in two bodies, and attend the corpſe to the grave; which is immediately filled up, after the corpſe is laid down, with the mould of ant-hills, ſtones, and pieces of wood.

THE grave being filled, the company returns to the Kraal, and again ſquat down; both circles renew, and again cry out *Bo, Bo, Bo, Bororo Rhodo Atſcha*, frequently calling the deceaſed by his name, and an hour is conſumed in alternate ſtartings, grimaces, diſtorted poſtures, and clapping of hands. Silence proclaimed, two ancients, friends to the deceaſed, piſs upon the company, who receive the urine with great veneration. The ancients afterwards enter the hut by the door, and, each taking a handful of aſhes, return by the paſſage opened for the corpſe, and ſtrew it upon the company, which are held in great eſteem. After this ceremony, the circles riſe and retire.

IN funerals of perſons of rank or eſteem in the Kraal, the lamentations continue ſeven or eight days. The *Hottentots* piſs by way of ceremony, and ſcatter aſhes, to remind the company of their future ſtate; who, without diſtinction of age or wealth, muſt all be reduced to duſt and aſhes.

THE cauls of ſheep, killed at *Anderſmakens*, and powdered with buchu, are worn as mourning, by the heirs and relations of rich *Hottentots*, till they rot off, however offenſive; and the poor mourn their deceaſed friends by ſhaving part of their heads, which they cover with buchu.

SECT. II.

War between the Hottentots and Dutch.

THE *Gunjeman* or *Goringhaiquan* nation, who had conſented to the introduction, and given the *Dutch* poſſeſſion of the *Cape*, upon their diviſion of the lands for tillage, and erection of buildings for their dwellings and defence, grew jealous of future encroachments; and having called the neighbouring nations to their aſſiſtance, made war againſt the *Dutch*, who had refuſed to deſiſt. The *Dutch* gained many

many victories during the war, which the *Hottentots* supported with great resolution: but the terror of their arms having spread through the *Hottentot* nations, dismayed by the vast effusion of blood, the *Gunjemans* and confederates sued for peace, and a solemn convention was entered into by both parties, whereby the first bargain was confirmed, and the unoccupied lands of all the confederates were surrendered and assigned to the *Dutch*, with this salvo to the confederacy, that the whole should be at liberty to settle on what ground, and in what part of the country, they pleased, that should be found unemployed; and most of the *Hottentot* nations came into an offensive and defensive alliance with the *Dutch* against all enemies whatever; which, though made by words only, has subsisted ever since, and been religiously observed on both sides; the *Dutch* governors continuing, as instructed, to cultivate all possible friendship with their allies, and the *Hottentot* chiefs waiting on the governors with presents for the renewal of peace [a].

Hottentots *make war and distress the* Dutch.

A FURIOUS war broke out in 1659, between the proprietors of the *Cape*, or *Goringhaiquan* nation, assisted by the *Gorachoquan*, and the *Dutch*, who were greatly annoyed and distressed; the *Hottentots* making their attacks in foggy and rainy weather, on account of their fire-arms. A *Hottentot* named *Doman* by the *Dutch*, who had lived four or five years at *Batavia*, and some time at the *Cape*, where he dressed in the *European* manner, having returned to his countrymen, perfectly instructed in *European* customs, appeared with a companion, whose name was *Garabinga*, or flat nose, the most animating, resolute, and courageous amongst the *Hottentots*, the many contrivances and attempts to surprize them, proved vain and ineffectual; *Doman* escaped being taken, by swimming cross a river, after a smart engagement, which happened between five *Hottentots*, and an equal number of *Europeans*; but *Eycamma* being wounded, and his leg broke, was made prisoner. This *Hottentot*, to whom the utmost civility had been shewn, and the greatest care taken of his wounds, answered the *Dutch* in great wrath, who had asked the motives of the war, *Who desired you*, Dutchmen, *to grub up our lands, and sow corn in our pastures? By what right do you seize the inheritance of our fathers, our country that has belonged to us time immemorial? You, who were permitted to land only for your refreshment in your necessity, dispose of our property, as sovereigns, and daily prohibit our approach to the lands you think proper: Would you suffer the like treatment in your own*

Doman *and* Garabinga.

[a] Ibid. p. 57, 58, 59.

country

country? The *Dutch*, by advice of *Eycamma*, who, just before his death, had declared himself a private person, sent four deputies to propose a conference, and to endeavour to bring the chief to the fort; but the chief, whose name was *Gogosoa*, an extremely corpulent man, according to an account published in 1662, and an hundred years old, who had two sons, *Osinghaicanna* and *Otegnoa*, refused the proposal, and the war was vigorously carried on near a year, when a most fortunate accident put an end to the slaughter and ravage made by the *Hottentots* [b].

Camcemoua. *CAMCEMOUA*, called *Horri* by the *Dutch*, a man of understanding, who spoke *Flemish*, and some *English*, which he had learned at *Bantam*, had made his escape from *Rabbit Island*, where he had been three months confined. This *Hottentot* unexpectedly arrived with *Choré*, the *Gorachouquan* chief, with a hundred attendants, who presenting the *Dutch* with 13 fat cattle, as a pledge and in token of friendship, granted the lands within three leagues round the *Cape*, upon condition they should not advance nor penetrate farther. The *Dutch*, who ardently wished for peace, accepted and received the terms with the greatest joy. As soon as the agreement was published, three or four hundred *Hottentots* ran to the fort; the *Goringhaiquan* nation following the example, *Gogosoa* came in person at their head, and demanded to be included in the treaty. The *Hottentots* were liberally entertained, and the chiefs returned home, well satisfied and pleased with their entertainment and presents.

Gogosoa.

Brigoudis *and* Hassaquan *nations.* THE same author, in his account of the *Hottentot* nations, of which there is no mention in *Kolben*, takes notice of the *Brigoudis*, a powerful and rich people in cattle, known to the *Dutch* only by the report of the *Namaquans*; and of the *Hassaquan* nation, whose country has never been entered by *Europeans*, that three only had been seen, who came upon the coast with the *Chainouquan* chief to traffic in cattle. These people, like other *Hottentots*, are shepherds, but given to agriculture, and expert in taking of lions, which they afterwards are said to tame, and to train to war; that they let them loose in the heat of battle, and, by this means, easily rout and vanquish their enemies.

Cape of Good Hope *first discovered by* Dias. THE *Cape of Good Hope*, the boundary of the *East* and *West Indies*, resembling a peninsula, the point and sides being washed by the sea, the longest, the most dangerous, and most celebrated in the universe, was first discovered and named in 1493, *Cabo dos Tormentos*, or the Stormy Cape †, by the admi-

[b] La Croix, vol. iv. p. 25. † De hoc, vid. sup. vol. x. p. 469, (G). & auct. ib. citat.

ral

ral *Bartholomew Dias*, in the reign of *John* II. king of *Portugal*. But this name was changed into that of *Good Hope*, by the king's saying, when made acquainted with the discovery, that there were now Good Hopes of future prosperous voyages to *East India*.

ADMIRAL *Dias*, who never landed, pleased the king and kingdom with his observations on the geography, bays, and anchorings of the *Cape*, and *Vasco de Gama*, his successor in command of the next *East India* fleet, confirmed the observations of *Dias*. Admiral *Rio d'Infante*, who went ashore in his voyage to *India*, in 1498, enlarged, at his return, the account already given, by pointing out the advantages the *Cape* might furnish to the trade of *Portugal**. *Emanuel*, who had ascended the throne, pleased with the report of his discoveries, ordered the immediate departure of a fleet, with express command to attempt a settlement; but the enterprise failed, the courage of the fleet not being proof against the reports received in the way, of the natives being cannibals; and the expedition ended in taking in water at *Robin Island* near the *Cape*. In this island is a cave, wherein the *Portuguese* took shelter in the tempestuous season, known at present by the name of *Portugal*. *Francisco d'Almeida*, viceroy of *Brasil*, in his return to *Europe* by the *Cape*, some time afterwards, sent a party on shore to negotiate for provisions: the party was drove back to the ships; and himself, who was prevailed upon, though seventy years of age, to head a reinforcement, was shot through the throat with a poisoned arrow, and seventy-five men were killed upon the spot; the remainder fled to the ships, and the fleet weighed anchor immediately. The *Portuguese* are said to have revenged this disgrace in a severe and extraordinary manner; they fastened two long ropes round the mouth of a large brass cannon, which they loaded with balls, and landed as a present to the *Hottentots*, who being naturally fond of brass, were extremely satisfied, and admiring the weight of their favourite metal, ran in transport to seize the ropes, with which they had been instructed to draw off the cannon: the *Hottentots* were extended in two lines all the length of the ropes, and full in the range of the shot, when the cannon was suddenly discharged, and made a most terrible slaughter. Those who escaped fled in the wildest confusion; and the *Portuguese*, who in this manner took their leave of the *Cape*, were left to embark at their leisure.

D'Almeida lands, and is slain.

Portuguese revenged on the Hottentots.

THERE are no accounts of *Europeans* having frequented the *Cape* from this time, till the *Dutch* company of merchant adventurers,

The Cape frequented by the Dutch.

* De hoc, vid. vol. ix. p. 249, & 256.

adventurers, then called the *far trading*, and ſince the *Eaſt India* company, in 1600, touched and began to trade at the *Cape* for proviſions, and erected a fort, whoſe remains are yet to be ſeen, to protect themſelves, and their purchaſes: but, however acquainted with the advantages, they made no other uſe of the *Cape*, than providing every captain of a ſhip bound for *India* with a ſquare ſtone, on which the ſhip's, the captain's, and the names of the principal officers, with the day of their departure from the *Cape*, were ordered to be cut, and buried in a particular place near the fort, with a tin box underneath, containing letters, to be conveyed to *Europe* by the firſt ſhip that touched at the *Cape*, in her return from *India*. In 1650 *Van Riebeck*, ſurgeon of a ſhip, that put into the *Cape* for the uſual purpoſes, obſerving the richneſs of the ſoil, the great plenty of cattle, diſpoſition of the natives, and importance of the ſituation and harbour, judged a ſettlement adviſeable, to facilitate, improve, and ſecure the *Eaſt India* trade.

Van Riebeck meditates a ſettlement.

A fleet ſent by the Dutch *to make a ſettlement.*

VAN RIEBECK, at his return, laid before the directors what he had diſgeſted for the purpoſe; who reſolved on a ſettlement, and immediately ordered four ſhips to be properly equipped for ſuch an expedition. *Van Riebeck* was appointed admiral and governor in chief on his arrival at the *Cape*, with full power to eſtabliſh a ſettlement in what manner he ſhould judge expedient.

VAN RIEBECK arrived ſafe at the *Cape*, and no ſooner propoſed than concluded a treaty. The natives, charmed with the braſs toys, beads, tobacco, and brandy, with which he preſented them, ſtipulated and agreed that the *Dutch* ſhould have full liberty to ſettle in the valley of *Table-Hill*, upon the delivery of a quantity of thoſe toys and commodities, amounting in value to 50,000 guilders. This was performed without delay, and the *Dutch* took immediate poſſeſſion of the *Cape*, which was ſurrendered to them with great ſolemnity. *Van Riebeck* erected a ſquare fort, containing lodgings, warehouſes, and an hoſpital for the ſick, and raiſed outworks and batteries to ſecure the ſettlement from all attacks.

THE company, informed of their ſucceſs, publiſhed placards for the encouragement of ſettlers; the conditions being advantageous, numbers embarked for the *Cape*, and the ſettlement ſoon made a conſiderable figure, continually extending new colonies along the coaſt, as it increaſed in number by new ſettlers arriving from *Europe*; and there are at preſent four principal colonies. The firſt is at the *Cape*, where are the great forts and capital city, called the *Cape*; the ſecond is called the *Hellen-bogiſh*; the third, the *Drakenſtein*; and the fourth,

fourth, the *Waveriſh*. The whole tract of land called *Terra do Natal*, has been ſince purchaſed, for a future increaſe, by the company, for fifty thouſand guilders, to be paid in toys and other commodities. By this addition the province is become of great extent, and the government conſiderable.

Terra do Natal *purchaſed by the company.*

THE *Dutch* ſoon extended themſelves beyond the valley of *Table-Hill*, purchaſed great numbers of cattle from the *Hottentots*, and erected a wooden fort near the *Salt* river; a continual guard was appointed to prevent ſtrays or intermixture with the *Hottentot* herds, and a guard-houſe was built for entertaining a hundred and ninety horſemen, to be ready to mount in purſuit of run-away cattle, and to oppoſe any hoſtile attempt on the part of the *Hottentots*. The fort became uſeleſs, and ſoon decayed, when the colony extended beyond the *Salt* river; part of the guard-houſe ſtill remains, and is converted into a priſon for criminals in the *Indian* ſettlements. There were ſeveral *Indian* princes confined therein, who had been baniſhed by the government of *Batavia*. And our author relates, that that theſe princes were obliged to ſupport themſelves by their own labour, during an exile of five years.

The Cape *colony.*

GOVERNOR *Simon Vander Stel* * attempted, for the ſecurity of ſhipping, a canal, four *German* miles long, to be cut from the *Salt* river to the bay *Falſo*, and a great progreſs was made; but, finding that both monſoons muſt choak it with ſand, the works were diſcontinued, and the remains are now called *The new Salt River*.

THE fortreſs called *Good Hope*, and the *Cape Town*, are ſituated in the *Table Valley*; the fort built by *Van Riebeck* ſtood a conſiderable time in the government of *Bax*, when this governor apprehending, from the great increaſe of ſettlers, and improvement in trade, that ſome *European* power might attack the ſettlement; and judging a new caſtle and ſtronger garriſon neceſſary for the defence, and that the old warehouſes were too ſmall for the growing trade, tranſmitted to the directors in *Europe* the ſtate of the *Cape*, who, approving of the repreſentation and propoſal for fortifying the *Cape*, diſpatched full powers for erecting a new fort, in ſuch place and model as *Bax* ſhould judge expedient. *Bax*, in three years, finiſhed a ſpacious, commodious, and ſtrong fortreſs; governor *Adrian Vander Stel* made ſeveral additions to it, and it is at preſent an exceeding ſtrong and ſtately building, of large compaſs, and provided with neceſſary accommodations for a numerous garriſon, completely covering the harbour, and of great defence towards the land: the governor and

New caſtle built by Bax.

* De hoc, vid. vol. x. p. 474.

chief officers have magnificent apartments, and the company's warehouſes are large, handſome, and commodious.

Cape Town.

CAPE TOWN is large and regularly built, with ſpacious ſtreets, and contains upwards of two hundred houſes, many are ſtately and magnificent, with large courts before, and gardens behind; moſt one, and none above two ſtories high; built with ſtone, and plentifully ſupplied with water, by a ſtream that falls from *Table Hill*, which turning a mill at the foot of the hill, runs through large pipes into a ſquare, and from thence, between the town and fortreſs, into the ſea. There is a row of houſes on the river, with beautiful gardens, vineyards, and corn-fields, farmed by the chief burgomaſters at 1500 florins a year, payable to the town treaſury. Building is greatly encouraged contiguous to the town, and in the country; the company gives gratis, ſufficient land for houſe, court-yard, out-houſes, and gardens. All houſes that are ſold are charged with a ground-rent, proportioned to the rent they would let at; if new, the 10th or 20th penny is paid, and if old, the 40th. Officers are appointed with ſalaries, to inſpect chimneys, in order to prevent fire; neglect of duty is ſeverely puniſhed, and ſailors and *Hottentos* are prohibited ſmoaking in the ſtreets.

Government of the town and colony.

THE preſent government of *Cape Town* and this extended ſettlement, ſtands upon eight eſtabliſhments, inſtituted by *Riebeck* and ſucceeding governors: the Grand council, Court of Juſtice, Petty Court, Marriage Court, Orphan Chamber, and Eccleſiaſtical Council, a Common Council, and Board of Militia.

Grand Council.

THE Grand Council conſiſts of the governor, who is preſident, with a double vote, and eight principal officers in the company's ſervice. This college of policy is the company's repreſentative, and the intereſt of the ſettlement is their province. They direct trade and navigation, make war and peace with the *Hottentots*, and correſpond with the directors in *Holland*, and the governors of *Batavia* and *Ceylon*. Regiſters of tranſactions, with all letters and copies of diſpatches, are kept by the ſecretary. The garriſon pays martial ſalutes to the members of this council at their entering or going out of the fort.

Court of Juſtice.

THE Court of Juſtice, generally compoſed of the members of the grand council, hear and determine all civil and criminal cauſes of moment. Where one party is ſervant to the company, to avoid partiality, three regent burgomaſters, magiſtrates at the *Cape*, have ſeats and aſſiſt the court; theſe are annually choſen amongſt the inhabitants not in the ſervice.

Appeals

Appeals lie in the firſt inſtance to the court at *Batavia*, and from thence to the ſupreme court in *Holland*, the laſt reſource. Appellants are obliged to a depoſit of one hundred florins, to be lodged where directed by the court, till final judgment is obtained; which is then paid or returned, as the judgment is affirmed or reverſed.

THE Petty Court, at preſent dependant on the court of juſtice, takes cognizance of breaches of the peace, treſpaſſes, and ſmall debts, and is compoſed of a member of the grand council, who preſides, and reports the proceedings to the council, of three burghers, and four immediate ſervants to the company. A burgher is vice-preſident, and the clerk of the court one of the ſervants. The preſident and members are choſen biennally by the grand council, two or three of the ſitting members being always re-choſen, for the inſtruction of the new-elected in the practice of, and proceedings before, the court. Copies of all proceedings, ſentences, and decrees, of this and the court of juſtice, are tranſmitted by the grand council to *Holland*. *Petty Court.*

THE Marriage Court inſpects the legality, before celebration of marriage contracts, and iſſues warrants to the paſtors, authoriſing the publication of banns. This court is generally held at the caſtle. Previous to any examination in this court, the parties are obliged to a perſonal joint appearance, to aſk the conſent of the governor; who gives to the man his mandate to the court, directing proper inquiries to be made concerning the parties, and ſignifying therein his conditional aſſent, provided the court finds no cauſe to the contrary. *Marriage Court.*

SEVEN perſons adminiſter the affairs and intereſts of the Court of Orphans, the vice-preſident of the grand council preſiding in this chamber; three of the company's ſervants, and three burghers are choſen biennally into this truſt. A burgher is generally vice-preſident; the ſecretary, who takes the minutes of the proceedings, and regiſters the tranſactions, is always in the company's ſervice, with a ſalary and perquiſites. No orphan can marry at the *Cape* under the age of twenty-five years, without the conſent of this chamber. *Orphan Court.*

THE Eccleſiaſtical Council, inſtituted for the government of the reformed churches at the *Cape*, is compoſed of the paſtors, elders, and overſeers of the poor, in each pariſh, who finally decree the temporal and ſpiritual concerns of the three churches; and the offices and ceremonies in the worſhip of God are altered, diminiſhed, and augmented by the decrees of this council. The ſurplus of collections is applied to charitable uſes, repairs of the church, and maintenance of ſchools. The debates and reſolutions of this council are re- *Eccleſiaſtical Court.*

gistered, and at all times may be perused by any persons. There are occasional church councils held in each parish. These councils consist of a considerable parishioner, the pastor, elders, and overseers of the parish; half of the members are burghers, half servants to the company, and the pastor is always reckoned one of the last.

Court of Common Council. UPON the great increase of the colony by *French* refugees, governor *Simon Vander Stel* established a court of Common Council in each colony, to be chosen biennally by the grand council, out of lists to be prepared and presented by the burghers. This council has no authority at *Cape Town*, the whole business being transacted by the civil courts above-named. Petitions are indeed presented by them in behalf of, and they collect the taxes laid upon, the burghers, by the grand council. The three regent burghers, who have seats in the council of justice, are magistrates of weight and respect; and the common council is of great authority in the courts of other colonies: the *Landrost*, or lieutenant of each colony, presides in the assemblies wherein debts, trespasses, and all matters not exceeding one hundred and fifty florins, are heard and determined: most crimes are punished by the councils in whose jurisdiction they were committed.

Horse and foot militia instituted. *SIMON VANDER STEL*, upon the arrival of the refugees, instituted a horse and foot militia; and for their government erected two boards, each with two commissioners and secretary. A member of the grand council presides at the board for and in *Cape Town*. The other members are the principal military officers of the *Cape* colony. The *Landdrost* of *Stellenbosh* is president of this board, and the other members are the principal officers of the united militia of *Stellenbosh* and *Drakenstein* colonies. The militia is employed in the pursuit of run-away slaves, or on hostile appearances from the *Hottentots*, and annually mustered.

Table Hill, *its situation and height.* THE three hills which form the *Table Valley* are called the *Table Hill*, *Lion Hill*, and *Wind* or *Devil's Hill*. The *Table Hill*, called by the *Portuguese Taboa do Cabo*, or the *Cape Table*, bearing south from the center of the valley, and extending something to south-west, is 1857 feet high: on the top are several springs of water, clear as chrystal, and of a delightful taste. The summit, resembling the leaf of a table, appears at a distance level and smooth, but is uneven and craggy. In the middle is a large chasm, or rent, observed to increase in rainy seasons, and believed to have been made by the violent currents from the top, which wash down great quantities of earth. Stately trees grow in this chasm; and

and the hill, in appearance rough and barren, is extremely fruitful. There are two gardens, called *Paradiſe* and *Hell*, between which a ſilver mine was diſcovered; but the ore tranſported to *Holland* not yielding ſufficient ſilver to anſwer the working, the mine was cloſed and neglected. A white cloud hovers over this hill during the dry ſeaſon, from *September* to *March*, and frequently in other months: from this cloud iſſue the ſouth-eaſt winds with incredible fury, ſhattering houſes, endangering ſhipping, and greatly damaging the fruits of the earth. Upon diſcovering this cloud, the ſailors inſtantly cry out, *the table's covered, prepare for the ſtorm*, and work with as much activity as if it was begun [d]. *Silver mine.*

THE *Lion Hill*, contiguous to the ſea, extending northward, and bearing weſt from the center of the valley, is ſeparated from the *Table Hill* by a ſmall chaſm, called *Kloof* by the *Dutch*. In this *Kloof* two centinels are placed, to give notice of ſhipping making into the harbour: the ſmalleſt veſſel may be diſcovered from the top of this ſteep hill, which is partly aſcended by rope ladders, at the diſtance of twelve leagues. Upon the diſcovery of a ſail the centinel in the head makes a ſignal to his comrade to ſet out immediately and inform the officers: if more appear, the flag is dropped, and a gun fired for every ſail, which is accordingly reported. The proper officers are always prepared by this method to receive the approaching veſſels [e]. Lion Hill.

THE republic or prince's flag is always hoiſted to *Dutch* ſhips on their voyage to *India*, and two flags with devices to all ſhips returning to *Holland*. Theſe flags for returning ſhips are annually changed by the directors in *Holland*, and ſent to the *Cape*, with exact copies drawn upon paper for the governor general of *Batavia*, who diſtributes them to the commanders of returning ſhips. Theſe commanders are to conclude, in caſe the devices at the *Cape* diſagree with their copies, or if no flag ſhould appear, that the *Cape* is poſſeſſed by an enemy, to ſteer away immediately, and make the beſt of their way to *Holland*. The prince's flag is hoiſted, and a gun fired, at *Robin Eylan*, at the mouth of the harbour, for every ſhip ſailing by, or ſtanding in.

NOT far from the *Kloof* is a large tract of fine meadows, and another beyond the hill, at preſent common paſtures for the neighbouring cattle, but capable of great improvement, the ſoil being extremely rich, and no ſcarcity of water.

[d] LA CROIX, vol. iv. p. 86. KOLBEN, vol. ii. p. 12. vid. & RAMUS. vel Viagii, vol. i. third edit. p. 119. & ſeq. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. plur. [e] LA CROIX, ib. p. 88. KOLBEN, ib. p. 14. & al. ſup. citat.

SIMON VANDER STEL erected upon a creek at the foot of this hill a small fort of four guns, to prevent clandestine trade, and for the better security of the harbour against enemies; who under cover of the fogs, which are frequent in the months of *June* and *July*, might land in small boats undiscovered. *Adrian Vander Stel*, his son and successor, judging this precaution unnecessary, the guns were remanded to the fortress, and the fort left to decay.

Wind Hill.

THE *Wind Hill*, so named in wills, conveyances, and records, and vulgarly *Devil's Hill*, extending, like the *Lion Hill*, to the sea, is lower and narrower than the *Table* or *Lion Hill*, abounds in excellent pastures, with an extensive view over seats, gardens, and vineyards, as far as the *Salt River*, *Tyger Hills*, and adjacent deserts [f].

Round Bush *and* Newland Gardens.

THERE are several beautiful seats, vineyards, and gardens, on every side of *Table Hill*, which surpasses all in number and delicacy of springs. *Round Bush* and *Newland Gardens* belong to the company; a magnificent pleasure-house for the governor was erected in the first, at the company's expence; both are well watered, and yield a considerable revenue. Most sorts of *European*, *Persian*, and vines from other countries, the *Japan* apple, with the most esteemed fruits, have been transplanted into these gardens, which the *Cape* soil and climate brings to the highest perfection. Between these gardens is an estate, called, from its fertility, *Bread and Wine*; and a brewhouse in the neighbourhood, well supplied with water, erected by *Jacob Lonwen*, who was transported with his family, at the company's expence, to introduce the *Deventer* method of brewing. The several currents of springs on *Salt River* side, uniting at the bottom of the hill, run in a strong stream into that river.

Constantia *built by* Simon Vander Stel.

NEAR this hill stands a delightful seat erected by *Simon Vander Stel*, called *Constantia*, in honour of his lady's name, commanding the most extensive prospect over this improved country, and *Table Bay*. In the way to *Constantia* is a rough stony road, leading over high and craggy mountains to *Wood Bay*: this wood is never cut down but in times of necessity; wood being scarce and valuable at the *Cape*. The company had several settlements in this country for raising cattle, which, being too expensive, were all sold; and all their demands have been supplied ever since by four licensed slaughter houses. In this quarter is a large tract of land, three days journey round, which governor *Vander Stel* had appro-

[f] LA CROIX, vol. iv. p. 37. KOLBEN, vol. ii. p. 19. RAMUS, & al. sup. citat.

priated

priated to himſelf and family, and erected a magnificent ſeat and elegant ſtabling.

THE adjacent hills called *Tyger Hills*, from a coloured appearance, and ſpotted like the ſkins of thoſe animals, are the moſt fertile about the *Cape*; the lands are all cultivated, excepting one ſmall tract, in which is a ſpring, which, in dry ſeaſons, ſupplies with water the neighbouring planters, and therefore not granted out by the company. Theſe hills, formerly the haunts of deer, are ſaid to owe their fertility to the droppings of thoſe animals; and it is remarkable that all places frequented by deer ſurpaſs all others in fertility. There are twenty-two ſeats and eſtates, divided into corn-fields, vineyards, gardens, and meadow grounds, on theſe hills; the ſettlers are eſteemed but middling, whoſe ſtocks conſiſt of no more than 600 ſheep and 100 large cattle; to be denominated conſiderable requires a ſtock of 1000 ſheep, and two or three hundred large cattle; and there are ſettlers who are poſſeſſed of 1000 ſheep and 1000 large cattle. The *Cape* ſettlement was ſupplied in the beginning with horſes from *Perſia*, whoſe breed is extremely increaſed, and the price greatly reduced, three beautiful ſtrong horſes being ſold at an auction for eighteen *Dutch* ſchellings. The fartheſt of theſe hills, which are eight leagues in circumference, is four leagues diſtant from the *Cape*. Tyger Hills.

THE *Cow Hill*, about ſix leagues from the *Cape*, beyond the *Tyger Hills*, was next cultivated. There is no good water, the ſoil is poor, and the inhabitants but few. Cow Hill.

THE *Blue Mountain*, ſo called from a bluiſh appearance at a diſtance, is about eight leagues from the *Cape*, and was next ſettled. The ſoil is equally fertile with thoſe of the *Tyger Hills*, but, through ſcarcity of water, thinly inhabited. Elephants and deer furniſh the ſettlers with wholſome and delicious proviſions, and they gain conſiderably by their hides and ſkins. Blue Mountain.

IN the year 1712 this colony, divided from *Stellenboſh* ſettlement by a large deſert bordering on *Cape Town*, was extended by the grand council as far as *Muſhellbank River*, a conflux only of rain waters, forming a ſtream by the currents of adjacent mountains, uniting in this chanel, which run into *Salt Water River*, and thence into the ſea. The ſource of this river, which receives ſeveral rivulets, and waters in its courſe many gardens and vineyards, and particularly *Round Buſh* garden, belonging to the company, is on the ſummit of *Table Hill*: the water is clear and wholſome, and brackiſh only by the mixture of the ſea-water at high tides, which gives it the name of *Salt Water River*. Salt Water River.

THE

Different colours and taſtes of water. THE waters of the *Table*, *Lion*, and *Wind Hills*, and adjacent vallies, have different colours and taſtes, are cold and warm, heavy and light. Thoſe whoſe ſprings are on the ſummits of mountains, are white and clear; the brightneſs increaſes in the rapid deſcents over flints and pebbles; and are extremely ſweet and wholſome. Thoſe whoſe deſcent is leſs rapid, and run over pebbles and flints more contracted, are of a dark red, the colour of iron ſtones. The waters of the rivulet flowing from the ſtone hills, through *Buffalo Valley*, into the *Sand Valley*, and from thence into *Table Bay*, are of this colour. Many are blackiſh, from the earth and mud through which they run; ſuch are the waters of a rivulet flowing by *Stellenboſh*, and of another running beyond *Stellenboſh*, out of *Mottergate* into *Stellenboſh River*.

MOST river waters preſerve the ſweetneſs of the ſpring throughout their courſe; others loſe the ſpring ſweetneſs, whiteneſs, clearneſs, and become brackiſh, and ſome their liquidity. The remains of theſe waters are the fineſt ſalt. Some are brackiſh, yet palatable, at their ſources, which, by ſtanding, become too brackiſh for drinking; the ſprings of the *Tyger* hills and vallies are of this kind. The waters that fall rapidly from hills, and run through chanels never penetrated by the ſun-beams, are extremely cold, and retain the coldneſs though kept in veſſels. There are other waters that are warm and ſometimes hot, and two warm baths about 30 miles from the *Cape*.

Cape waters excellent. THE waters about the *Cape* are eſteemed beneficial in every caſe; *European* phyſicians recommend them preferably to wine, brandy, and all ſtrong liquors; and their credit is ſo high at the court of *Denmark*, where they are eſteemed the brighteſt, ſweeteſt, and moſt wholſome in the world, that every *Daniſh* royal ſhip, returning to *Europe*, is ordered to touch at the *Cape* for a large caſk of ſpring water for his *Daniſh* majeſty.

Sent to Denmark.

BEYOND the *Stone Hills* are ſeveral ſprings that water the adjacent country. In one of theſe hills is a ſtone quarry, diſcovered by *Vander Stel*, little inferior to marble, and made uſe of for ſtair-caſes and floors.

Stellenboſh colony ſettled by Simon Vander Stel. *STELLENBOSH* colony, ſo called from *Boſh*, or *Buſh*, and *Stel*, the name of the governor, was ſettled in the time and by the direction of *Simon Vander Stel*. The *Dutch* called this colony the *Wild Foreſt*, whilſt covered with ſhrubs and buſhes. In the principal valley, named *Stellenboſh*, ſtood a beautiful church, and council-houſe, which were deſtroyed in 1710 by an accidental fire: the village was handſomely rebuilt

built in four years, but the church and council-houſe remain in their ruins.

THERE are large barren ſandy tracts between the *Cape* and this colony, whoſe four diviſions are named *Stellenboſh*, *Mottergate*, *Hottentot Holland*, and *Bottelarg*.

ON the *Stellenboſh* head or eminence, in the road between the two colonies, were formerly planted a cannon and flag-ſtaff, to give notice of *European* or *Hottentot* approaches; but the *Dutch* ſoon becoming too populous and ſtrong for any hoſtile attempts, the cannon was carried to the fortreſs. There are two roads from the *Cape* to *Hottentot Holland*, over the ſandy downs into the *Tyger Valley*, through the part called *Stellenboſh* is the moſt commodious; the moſt pleaſant is through the *Kloof*, and over the mountains, commanding fine proſpects of the bays and country, with views of *Mottergate*, *Hottennots Holland*, and *Falſo Bay*.

FALSO Bay is formed by a chain of mountains; the mountains on the eaſt ſide are called *Hottentot Holland*: one only, on the weſt ſide, contiguous to *Stone Hill*, has obtained the name *Norwegen*, from its extending ſix leagues in the ſea, and running to a point, like the mountains on the coaſt of *Norway*. Thoſe of *Hottentot Holland* are much higher, and, like the *Table Hill*, covered with a white cloud, during the reign of the ſouth-eaſt winds: the mountain terminating the bay, from its appearance at ſea in the manner of a lip hanging over the chin, is denominated *Hang-lips*. This bay is ten leagues in circumference, and called *Falſo*, from a falſe report that the bottom was covered with ſtones, and no ſafe lodgment for anchors. The bay was inſpected, and the bottom tried in 1702, by order of the governor *Lewis Van Aſſenburgh*, when the ground was found to be no-where ſtony. There is a large rock in the middle of the bay, which has been ſince believed to have been the foundation of that groundleſs report. No ſhip can ride with ſafety in this bay, during the high ſouth-eaſt winds; many, moored with the ſtrongeſt cables, having been torn from their anchors, ſtranded, and daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks. The bay abounds in various kinds of exquiſite fiſh, and there is great ſtore at the mouths of *Stellenboſh* and *Hottentot Holland* rivers; but the greateſt quantity is taken at the *Fiſh Huik*, under the rock named *Hang-lips*. The colonies might, with good management, be ſupplied by this fiſhery alone.

Falſo Bay.

Hang-lips mountain.

IN *November* 1710, a terrible hurricane at ſouth-eaſt, blew the waters in floods up the country; ſeveral thouſand buſhels of fiſh remained on the land, on the retreat of the waters, and

Hurricane in 1710.

and the ſea frequently overflows the *Sea Cow Valley*, leaving infinite numbers of fiſh behind. This valley was formerly the haunt of ſea cows, amphibious animals of prodigious ſize, that made frequent ſallies up the country to feed on the graſs. None are ſeen now, being driven to more diſtant retreats, by the great deſtruction made amongſt them by the firſt ſettlers, and other *Europeans*.

Sea Cow Valley, *why ſo called.*

In the center of *Hottentot Holland*, ſo called from being the place appointed for raiſing the company's cattle, ſtands the *Sheep Mountain*, always covered with graſs, and ſheep conſtantly feeding thereon. The ſoil throughout this diviſion is extremely rich, yielding abundant returns for what is ſown or planted, and by much the moſt fertile and pleaſant part of *Stellenboſh* colony. In the infancy of the ſettlement, a ſquare fort was erected near the ſea-ſide, mounted with four cannon, to protect the ſettlement on that ſide from the *Hottentots*, and to give notice of any appearance of enemies in *Bay Falſo*; but the cannon have been carried to the fortreſs, nor are there any traces remaining of the fort or ruins.

The diviſion was formerly haunted by lions, tygers, leopards, elephants, the rhinoceros and elk, which have been for the moſt part killed, or frighted into more remote quarters by fire and ball; no animal now appearing but deer and goats. Three rivers, whoſe ſprings are in the adjacent mountains, run through this diviſion; the ſource of the principal river is in the mountains contiguous to *Turn-again Hill*, ſo called from a way over it to *Drakenſtein* colony, which, to avoid precipices, appears, by ſeveral turnings, to lead back again. This river overflowing, in rainy ſeaſons, the adjacent lands, *Adrian Vander Stel* erected a large and deep baſon, capable of containing the rain-water deſcending from the mountains; the lands, by this contrivance, were prevented from being overflowed in rainy ſeaſons, and ſupplied in dry with ſufficient water. This, and other rivers without names, whoſe ſprings are alſo in the mountains, having watered many improved eſtates in their courſe, diſcharge themſelves into *Bay Falſo*.

Soil fertile. *MOTTERGATE* diviſion lies north of, and is ſurrounded by, *Hottentot Holland* and *Stellenboſh* diviſion and river. The ſoil is fertile, the houſes numerous, and the whole equally improved with other colonies. In rainy ſeaſons the lands are overflowed, and all intercourſe cut off amongſt the inhabitants, the *Stellenboſh River* and other rivulets becoming impaſſable. Bridges would effectually remedy the great inconvenience and loſſes ſuſtained by theſe floods; yet the inhabitants, who neither want money nor wood, could never be induced to think even of proper relief.

STELLEN-

STELLENBOSH diviſion, of equal circumference with *Hottentot Holland*, is fertile and pleaſant. The mountains which ſurround this diviſion are named *Stellenboſh*, reſembling in height and ſize, and like the *Table Mountain*, are covered each with a white cloud, during the ſouth-eaſt winds. Theſe winds blow here in a different manner, no contrary winds oppoſing: the fury ceaſes from evening to midnight; whereas an hour at noon and midnight, are the only quiet time, during the whole ſeaſon at the *Cape*. The cliffs of theſe mountains are woody; and various kinds of curious and uncommon herbs, whoſe properties are unknown, and abundance of beautiful flowers, grow on the ſummits. The vallies abound in corn-lands, vineyards, and gardens: the houſes are well and commodiouſly built: there are ſeveral large ones on *Stellenboſh River*; and the whole diviſion is in the moſt flouriſhing condition. This river, riſing in *Stellenboſh* mountains, and become conſiderable by the ſtreams in *Mottergate*, runs at length into *Bay Falſo*. The bridge erected by the colony over this river being too narrow and dangerous, a more ſtately and commodious one was built at the expence of a private gentleman, who obtained leave, and, for the public good, ſubmitted to the reſtraint impoſed by the grand council, that no toll ſhould be paid for paſſing over, or through roads made on his own eſtate, for the ſervice and uſe of the public. This bridge ſtill remains in good condition.

Stellenboſh *diviſion.*

A bridge built by a private gentleman.

BOTTELARY diviſion, the moſt northern part of *Stellenboſh* colony, borders on the ſouth on *Stellenboſh*, on the eaſt and weſt on *Drakenſtein*, and on the north on *Muſhell Bank*, and exceeds all the *Cape* colonies in the great quantities of hay; the graſs in other parts being conſumed by cattle on the grounds. The mountain, formerly the haunt of wild horſes, which ſeparates this diviſion from *Drakenſtein*, is called the *Horſe Mountain*, and *Joſſen Mountain*, named from *Joſt* the firſt inhabitant, is covered with paſtures, fertile fields, vineyards, and gardens, even to the ſummit.

Bottelary *diviſion.*

THE company, being defrauded, ſold the ſeveral nurſeries for cattle, which they had intruſted to the care of the neighbouring inhabitants of this diviſion, who are greatly diſtreſſed for wood and water, the ſettlers being frequently obliged to make uſe of rain water, collected into ſmall lakes and ditches, that in ſummer becomes brackiſh. Lands granted by the company are ſubject to be forfeited, on neglect of planting with trees a certain number of acres; yet this condition has never been obſerved by the planters, though the company has planted numbers of oaks that have ſucceeded; and the puniſhment for

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cutting the leaſt branch, being whipping by the common executioner.

Drakenſtein *ſettlement.*

DRAKENSTEIN ſettlement, ſo named in honour of baron *Van Rheede*, lord of *Drakenſtein* in *European Guelderland*, was firſt begun in 1675, in the government of *Simon Vander Stel.* Many artificers and others, whoſe times in the company's ſervice had expired, had planted ſeveral tracts of land, when the company, to whoſe protection the States General had recommended the *French* proteſtants who fled into *Holland*, tranſported, at their own expence, numbers of families to the *Cape*, who, upon lands being granted by the governors, ſettled in *Drakenſtein*, where ſome inhabitants are of *German*, but moſt of refugee extraction.

Inhabited by refugees.

DRAKENSTEIN is as extenſive as the *European Low Countries*, bordering on the ſouth on *Turn-again Mountain*, on the eaſt on a long chain of mountains named *Drakenſtein*, on the north on *Saldanha Bay*, and on the weſt on the *Horſe Mountain*, which divides it from *Bottelary*. This large country has neither village nor council houſe: the burgomaſters elected in this, repair to *Stellenboſh* for the diſpatch of public buſineſs, and act in conjunction with the burgomaſters of that colony: the church and water-mill are the only public buildings; and the church, about fourteen *German* leagues from the *Cape*, in the center of the colony, is the meaneſt and moſt ſordid building imaginable, covered with reeds, with walls not exceeding four feet in height, the inſide bare walls and reeds, with a moſt ſhocking pulpit and deſk, only a few plain forms to ſit on, and theſe brought by the pooreſt people.

THERE are numbers of farms; and ſome, but few, ſumptuous houſes: the refugees, beginning the world under great incumbrances, the debts at firſt contracted remain ſtill undiſcharged; and though ſome, whoſe ſucceſs has been great, have erected ſuperior buildings, the generality of their deſcendants remain in cotts, requiring no more than room and ſhelter from the weather.

THE *Mountain River*, ſo called from its ſpring riſing in the mountains, receiving ſeveral rivulets in its courſe, is conſiderable near the church, with large farms on both ſides, about half an hour's diſtance from each other; yet the inhabitants complain of the contiguity for want of ſufficient paſturage between the plantations, and graſs growing in plenty on both ſides of the river. This fertile part, producing every growth of the *Cape*, is mountainous and ſtoney, and the mountains, like all about the *Cape*, in the depth of winter, are covered with ſnow, and often from *June* to *September*.

FROM

FROM *Turn-again Mountain* to the church is a road on the left, leading to *Stellenboſh*, truly named by the inhabitants *Bange Hunk*, or fearful, being narrow, ſtoney and ſteep, leading on edges of precipices, and pits of water, and infeſted with lions, tygers, and other wild animals. Many have periſhed by their horſes ſtarting into theſe precipices and pits upon the approach of theſe animals; yet the moſt elegant ſeats of the *Landroſt* of *Stellenboſh* and *Drakenſtein* colonies, and ſeveral others of note, are ſituated in this dangerous road. Turn-again Mountain.

SIMON's Valley, ſo named in honour of *Simon Vander Stel*, who granted it to *Bleſius*, the *Cap* fiſcal independant, is laid out in corn-fields, vineyards, and gardens. Upon an ordonnance publiſhed in 1707, that burghers only ſhould trade in corn, wine, and cattle, *Bleſius* ſold this eſtate to a favourite ſervant for 24,000 florins, to be paid by yearly payments of 2,000 florins. Near *Simon's Valley* is a high mountain, named the *Babylonian Tower*, extremely plentiful in corn and wine. Simon's Valley.

A MARKET is held near the church, for the ſale of grocery and other ſmall wares neceſſary for domeſtic uſe, bought at the *Cape*, and ſold here at an advanced price. On both ſides of the church, and road to *Mountain River*, lie ſeveral well cultivated and improved eſtates; and from thence to *Waggon-makers Valley*, and farther on to *Pearl Mountain*, ſo called from a large ſtone on the top, imagined by the common people to reſemble a pearl. This mountain is rocky; the ſtone is proper for mill-ſtones; and many were hewn out by order of *Vander Stel*, and uſed in the mills of the colonies. The *Mountain River* paſſes through *Waggon-makers Valley*, ſo called from an *European* waggon-maker, the firſt inhabitant, in a ſerpentine manner, and runs above an hundred *German* miles from its ſource, through ſeveral *Hottentot* countries, into *St. Hellen's Bay*. This river, fordable in ſummer, when ſwelled by winter torrents running down the hills, overflows a conſiderable part of the adjacent country. Numbers of men and horſes have been loſt in attempting to paſs it; and ſcarce a winter paſſes without ſome terrible cataſtrophe. The inhabitants are deprived of church ſervice, and the benefit of the mill at the foot of *Pearl Mountain*; yet the intelligent inhabitants, provided long ago with ſufficient caſh to be laid out for the public good, have never thought of a bridge; the only thing wanting in the colony. *The market.* Pearl Mountain.

NUMBERS of *Hottentots*, who lately dwelt in this valley, abandoned their Kraals, and retreated farther up the country, upon the appearance of *European* planters. The plantation

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and buildings of theſe new ſettlers were not brought to perfection in 1731.

Riebeck's Caſtle. *RIEBECK's Caſtle*, ſo named from *Van Riebeck*, firſt governor of the *Cape*, is an extreme high and ſteep mountain. The plantations on and near it would be greatly increaſed but for the ſcarcity of water; one well only being dug at the expence of *Vander Bal*, a planter, for the relief of the neighbourhood, who enjoyed in common this advantage, till a *Tyger* planter obtaining from the government the ſole property, the inhabitants are obliged at preſent, as formerly, to make uſe of rain water.

IN the beginning of the *Cape* ſettlement, barracks were erected here by the company for an hundred men, and as many horſes; and a cannon was planted on an eminence near this poſt, to be fired on any hoſtile appearance from the *Hottentots*, as a ſignal to the next, and from thence continued to the *Cape*. The *Hottentots* afterwards deſirous of friendſhip, and concluding a treaty of alliance with the *Dutch*, this guard was aboliſhed, the cannon carried to the fortreſs, and the barracks and ſtabling went to decay.

Twenty-four Rivers. THE *Twenty-four Rivers*, about a day's journey north of *Riebeck's Caſtle*, and thus called from the many ſtreams with which it is watered, belongs to *Drakenſtein* colony. The ſoil is extremely fertile, producing corn from 25 to more than thirty-fold, with great plenty of graſs and water throughout. No lands are granted here in propriety; on which account huts only, and not houſes of expence, are erected in this part.

Honey Mountains. To this colony appertain the *Honey Mountains*, ſo called from the great quantity of honey made by the bees in the cliffs. The *Hottentots* climb extremely high, in great danger, in queſt of honey and wax; which they afterwards barter with *Europeans*, for tobacco, brandy, and glaſs or braſs trinkets.

THE *European* inhabitants of theſe mountains, who are but few, and tenders of cattle only, like thoſe of the *Twenty-four Rivers*, are ſettlers by licence; who, reſtrained from tilling more ground than what is thought neceſſary to yield ſufficient corn for their ſupport, make no uſe of that liberty; but, living without bread, eat meat with meat, as beef or mutton with ſmoaked or dried veniſon; are extremely healthful, and ſtrangers almoſt to diſorders; their drink is water, milk, and honey beer.

ABOUT a day's journey from the *Honey* lie the *Picquet Mountains*, ſo called from the game of picquet being played the

the whole day the *Europeans* firſt inſpected this ſettlement: the inhabitants are feeders of cattle, who, with the people of *Honey Mountain*, drive their cattle to the *Cape* market. The *Hottentots* and theſe people live friendly together.

Van Waveren colony.

VAN Waveren colony, ſo called by governor *Vander Stel*, in compliment to the *Van Waveren* family of *Amſterdam*, to which he was related, was begun in 1701, is the youngeſt and moſt eaſtern ſettlement, about 25 or 30 *German* miles diſtant from the *Cape*, and ſeparated from *Drakenſtein* by *Red Sand Mountain*; the boundaries are hitherto unſettled.

Red Sand Mountain.

THE *Red Sand Mountain*, whoſe top is a cone, is extremely difficult to paſs, being high and ſteep, and the road acroſs narrow and ſtony, with thick wood in many places on both ſides. Waggons are generally unloaded and taken to pieces, and, together with the goods, carried over in ſmall parcels by the cattle and waggoners: the black land near this mountain is included in this colony: the ſoil is extremely fertile, yielding a vaſt increaſe of all ſorts of grain that hath been hitherto ſown, and promiſes equal fertility with the beſt lands about the *Cape*. No lands are granted in property, but are held by licence from the government from ſix months to ſix months: on this account the lands are hitherto made uſe of as paſturage; nor are there any buildings ſuperior to ſhepherds huts. There are no places for public worſhip; the inhabitants frequent *Drakenſtein*, and ſometimes the *Cape* churches, to which they are obliged to repair for marriages and chriſtenings, being under the *Cape* juriſdiction. All civil and criminal cauſes are determined by the magiſtrates of *Stellenboſh*. The country is well watered, and provided with two hot baths: the hot water of one becomes in two hours proper for bathing; yet the healing virtues of theſe waters are quite neglected for another bath at a ſmall diſtance. The hot bath behind the *Hottentot Holland* mountains is moſt frequented, and moſt juſtly recommended. This bath, and a large tract of fertile land, were granted by governor *Lewis Van Aſſembourg* to *Appel* and heirs, who make a conſiderable profit.

Animals, &c. not common in other parts of Africa.

IN ſpeaking of the living creatures of the *Cape*, we ſhall omit, as much as poſſible, deſcribing thoſe which are in common with other parts of *Africa*, and take notice only of ſuch as have ſomething remarkably particular, as different either in their nature, ſhape, *&c.*

The lion.

THE *Hottentot* countries abound, from the lion to the monkey, in the greateſt variety of the animal creation. The lion, the firſt in dignity, and the moſt noble beaſt, is extremely ſtrong, the fleſh has no ill taſte, and eats like veniſon.

Leopard and tyger.

THE leopard, or panther, and the tyger, beaſts of a like nature,

nature, differing in nothing but the size and manner of the spots, are extremely fierce and ravenous; their flesh, which is exceeding white and tender, surpasses in taste the finest veal.

Elephants. THE *Cape* elephants are the largest, and, in proportion, the strongest in the world; their teeth weigh from 60 to 120 pounds; their flesh is coarse, and never eaten by *Europeans* but in great necessity; they make great expedition in travelling, and sleep lying upon the ground.

Rhinoceros. THE skin of a *Cape* rhinoceros, whose sense of smelling is remarkably wonderful, and in constant enmity with the elephant, is almost impenetrable by the sharpest knife: the horn in the snout, with which he rips up the belly of a surprized elephant, is known not to endure poison; the fresh blood is hung up in the guts by *Europeans*, to dry in the sun, and taken afterwards in wine, coffee, or tea, to open obstructions, and for inward sores. *Kolben* eat the flesh with great satisfaction.

Wild dogs. BESIDES the different kinds of *European* and *Cape* domestic, there are wild dogs, that, like the *Kongo Mabian*, are mortal enemies of every quadruped species, that range in bodies of thirty, forty, and upwards, encountering lions, &c. and always conquering by numbers. Both *Europeans* and *Hottentots* follow and rob these dogs of their prey after the chace. The *Europeans* salt for their slaves, and the *Hottentots* eat, what they get.

Tyger wolves. THERE are the common *European* and tyger wolves, of the size of an ordinary sheep, with broad heads like bull-dogs; their jaws, nose, and eyes, are large, the teeth edged, with frizled hair, short tails, and spotted like a tyger. The lion, tyger, and leopard, that know and pursue by the howl, are great enemies to the tyger wolf.

Buffalos. THE *Cape* buffalos are larger than the *European*, and hard to be killed without fire-arms; their flesh is neither tender nor fat, like that of an ox.

Elks. THE *Cape* elks, about 400 pounds weight, are much larger than *European* or *American* elks; their flesh tastes like good beef, either boiled or roasted.

Wild asses. THE wild ass is spotted and streaked in that beautiful manner as has been described in other places, with white, chesnut, or brown, and surpasses a horse in swiftness, and therefore extremely difficult to be taken.

Wild horses. THERE are wild horses in the *Cape* countries, but none in the *European* colonies; the settlement having been supplied, in the beginning, with horses from *Persia*.

Sea horses. THE sea-horse, as has been already described in a former chapter, is here in great plenty and request. The flesh, boiled

boiled or roaſted, being eſteemed delicious food, and ſold at 12 *d.* and 15 *d.* *per* pound; the fat, likewiſe bearing the ſame price, is uſed in moſt ſorts of victuals, and ſometimes ſpread upon bread like butter.

Different kinds of goats.

THERE are tame blue and ſpotted goats; the blue goats are ſhaped like the tame *European*, of the ſize of a hart, and of a delicate blue colour; the fleſh, though ſeldom fat, is well taſted, and the ſkins equal in goodneſs thoſe of the deer. The fleſh of the ſpotted goats taſtes like veniſon; and that of another beautiful ſort of goats, without name, far ſurpaſſes the beſt: there are yet diving and rock goats, whoſe fleſh, though lean and tough, is eſteemed a dainty at the *Cape*.

Stinkbing-ſtem and other wild animals.

THERE are at the *Cape*, beſides the ſtinkbingſem, a moſt ſtinking and offenſive animal, like a ferret in make, and of the ſize of a middling dog, baboons, mountain cats, moles, *Indian* mice as large as cats, rattle mice, that ſometimes make a rattling noiſe with their tails; ermins, whoſe fleſh is wholeſome, and agreeable to the palate; the fox, hares, harts, rabbits, cats, and *European* rats, carried by ſhipping.

Eagles.

FOUR ſorts of eagles are ſeen in the *Hottentot* countries: the bird ſimply called eagle, of the ignoble kind, according to *Geſner* and *Ludolphus*, from their feeding upon fiſh and dead animals; the duck-eagle, or *Aquila Anatoria*, whoſe prey are ducks; the *Offifrage*, or bone-breaking eagle, that carry up and let the land tortoiſes fall from a great height in the air, to break their ſhells; and the *Haliætus*, ſo called by naturaliſts, or ſea eagle.

Phœnicopterus, or Flamingos.

THE *Phanicopterus*, ſo named by Mr. *Ray*, called by the *Dutch Flamingos*, and by the *French Flammant*, is the moſt beautiful bird at the *Cape*, larger, and the neck much longer, than that of a ſwan. Both head and neck are white as ſnow; the bill extremely broad, the upper mandible crooked, and longer than the nether, which is thicker and hollow, and filled with a large and fat tongue, that eats like marrow; the bill of a dark blue, black at the point, and furniſhed with ſhort ſharp teeth, the lower parts of the wing feathers are black, and the upper of a high flame colour, the feet like thoſe of a gooſe, and the legs half as long as the legs of a ſtork, of an orange colour: their fleſh is wholſome, and well taſted.

Wild geeſe.

BESIDES the tame, there are three ſorts of wild geeſe, the hill, or mountain, the crop, and the water gooſe, which differ in ſize and colour. The hill or mountain gooſe, whoſe feathers on the head and wings are of a bright ſhining green, are larger than the *European*; the crop gooſe is a large bird; and the water gooſe, of the ſame ſize, is diſtinguiſhed from

the *European* tame by a brown ſtreak, intermixed with green, on the back: their fleſh is eſteemed extremely delicate.

Knorhans. THE knorhan, upon diſcovering a man, gives warning to other birds, by making and continuing a loud noiſe, to the great diſappointment of ſportſmen: the fleſh has an agreeable taſte.

Sea crows. THE fleſh of a ſea crow is delicate food, much eſteemed at the *Cape*, where their feathers, which are exceeding ſoft, are uſed in bedding and cuſhions.

Pelicans. THE ſpoon-bill, or pelican, and the *Malagos*, are larger than geeſe: the ſea-gulls are numerous, and their eggs, as large as duck eggs, are moſt delicate food, whoſe white never hardens by boiling, but remains like a jelly. The pinguin, or pinguinan, of the ſize of a gooſe, is an extreme fat bird; the fleſh, being of a fiſhy taſte, is of no value; but their eggs, which are likewiſe the moſt delicious food, are always eſteemed and looked upon as fine preſents.

Ravens. ONE ſort of ravens is totally black, another totally grey, and a third ſort has the belly feathers white, the feathers on the head black and white, and the reſt quite black.

Oſtriches, and other birds. OSTRICHES are numerous at the *Cape*; their eggs are reckoned good eating, and one a tolerable meal for three or four perſons. Theſe large birds are equally careful in hatching, the male and female alternately ſitting on the eggs, and diligent in feeding their young as other birds. There are ſeveral ſorts of falcons; and the pheaſants are the ſame as the *European*: owls are of the ſame ſize, but of different colour; the feathers are red and black, intermixed with grey ſpots, which make a beautiful appearance. There are tame, and ſeveral ſorts of wild, ducks; the yellow-hammer, lark, the chloris, or greenfinch, of the ſize of a nightingale, with long and pleaſant notes; and a bird, called *Edolio* by the *Europeans*, reſembling in ſize, make, and colour, the *European* cuckow; this bird, which keeps in thick buſhes, and on high trees, cries and repeats often, in fine weather, in a low and melancholy tone, *edolio, edolio.*

Blue birds. THERE is a blue bird, whoſe fleſh is delicious food, deſcribed by *Raphael Seuler*, of the ſize of a ſtarling, with blue feathers; thoſe on the neck and thighs of a ſky blue, but ſomewhat darker than thoſe of a king's fiſher; the beak and wing feathers of a dark blue, with a pointed bill about four inches long, and the nether mandible of a dark red. Several ſorts of birds, tho' of different colours, having the ſame notes, are called by *Europeans* black-birds: the wagtails, finches, and bats, are the ſame as *European*.

Black-birds.

BESIDES

BESIDES all kinds of *European* finches, there is a ſort peculiar to the *Cape*, larger than a chaffinch, whoſe feathers are of an aſh colour in winter, to which ſucceed a new plumage in ſummer: the feathers on the head, belly, wings, and tail, are black, on the neck and back of a high ſcarlet, and the bill, which is ſhort, ſtrait, and pointed, is yellow. The neſt of this bird is of peculiar contrivance, made impenetrable by any weather, of ſmall twigs, interwoven with cotton, in the cloſeſt and tighteſt manner, with two apartments, and but one entrance; the upper is the apartment for the male, and the female lodges in the undermoſt. *A bird peculiar to the* Cape.

THERE are gnat-ſnappers, and a bird called long-tongue, *Canary* birds, and the *Serinus*, ſo called by *Heuſlines*, extremely deſtructive to ſeed plants; they are much ſhot, and their fleſh is greatly eſteemed by the *Cape Europeans*, who reliſh it more than their notes. *Gnat-ſnappers.*

THE ægithus, hawfinches, or groſbeaks, the upupa, or hoopoc, the ſtone-pecker, and ſtarling, are numerous about the *Cape*. There are tame and wild pigeons, called the hill, or mount, the buſh, and ſea pigeons; with three ſorts of ſwallows, the prey, houſe, and ſea ſwallow, named *Apus* by naturaliſts. *Ægithus, and other birds.*

THE aſp, of an aſh colour, and ſpecked with red and yellow, and ſeveral yards long, and many kinds of ſerpents, are ſeen at the *Cape*: the eye ſerpent, called the dart and ſhoot ſerpent, from darting fiercely at, and ſhooting from, an enemy, with wonderful ſpeed; the tree ſerpent, being generally in and about the branches of trees; the blind ſlow-worm, with black ſcales, ſpeckled with brown, white, and red; the *Dipſas*, or thirſt ſerpent, about three quarters of a yard long, with a broad neck and black beak, whoſe bite inflames the blood, and cauſes a painful thirſt; the hair ſerpent, called by the *Portugueſe Cobras do Cabello*, about a yard long, and three quarters of an inch thick, whoſe poiſon is the moſt malignant, cauſing, unleſs an antidote is inſtantly applied, immediate death. Houſe ſerpents, about an ell long, and an inch and half thick, whoſe bite has no ill conſequence; the *Ceraſtes*, or horned ſerpents, with many others. *Different kinds of ſerpents.*

MOST *Europeans* have artificial ſerpent ſtones, made by *Indian* Brachmans, who alone poſſeſs, and remain inflexible in preſerving the ſecret of the compoſition; theſe artificial ſtones, ſhaped like a bean, the matter in the middle being white, and the reſt of a ſky-blue colour, have admirable virtues, and are eſteemed the moſt effectual remedy againſt poiſon. *The ſerpent ſtone.*

Sea, river, and land insects. THERE are sea, river, and land insects; the sea flea, of the size, shape, and scaled like a young shrimp, is provided with a sting; the sea louse is covered with a hard shell, and having many legs, ending in hooks, are great plagues in stinging and sucking of fish. Among the several sorts of worms that keep continually in the sea, is a worm that might be properly called the sea-horse; the head, mouth, neck, and breast, are shaped exactly like those of a horse; the hind part runs to a point, about six inches long; the body is flat, and with ribs; the back is yellow, and the belly white. There are leaches, of a dark red, speckled with black; and water snakes, about six inches long, and as thick as a swan's quill.

Ants. THE land insects are numerous in the *Cape* countries, where there are various sorts of ants, some like *European*; the vallies are covered with their hills: others differ in size, being much larger, whose hills likewise are larger: there is a sort about half an inch long, whose heads are red, with brown backs, and ash-coloured belly and legs; and another with red wings, that frequently fly up the highest hills, extremely nimble and industrious.

Bees. BEES abound throughout these countries, and are the same, in every respect, with *European*: they lay their honey in hollow trees, in cliffs, and on the tops of high rocks; the rock honey has a finer flavour than that of the hive, which are but few, the *Hottentots* supplying the colonies with that commodity.

Flies. Amongst the many kinds of flies is one that raises a blister like *Spanish* flies, which the *Cape* surgeons, who get great quantities, make use of.

Fleas, nits, &c. THERE are fleas, nits, earth-flies, beetles, lice, bugs, snails, and grashoppers, of several sorts; that in great hosts damage gardens, orchards, and corn-fields. There are as many sorts of butterflies as caterpillars, both with beautiful and lively colours.

Scorpions. Scorpions are also numerous, between two and three inches long, of a dark green speckled with black, resembling the small cray-fish in every part but the tail, which is longer and narrower; their sting is exceeding painful and dangerous.

Moths, wasps, &c. THERE are moths, wasps, rainworms, woodlice, weavels, toads, spiders, and millepedes, or thousand legs: the spiders differ in size, shape, colour, and in webs; some are poisonous; the *Cape Europeans* are extremely cautious in regard to the smallest sort, no bigger than a white pea; this little spider is black and active, the bite is poisonous, and causes death unless antidotes are used immediately; a serpent-stone extracts the poison.

poiſon. The *Cape* millepedes are red and white, about half as thick, and a finger in length, downy like the caterpiller, with two moving horns on the head; but no eyes have been diſcovered in this inſect, whoſe bite is as dangerous as that of the ſcorpion; the ſerpent ſtone is an effectual remedy, and roaſted onions. *Bite of millepedes dangerous.*

THE ſea and rivers abound in great plenty and variety of fiſh; the blower, ſo called from blowing itſelf up in a globular form, is ſmooth, without ſcales, with a dark yellow back, and white belly, a ſmall mouth, with four broad teeth; is reckoned pernicious, and here avoided. *Blower.*

THE bennet, about the length and thickneſs of a man's arm, and from ſix to eight pounds weight, is dry, but an agreeable food, and eaſy of digeſtion. *Bennet.*

THE brown-fiſh, a great devourer of the flying-fiſh, is 15 or 16 feet long; the body is as thick as an ox, and the back is ſomewhat raiſed. *Brown-fiſh.*

THE fleſh of cabeliau, of which there are ſeveral ſorts, is tender, delicate, and nouriſhing. *Cabeliau.*

THERE are ſeveral kinds of dolphins, whoſe fleſh is good, and the tongues and livers are eſteemed delicious eating at the *Cape*. *Dolphins.*

THE ſpawn of the elft, a bony fiſh, and whoſe fleſh is dry, is in high eſteem. *Elft.*

THE different kinds of flying-fiſh are of the ſize and ſhape of a herring, excepting the wings: ſome have two large wings only, others with two large and two ſmall wings, like thoſe of a bat. Theſe fiſh, whoſe fleſh exceeds in taſte the freſheſt herrings, are greatly purſued and harraſſed by numbers of enemies: they are always in ſhoals, and fly extremely ſwift in numbers out of the water. *Flying-fiſh.*

THE *Cape* gold-fiſh, about a pound weight, are a foot and a half long; their meat is exceeding wholſome, of a delicate taſte, and a great cleanſer of the blood. *Gold-fiſh.*

THERE are two ſorts of ſharks, from 12 to 16 feet long; both ſorts are extremely ravenous, and are ſaid to hanker after human fleſh more than any other food. The *Cape* pikes, boiled or broiled, are greatly eſteemed, and found only in ſalt water. *Sharks.* *Pike.*

BRASSEMS, called *Hottentot*-fiſh by *Europeans*, about a pound in weight, are reckoned wholeſome and well taſted. *Braſſems.*

THE red-ſtone braſſem, equally wholeſome and nouriſhing, has a moſt delicate taſte. *Red ſtone braſſems.*

THE pilot-fiſh, ſo called from being the pilot or guide to the ſhark, of a dark brown colour, ſpotted with blue, and a black ſtreak along the ridge of the back, with ſeveral others *Pilot fiſh.*

running down to the belly, with gold colour about the eyes, and lower jaw like a saw, is extremely difficult to take. This fish is said to master the shark, and to smell land, and when in scent, to turn about and make off to sea.

Sea-lions. A SEA-LION was killed in *Table Bay* in 1707: this animal was 15 feet long, and the same in circumference; his head was like that of a lion, but without hair or scale upon any part; the tongue, of 50 pounds weight, was all fat; the skin was of yellowish colour, with two short fore legs, ending in feet like those of a goose, with two broad thick fins, each of eighteen inches long, in the place of hind legs; the body was taper to the tail, which ended in the shape of a half moon.

Porpoisses and whales. THERE are porpoisses, or sea-hogs, and whales; the lesser, called grampus, is frequently seen in the *Cape* sea; two dead grampusses were drove ashore in stormy weather, in 1707, and 1709; one was 50 feet long, 24 broad, and 12 high; the other was 45 feet in length, 12 feet in breadth, and in height 18. The tongues of each weighed 600 pounds weight.

Silver-fish. THE silver-fish, of the size, make, and taste of a carp, about a pound in weight, keeps mostly in the sea, but sometimes come in shoals into the rivers.

Cramp-fish. THE cramp-fish is a curiosity at the *Cape*, of the cartilaginous kind, and small, about a quarter of a pound in weight, with small eyes, whose irides are a mixture of black and white; the mouth, though small, is furnished with teeth, and is shaped like a half-moon; above the mouth are two little holes, or nostrils; the back is orange colour, and the belly white; the tail like that of a turbot, and the skin is extremely smooth without scales; the brains are seen when the fish is opened; the gall is large, and the liver white and tender.

THE *Cape* fishermen decline touching the cramp-fish; and most authors justly agree, that whoever touches this fish is affected with smart pains, cramped, and convulsed; but the duration is not lasting, the convulsion being at the height in a minute or two, when it gradually abates, and in half an hour goes quite off.

Barbels, carps, &c. THE barbels, carps, eels, gudgeons, lobsters, crabs, and oysters, are in every respect the same as *European*; and the rock-fish taken in holes of sea rocks, about six inches in length, and two round, are of the most agreeable taste, and much valued.

THERE

THERE are two ſorts of water-ſnails, the porcupine and ſea-porcupine; the ſhells of both are variouſly and beautifully coloured, but loſe the colour when the ſnail dies. *Water-ſnails.*

THERE are kegel, or ninepin ſnails, klip, kouſen or nabel ſnails, pearl ſnails, ſcrew ſnails, and ſhell-fiſh called ſea-ſuns, and ſea-ſtars; their ſhells, which are extremely beautiful, are chiefly gathered for preſents to ſtrangers, and preſerved in many cabinets of curioſities.

THE ſea-ſpout is a ſtrange and ſurpriſing production of nature, reſembling a ſponge or lump of moſs, ſticking to ſea rocks, unmoved by winds or waves; of a greeniſh colour, with water or humour continually dropping from a fleſhy ſubſtance within, not unlike a gizzard; there is no life perceivable in this creature, but, when touched, fine ſtreams of water ſpout out from two or three ſmall holes, which is repeated as often as touched, till the ſtock is exhauſted. *Sea-ſpout.*

THE muſcle crabs are like, but ſmaller than, lobſters, and inhabit another beſides the coat-ſhell, from which they go in and out, never ſeparating themſelves quite from the ſhell, with great eaſe. *Muſcle-crabs.*

THERE are land, ſea, and river, or freſh water, tortoiſes, four-legged, whoſe bodies are guarded with the hardeſt and ſtrongeſt ſhells. The ſea and river tortoiſes, that lay and leave their eggs, of the ſize between the pigeon and hen egg, in the ſand, to be hatched by the heat of the ſun, are found at *St. Jago* and *Mauritius*; 200, and ſometimes 300, eggs are laid in one neſt, which, with the fleſh, are agreeable to the palate. The land tortoiſes are plentiful at the *Cape*; their fleſh is fine and white as ſnow, and their eggs are of an exquiſite and delightful taſte; the land tortoiſe feeds upon roots, herbs, corn, &c.[g] *Land, ſea, and river tortoiſes.*

THE vegetables of the natural growth of the *Cape* countries, whoſe virtues are topical, and many of no uſe in medicine, are too numerous to be inſerted: in *Kolben*'s account there are 28 ſorts of aloës, many of them being planted in the company's garden; their flowers are of different colours, ſome white, others red, and many curiouſly ſpeckled, are very delightful to the eye; five ſorts of *African alaternoides*, and eight of *African* dogs-bane; ten of *After Africanus*, or *African* ſtarwort; ſeven ſorts of bell-flowers; twenty of *African* broom; and twenty-one of craneſbill: ſixteen of ragwort; eleven of *Thymaloe Africana*, or *African* ſpurge laurel; and ſix and thirty ſorts of *Ficoides*, or *African* fig marygolds: the *Vegetables of the natural growth.*

[g] Id. ibid. p. 186.

Argyrodendros

Argyrodendros Africana, or silver-tree, whose fruit is conical like the pine-apple, grows both in vallies and on hills: the *Spiræa Africana* is called by the *Hottentots Buchu*, who gather and dry the withered leaves in the sun, then beat them to powder for use.: this powder is of a gold colour. There are trees of the size of an oak, called stink-wood by *Europeans*, from a filthy and nauseous scent while under the tool, and hardly to be endured by workmen, whose smell goes off in some time; and the wood, which is beautifully clouded, makes useful and ornamental pieces of furniture, and enters likewise into the *Cape materia medica*, being given with success in many cases.

Exotic vegetables. THE exotics are also numerous: fir plants were carried from *Europe* in 1690, for ornament, and to supply the colonies with wood, and are now from 36 to 40 feet high.

GARDEN sorrel was planted chiefly for the advantage of mariners, being good against the scurvy. There is abundance of garden garlic, common alder, and *China* rose; the green leaves of the *China* rose, whisked in water, make a lather which the *Cape Europeans* prefer to soap for washing the face and hands.

THERE are large tracts of land planted with almond trees, of which there are four sorts, yielding a considerable profit.

Pine-trees, &c. THE pine-trees, originally from *America*, were transplanted from *East-India*: there are three sorts, *Jajama*, *Bonjama*, and *Jajagna*: the *Jajama* apple is the largest and best, from six to eight inches long, and thick; the outside colour is red and dark yellow, the inside near a perfect yellow; the inside colour of the *Bonjama* and *Jajagna* is white; that of *Jajagna* tastes like rhenish wine.

GARDEN parsley, asparagus, red and white beetwort, were carried from *Holland*, and grow in great plenty. There are abundance of red and white cabbages, of 40 pounds weight and upwards, and cauliflowers, of which great quantities are sent to *Ceylon* and *Batavia*.

THERE are four sorts of camphire trees, one transplanted from *Borneo* island, the others from *Sumatra*, *Sunda*, *China*, and *Japan*.

GARDEN asparagus, wild and garden hemp, and *carduus benedictus*, of great medicinal use, grow in the *Cape* countries.

THE cinnamon-tree grows as high as a *Spanish* olive-tree. Clove-gilliflowers, horse-chesnuts, common onions, and garden chervil, and artichokes, were carried from *Holland*; white and grey pease from *Germany* and *Holland*; and the filberd-tree from *Germany*.

THERE

THERE are ſeveral ſorts of cherry-trees, the trumpet-flower, flower-fence, and common cucumbers in great plenty, ſurpaſſing *European* in goodneſs.

THE *American* paſſion-flower bears a fruit like the golden-ruſſetin, and of an agreeable taſte.

GOURDS were brought to the *Cape* from *Europe* and the *Indies*; there are ſeveral ſorts, and great numbers are diſpoſed among the ſhipping, being extremely ſerviceable in long voyages.

THE male cypriſs-trees were carried from *Europe* into *India*.

CORN-BOTTLES were brought to the *Cape* with the firſt corn; they are of a white, blue, and carnatian colours; the flower of one ſort, in the company's gardens, is extremely fragrant and beautiful.

THE *Cape* is ſupplied yearly with wild *Cytiſus* from *Holland*; the crops at the *Cape* never holding the ſeed againſt the ſouth-eaſt winds.

THORN-APPLE plants, brought from *India*, were rooted up and deſtroyed by the government; the reaſon is concealed, as the publication might be attended with bad conſequences.

THERE are *European* and *Madagaſcar* beans, the *Indian* fig-tree, torch-thiſtle, and common fennel, ſtrawberry-buſhes, and *Indian* wheat; *Indian* jeſſamin, and patſcher-tree, whoſe flowers are yellowiſh, and of an agreeable ſmell; the *Indian* pallet fettangan, with a white double flower, like the *Roſa Sinenſis*, and jonquils, whoſe ſmell is ſo greatly eſteemed by the *European* ladies.

SPARRY, gooſeberry-buſhes, white hyacinth, and the juniper-tree, were brought from *Europe*: there are the *Indian* white guava, and a ſhrub tranſplanted from *Madagaſcar*, called by the *Cape Europeans Kæzſchebyring*, and *Kuthchinas* by the *Japaneſe*, who make a yellow colour of the ſeed for dyeing.

THE *Indian* gold-tree, about ſix feet high, with yellow leaves ſpeckled with red, is extremely beautiful, and is generally ranged in gardens amongſt other trees.

THE *Cape Europeans* make pickles of the leaves of *Indian* bay-trees; there are cabbage-lettuces of every *European* ſort, common marjoram, ſtock-gilliflowers, and the white crown imperial. Great plenty of apples and quince trees; the *Maſſietz* and *Caſſietz* of *Batavia*, and other *Indian* parts, make pomado for colouring and curling their hair, of the quince kernels.

THE

THE Maſtick, pomegranate, citron, ſweet and ſour limon, *China* and *Indian* orange trees are pleatiful; theſe trees are extremely large, and called *Moſhan*, or tyger-oranges, by the *Eaſt-Indians*, the firſt being ſpotted like the ſkin of that animal.

ROSEMARY, baſil, balm, garden mint, ſage, garden turnips, oaks, plum and pear trees, were brought from *Europe*; parſnips, medlars, common alder, and walnut-trees, were carried from *Germany*. There are black mulberry, myrtle, peach, pine, and date trees, garden-poppies, netted and muſk melons, white daffodils, ſavine, tulips, violets, tamariſk-trees, and garden-tarragon, winter wheat and rye, with grape-vine, carried from the *Rhine*, *Perſia*, and other places: and the garden-navew, by which the inhabitants make conſiderable profit.

WE have by this time dwelt long enough on the vaſt plenty and variety of native and exotic productions of this rich and fertile ſpot, to raiſe a deſire in our readers to know what ſhare of them theſe new landlords diſpenſe among their diſpoſſeſſed vaſſals, in return for their ſo readily yielding it to them; and whether they are treated with greater generoſity, on all theſe accounts, in this *African* ſettlement, than thoſe we have had occaſion to mention in ſome former volumes, in our account of their *Aſiatic* conqueſts †. To all which we can only anſwer in general, that no country or climate we know of, hath as yet been able to make any change for the better in the ſubjects of that ungrateful republic; and that, with reſpect to thoſe *Hottentots* who live under the dominion of the *Dutch* company here, their condition is the moſt wretched and miſerable not only of their whole nation, but, we may ſafely add, of all the *Africans*. They are, ſays a judicious author *, reduced to ſuch an abject degree of ſervitude and indigence, as to be glad, for the ſake of a little tobacco, a piece of bread, or a glaſs of brandy, to ſubmit to the loweſt and baſeſt offices; and happy do they think themſelves, who live near their towns and ſettlements, as moſt at hand to be employed in that ſervile druggery for ſo ſmall an encouragement; whilſt the reſt of their compatriots, who live more at large, and enjoy a greater ſhare of liberty, deteſt and abhor them for their baſe ſubjection and abject meanneſs. The author above-quoted hath interlarded his account with many other curious and uſeful remarks, which there is leſs need for us to dwell upon, as his book is in our own tongue, and in every curious reader's poſſeſſion.

† De his, vid. int. al. vol. x. p. 301, & ſeq. 338, & ſeq. 452, & ſeq. & al. plur. * DAMPIER's Voyag. vol. ii. p. 212, & ſeq.

ON

On the other hand, if our readers would know what high account the reſt of the *Hottentot* nation make of theſe new maſters, or rather, as they ſtyle them, invaders and interlopers, in the midſt of their vaſt affluence, their luxury and outward grandeur, they look upon them as a band of poor indigent vagabonds, whom mere neceſſity had forced out of their native country, to ſeek their bread which it could not afford them at home, and for the ſake of which they are content, nay glad, to croſs the wideſt ſeas, wander into the moſt diſtant countries, expoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers and fatigues, the moſt oppoſite and inhoſpitable climates, and intrude themſelves upon every nation and government that will grant them admittance, upon any ſpecious pretence, though ſo much afraid and miſtruſtful of all the reſt of mankind, that they cannot think themſelves and their effects in any ſafety, unleſs both are ſecured by high walls, and ſtrong bolts and bars. How much freer, happier, and nobler, is our race, who can range at will under the whole cope of heaven, wherever our wants or inclinations lead us, and find every-where a rich ſupply ready prepared for us by the kind hand of nature, without our care or labour, who want neither ſtore-houſes nor magazines to ſecure our proviſions and properties, nor caſtles and high walls to protect us and our families, but can live and ſleep ſafe and fearleſs in our low huts or caves, or even under the open canopy of the ſkies, eat, drink, ſmoak, ſing, and dance, race, hunt, and purſue every pleaſure of life unreſtrained and uncontrouled, whilſt even our ſuperfluities, and what would otherwiſe lie neglected and deſpiſed by us, are more than ſufficient to attract thoſe mercenary and indigent ſlaves to come ſo far to purchaſe them from us, and bring us, in exchange for them, all that their country, art, or induſtry, produces, that may contribute to our uſe, our ornament or delight †. And if, whilſt we here roam at large, enjoying all the bleſſings and ſweets of our happy land in peace and plenty, thoſe *Would-be Lords* are glad to bring us ſuch variety of additional conveniencies and delights, through ſo many hazards and fatigues, for ſo ſmall a return as we make to them, who are greater, happier, and more to be envied than we? who are more baſe, deſpicable, and more to be pitied than they ‡? Thus they think, and thus they balance the account between them and their maſters; which, however ſtrange and rhapſodical it may appear to us, we are aſſured, from a multitude of authentic witneſſes, is the common language, not

† De his, vid. ſup. p. 507, & alib. paſſ. ‡ Tachard's voyage to Siam, p. 94, & ſeq. of the Paris edition.

only

only of the *Hottentots*, but of the generality of the *Africans*, even of those, who, through the tyranny of the government they live under, are doomed to a still worse state of slavery and misery, and without those real advantages and comforts which this *Hottentot* nation enjoys, to countenance their fond conceit, that they are the happiest and noblest, and the *Europeans* the most miserable and abject people that the sun shines upon. Some instances of which we shall have occasion to shew in the subsequent chapters.

We shall leave it to our readers to make their own remarks on their uncommon notion of happiness compared with that of their *Dutch* masters, and which would receive an additional degree, if what *Tachard* and other writers relate of them were true; *viz.* that they expect no after-reckoning in another world; but, as we have lately shewn, from surer evidence, this to be a mistake, and that they really believe a future life and retribution †, we hope we need not tell our readers, by this time, which of the two nations seems to act most conformably to it, or to reap the greatest gain from the contrary one. Yet we cannot dispense subjoining some singular instances of moral virtue in the one, which as plainly spring from a persuasion of the former, as the contrary vices do from the latter. The *Hottentots* are trusty and faithful to the highest degree; insomuch, that even the *Dutch* give them free admission into their houses and warehouses, and trust them with any business or important affair, without fear or danger of being wronged or defrauded. They are of an hospitable and beneficent temper, and ever ready to assist one-another; and so generous in their low state, that if any thing be given to any one of them, whether it be of eatables, apparel, tobacco, or brandy, which they are most fond of, they readily divide it amongst their friends and compatriots, even to the reserving the least share to themselves; and when obliged to any high degree, never cease expressing, upon all occasions, sentiments of suitable gratitude, as long as they live. It must be owned that this character is very different from that which the *Dutch* writers have given us of them, who have as generally as unjustly confounded them with the savage and inhuman nation of the *Caffers* lately described ‡, and probably with no other view than to palliate their ill treatment of, and tyrannising over, them.

We shall now conclude this chapter with a short estimate of the charges which the *Dutch* company is at for the maintenance of this important settlement, and of the revenues out of which they are raised.

† See before, p. 528, & seq. ‡ See before, p. 485, & seq.

The

THE revenues for defraying the vaſt expence of this ſettlement, the moſt flouriſhing in *Africa*, whoſe intereſt and ſafety have engroſſed the care and application of *Dutch Eaſt-India* company, and ſtood them in a million of florins yearly, for the firſt twenty years after its eſtabliſhment, and the preſent annual expences of which amount to 400,000 florins, ariſe from the tenth of the produce of lands poſſeſſed by *Europeans*, from ground-rents, from duties on wines and beer, produced at the *Cape*, or imported; on tobacco and diſtilled liquors, on mum, of which there is great conſumption, by other means, and from the profits of trade. *Expence of the Cape ſettlement.*

THE tenths of the produce of lands, and ground-rents, are computed at 14,000 florins *per annum*. The duties are farmed at 70,000 florins *per annum*. and punctually paid by the farmers; and the neat produce of 30,000 florins, laid out annually in merchandize for the *Cape*, at a profit of 75 *per cent.* is 225,000 florins.

THOUGH the revenue and profits are not hitherto brought to a par, the company is at preſent near reimburſed the expence; and has a near proſpect of enjoying ſhortly an immenſe clear revenue from the ſettlement, the colonies improving and increaſing daily, by the taking in of new lands for culture and tillage.

A GREAT number of fine *Perſian*, and horſes from other countries, are kept in a range of ſtables, at *Cape Town*, capable of containing ſeveral hundreds, for the uſe of the company and parade of the governor; whoſe train is magnificent, having a maſter and under maſter of horſe, a body and other coachmen, ſadler, *&c.* in his retinue.

THE company's ſervants are about 600 in number: all officers in the adminiſtration are called qualified, and the ſoldiers, artificers, and common ſervants unqualified, great part of theſe and the petty officers are lodged in the town in different buildings, belonging to the company; the governor and chief officers reſide in the caſtle, as has been related, whoſe garriſon conſiſts of 200 ſoldiers. *Number of the company's ſervants.*

The END of the FIFTEENTH VOLUME.